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Letters of State.

AND

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The 3d Edition, with Large Additions.

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CABALA,

Sive *SCRINIA SACRA:*

Mysteries of State

AND

GOVERNMENT,

IN

LETTERS

OF

Illustrious Persons, and Great Ministers of State,
As well Foreign as Domestick,
In the Reigns of King *HENRY* the Eighth,
Queen *ELIZABETH*,
King *JAMES*, and King *CHARLES*.

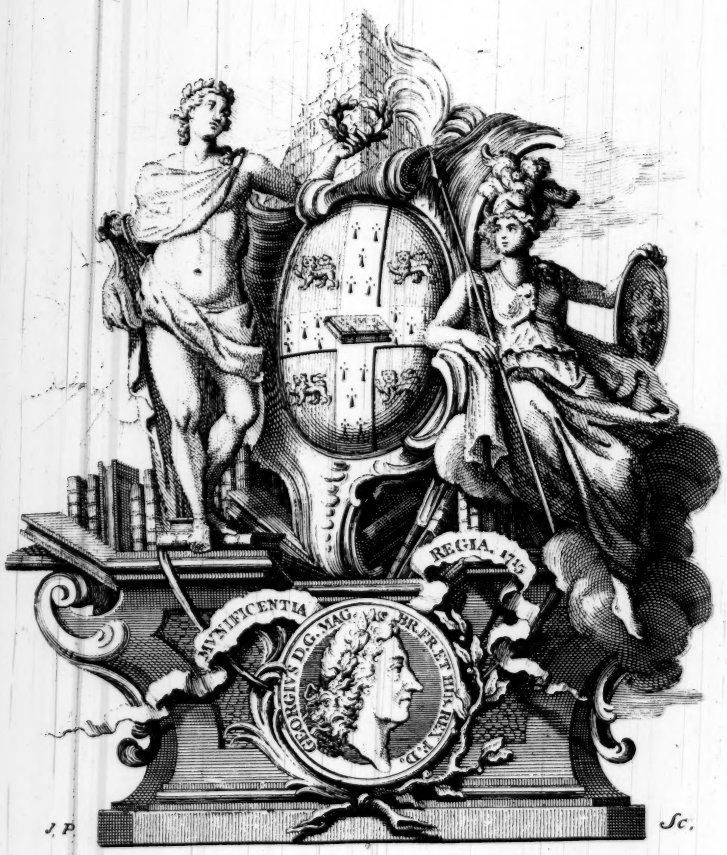
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And many remarkable Passages faithfully Collected.

To which is added in this Third Edition, A *SECOND PART*, consisting of a Choice Collection of ORIGINAL LETTERS and NEGOTIATIONS, never before Published.

With two Exact TABLES to each *PART*; the One of the LETTERS, and the Other of the most Remarkable OCCURRENCES.

LONDON,
Printed for *Tho. Sawbridge* in *Little-Britain*, *Mat. Gillyflower* in *Westminster-Hall*, *Ric. Bentley* in *Covent-Garden*, *Mat. Wootton* in *Fleet-street*, and *Geo. Conniers* in *Little-Britain*, MDC XCI.

120/17.


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J. P.
Sc.

THE STATIONERS TO THE READER.

COURTEOUS READER,

TO you this Collection once more offereth it ſelf; a Piece (conſidered in its Circumſtances) moſt remarkable, if you reſpect the Perſons, the Language, or Sublimity of the Subject: A Collection not ſo much of Letters, as of Keys, to open unto you the Myſteries of Government, and the Management of Publick Tranſactions, in the late Reigns of the greateſt Princes in *Europe*; whoſe principal Miniſters of State and their Negotiations, are here Preſented Naked; and their Conſultations, Deſigns, and Policies, as they were Contrived, are here expoſed to publick view and obſervation, without any the leaſt Bias or falſe Gloſs, and with more Truth and Sincerity then *Annals* uſualy declare to Poſterity; where Partiality, Error, and Paſſion do oftentimes Seduce, being tranſported with Love or Hatred, to the Side or Perſon: And therefore, here is no danger of Snares, to Captivate or Inveigle any Man's Judgment, nor Words required to advance Opinion.

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as a *Second Part* with two *Diſtinct Tables*, the Subject Matter of theſe *Originals* entirely relating to the *Protection* of the *Netherlanders*, againſt the *Spaniard* by Queen *Elizabeth*, under the Adminiſtration of the Earl of *Leiceſter* General, *Thomas Sackvill* Lord *Buckehurſt* Ambaſſadour, Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Francis Walſyngham*, &c. Your kind Acceptance of the former hath encouraged us to unite them all into one Body; at the latter end of the *Firſt Part* you will find a little entire Volume of Letters from that Profound, Faithfull, and Eminent Miniſter of State, Sir *William Cecill* Knight, (after Lord *Burleigh*,) Secretary of State to the Late Queen *Elizabeth*, to Sir *Henry Norris* Knight, Her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, Reſident in *France*, during the whole time of his Negotiations in that Honourable Imployment: And therein are related (with much Exactneſs) many Memorable Paſſages (amongſt divers others) touching the Murther of the King of *Scots*, the Fatal Rebellion in the North, the Sanguinary Diviſions in *France*, and the *Netherlands*, reciprocal bandying of grand Agents, ſowing of Factions, and ſuch like intricate Tranſactions, then in Agitation upon the Theatre of *Europe*: As alſo, ſeveral Monuments of the Incomparable Viſcount St. *Alban*, richly adorned with Variety of Philoſophical Learning, Cabaliſtick Myſteſteries of State, and ſeveral Paſſages of Hiſtory, never before made Publick: Likewiſe the Fall of the Earl of *Somerſet*, and the immediate Advance of the Duke of *Buckingham*, both Favourites of the firſt Magnitude; with many other weighty and remarkable Paſſages, as well Forreign as Domeſtick, touching the Management of Affairs, both Eccleſiaſtical and Political; which, if compared in their Series and Dependances, you will find the Frame to be very accurate, and moſt worthy peruſal.

We

We forbear troubling you with any farther Account of the *Second Part*, leaving that to its proper Place in the Preface next before it.

To Conclude, There has been no ſmall Care taken in the diſpoſing of all Things Alphabetically, and (as near as may be) in order of Time for the Eaſe of the Reader; which, we doubt not, will be kindly accepted from

Your Humble Servants,

May, 1691.

T. S.
M. G.

We forbear troubling you with any further Account of the Several Heads, thinking that in the Table, to be put [illegible].

The Conclusion] Here the Reverend Small Care taken in the Ordering of all Things Alphabetically, and (as Names may be) in order of Time for the Ease of the Reader; which, we doubt not, will be kindly accepted from

Your Humble Servants,

T. S.
M. G.

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CABALA,

CABALA,

SIVE

Scrinia Sacra,

IN

LETTERS of Illuſtrious Perſons, and Great Miniſters of *STATE*, &c.

Queen Ann *of* Bullen *to King* Henry, *from the Tower*, May 6. 1536.

SIR,

YOur Graces Diſpleaſure, and my Impriſonment, are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me (willing me to confeſs a Truth, and ſo to obtain your Favour,) by ſuch a one whom you know to be my ancient profeſſed Enemy; I no ſooner receive this meſſage, then I rightly conceive your meaning: And if, as you ſay, confeſſing a Truth indeed may procure my Safety, I ſhall with all willingneſs and duty perform your Command. But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not ſo much as a thought ever proceeded: And to ſpeak a truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all Duty, and in all true Affection, than you have ever found in *Ann Bullen*; with which name and place I could willingly have contented my ſelf, if God, and your Grace's pleaſure, had ſo been pleaſed. Neither did I at any time forget my ſelf in my Exaltation, or received Queenſhip, but that I always look'd for ſuch an alteration as now I find, the ground of my Preferment being on no ſurer foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the leaſt alteration whereof, I knew, was fit and ſufficient to draw that Fancy to ſome other Subject.

You have choſen me from a low eſtate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my deſert, or deſire: If then you find me worthy of ſuch Honour, Good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counſel of my Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me; neither let that ſtain, that unworthy ſtain of a diſloyal Heart towards your good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a Blot on your moſt dutifull Wife, and the Infant-Princeſs your Daughter. Try me, good King, but let me have a lawfull Triall; and let not my ſworn Enemies ſit as my Accuſers and Judges: Yea, let me receive an open Tryall, for my Truths ſhall fear no open Shames; then ſhall you ſee, either my Innocency cleared, your Suſpicion and Conſcience ſatisfied, the Ignominy and Slander of the World ſtopped, or my Guilt openly declared: So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open Cenſure; and my Offence being ſo lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy puniſhment on me as an unfaithfull Wife, but to follow your Affection, already ſetled on that Party for whoſe ſake I am now as I am, whoſe Name I could ſome while ſince have pointed to, your Grace not being ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous Slander muſt bring you the enjoying of a deſired Happineſs; then I deſire of God, that he will pardon your great Sin herein, and likewiſe my Enemies, the inſtruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a ſtrict accompt for your unprincely and cruel uſage of me, at his general judgment-ſeat, where both you and my ſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe juſt Judgment, I doubt not, whatſoever the World may think of me, my Innocency ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently cleared.

My laſt and onely Requeſt ſhall be, That my ſelf may bear the burthen of your Grace's Diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of thoſe poor Gentlemen, who, as I underſtand, are in ſtrait Impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in your ſight, if ever the Name

of *Ann Bullen* hath been pleaſing in your Ears, let me obtain this laſt Requeſt, and I will ſo leave to trouble your Grace any farther, with my earneſt Prayers to the Trinity, to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.

From my doleſull Priſon in the Tower, this ſixth of May, 1536.

Your moſt loyal and faithfull Wife, ANN BULLEN.

Sir Anthony Aſhley *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

IF any thing happened worth your knowledge, I had either come or ſent to *Theobald's* in your abſence, being aſcertained, that your Lordſhip had been already particularly informed of what paſſed in the Higher Houſe betwixt the Earl of *A.* and the *L. S.* which is the only thing of Note, and is thought will beget ſome Novelty.

Your Lordſhip may be moſt aſſured, that your Adverſaries continue their Meetings and Conferences here in *Holbourn*, how to give his Majeſty ſome foul diſtaſte of you, as making you the only author of all Grievances and Oppreſſions whatſoever, for your private Ends. And I hope to be able within few days (if promiſe be kept) to give you good overture of a mutual Oath taken to this purpoſe amongſt them.

The Rumour lately ſpread, touching his Majeſty's untimely Pardon of the late Lord Chancellor's Fine and Impriſonment, with ſome other favours intended towards him, (ſaid to be procured by your Lordſhip's only intimation) hath exceedingly exaſperated the rancour of the ill-affected; which, albeit it be falſe, and unlikely, becauſe very unſeaſonable, it doth yet ſerve the preſent turn, for the increaſe of Malice againſt you. I can but inform your Lordſhip of what I underſtand, you may pleaſe to make uſe thereof as your ſelf thinketh beſt.

I moſt humbly intreat your good Lordſhip, to keep Letters of this nature, either in your own Cabinet, or to make Hereticks of them; for I am very well acquainted with the diſpoſition of ſome Pen-men in Court. Upon meſſage even now received of my poor Daughter's ſudden dangerous Sickneſs, I am conſtrained unmannerly to poſt unto her, being the only comfort I have in this World; and do purpoſe, God willing, a ſpeedy return. In the mean time, and even with my hearty Prayer, I commend your good Lordſhip to God's mercifull and ſafe keeping. This 12th of *May*, 1621.

Your honourable good Lordſhip's faithfully devoted, A. A.

SIR WALTER ASTON'S Letters, &c.

Sir Walter Aſton *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

MY Lord of *Briſtol* intended to have diſpatched away a Poſt unto his Majeſty this night, with the advice of the arrival of the Diſpenſation, which came to Town the 12th of this Month, hoping that he ſhould have been likewiſe able to have given to his Majeſty and his Highneſs a clear account of all things concerning it. But the Delivery of the Queen this morning (who is brought to bed of a Daughter) hath ſtopped all Negotiation; and I believe it will be theſe two days before he can be ready to ſend him away. There is no novelty (as yet I underſtand) that is come with the Diſpenſation; there will be ſomething deſired for better explanation of his Majeſty's and his Highneſs's intentions; and ſome omiſſions there are, which, as they underſtand, was his Highneſs's Intention ſhould have been in the Capitulation, they being promiſed by his Highneſs. But I do not find that theſe will be any ſtop to the buſineſs; for they do preſs my Lord of *Briſtol* very much to proceed preſently to the *Depoſitio*. Your Grace ſhall underſtand all things more particularly by the next Poſt. I do now make the more haſte, forbearing to trouble you with other occurrences, leſt my Letters come ſhort of the departure of the Poſt, as they did of his who was laſt diſpatched from hence.

I do moſt humbly deſire your Grace to continue the doing me thoſe Offices that may continue me in his Majeſty's and his Highneſs's good opinion; and I doubt not but I ſhall be ever able to let your

your Grace ſee, that you have not a more faithfull ſervant, then he which your Grace hath moſt bound to be ſo, and that ſhall ever remain

Novemb. 15. 1623. *Your, &c.* W. A.

The Copy of a Memorial given to the King of Spain. *Tranſlated.*

SIR,

SIR *Walter Aſton*, Embaſſadour of the King of Great *Britain*, ſaith, That the King his Maſter, hath commanded him to repreſent unto your Majeſty, that having received ſo many promiſes from hence to procure the intire reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, and Electoral Dignity to the Prince his Son in Law, He commanded his Embaſſador to preſs your Majeſty with all diligence, that the ſaid promiſes might take effect, not as a Condition of the Marriage, but deſiring infinitely to ſee ſettled, together with the marriage, the Peace and Quiet of his Son in Law, his Daughter, and Grandchildren; and having underſtood that this his deſire hath received an interpretation far differing from his intention, hath commanded him anew, for the greater demonſtration of the deſire which he hath to preſerve the good Correſpondence with your Majeſty, to declare unto you, that he hath not propounded the ſaid reſtitutions as a Condition of the Marriage, but according to that which he underſtood was moſt conformable with the intention of your Majeſty, declared by the *Conde de Olivarez* for the ſureſt, and moſt effectual means, to make the amity which is betwixt your Majeſties firm and indiſſoluble: And that there might not remain any doubt or matter hereafter, that ſhould cauſe diſpute, he hath required that every thing might be ſettled under your Majeſties hand; deſiring it likewiſe for the greater comfort of his onely Daughter, and for to make the coming of that moſt excellent Princeſs of more eſteem unto his Subjects, bringing with her (beſides the glory of her own virtue and worth) the ſecurity of a perpetual Peace and Amity, and an everlaſting pawn to his Kingdomes of the conſtancy and real performance of your Majeſties promiſes, with ſuch ſatisfaction to his hopes grounded on the ſaid promiſes, not as a Condition, but as the fruit and bleſſing of the Alliance. Moreover he ſaith, That the King his Maſter hath commanded him to make this Declaration unto your Majeſty, that you may know the truth, and the ſound intentions of his proceedings, with the good end to which it aims, having renewed the powers, and deferred the delivery of them, onely to give time for the accompliſhing and ſettling that which hath been promiſed for the ſatisfying his expectation, and aſſuring the amity betwixt your Majeſties Perſons and Crowns; the King his Maſter hoping that your Majeſty will likewiſe lay hold of this occaſion, which you now have in your hand, to give him full ſatisfaction in that which with ſo much reaſon he deſires, and therewithall a reciprocal and everlaſting bleſſing to both your Majeſties Crowns.

Jan. 19. 1623.
Stil. Vet.

Sir Walter Aſton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

HOwſoever upon the arrival of Mr. *Grieſley*, I took the occaſion of the ordinary, the day following, to acknowledge unto your Grace the Comfort which I had received by your Letters; underſtanding by them the favour which you have done me, in diverting from me his Majeſties and his Highneſs diſpleaſure, I ſhall notwithſtanding intreat here leave, by the ſame means by which I received ſo much happineſs, to renew my humble and moſt thankfull acknowledgment unto your Grace. I moſt earneſtly intreat your Grace to look upon me here as a ſervant that loves you in his heart, and that ſhall faithfully in all things comply with what you can expect from ſuch an one; and that therefore you will be pleaſed to preſerve me ſtill in the way, how I may ſerve his Majeſty and his Higneſs to their Content, and perform towards your Grace thoſe offices of a ſervant, which may be moſt to your ſatisfaction. For I am now here in a dangerous time, in the greateſt buſineſſes that have been treated of many years, and the bittereſt ſtorms threatning betwixt theſe Crowns, that have been theſe many ages. I have therefore no hope to ſave my ſelf, without I be guided by his Higneſs and your Grace's truſts and care of me.

The Marquels of *Inoiſa* hath lately advertiſed hither, That he hath ſeveral times deſired to have private audience with his Majeſty, and hath not been able to procure any, but what your Grace aſſiſts at. It is likewiſe advertiſed unto this King and his Miniſters, that your Grace hath many meetings with

the Sea-Captains, and that your Counſels are how the War is to be made againſt *Spain*. For the avoiding of unneceſſary repetitions, I do here incloſed ſend your Grace a Copy of my Letter to Mr. Secretary *Conway*, wherein you will find a relation of all things that are come to my hands at this preſent, that may any way have reflection unto his Majeſties ſervice. And this is the courſe which I intend, and conceive moſt convenient to hold hereafter with your Grace, without you command me the contrary. In the ſaid Copy your Grace will find a diſcourſe of what hath lately paſſed betwixt my Lord of *Briſtol*, and the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, in the *Pardo*. Now that I may more fully diſcharge my duty, I have thought fit here to acquaint your Grace, that ſince the putting off of the *Depoſorios*, at a meeting that my Lord and my ſelf had with the *Conde*, he did make a ſolemn proteſtation, that if the Treaty of the Match did ever come on again with effect, it ſhould onely be by his Lordſhips hand, and no other. I then underſtood it, and ſtill do, but for a frothy proteſtation, yet have held it my duty to advertize, it having paſſed in my hearing; the truth is, that my Lord's anſwer was in Conformity to his laſt in the *Pardo*, every way rejecting it, ſaying, That he had rather be confined to any Town in *Africk*, than that his perſon ſhould be any hinderance to the Match. Thus forbearing to trouble your Grace any farther, with my hearty prayers unto God for the continuance of his bleſſings unto you. I reſt

Your Graces, &c.

January, 22. 1623. Stil. Vet. W. A.

Sir Walter Aſton *to Secretary* Conway.

Right Honourable,

BY the return of this Bearer Mr. *Greiſley*, you will underſtand of the ſafe coming to my hands of your diſpatch of the 30th of the laſt Month, with his Majeſties Letters therein incloſed. I do now herewithall ſend an account unto his Majeſty of my proceedings upon his Commands, which I do intreat your Honour to be pleaſed to preſent unto him, as alſo farther to acquaint his Majeſty, that I have already ſpoken with divers of theſe Miniſters, and given them ſuch a declaration of his Majeſties good intentions in the preſſing at this ſeaſon for the reſtitutions of the *Palatinate*, and Electoral Dignity, unto the Prince his Son-in-Law, as I have order to do by the ſaid Letter, but do they are here ſo poſſeſſed with the ill relations they receive out of *England*, that I with much difficulty can ſcarce give them any kind of ſatisfaction. I have acquainted the *Conde Olivarez* with the anſwer, which your Honour, and Mr. Secretary *Calvert* had received from their Ambaſſadors touching their audiences, the *Conde* himſelf having formerly acquainted me with their Complaint. His anſwer now was, That he underſtood they had acknowledged unto your Honours to have received from his Majeſty in that point all kind of ſatisfaction, but that after you were gone to the Marqueſs of *Inoiſa* wrote a Letter to Secretary *Calvert*; telling him, That he did not well remember himſelf of what had paſſed at his being there, but had ſince called to mind, that he had procured ſome audiences with the Prince with much difficulty. To which I anſwered the *Conde*, That it ſeemed the Marqueſs was very light of his advertiſements, to give ſuch informations as might breed ill underſtandings betwixt Princes, and eſteem them of no more Conſequence, than to forget what he had adverriſed with ſo much eaſe. Concerning that malicious report here raiſed of the Prince's treating a Marriage in *France*, I deſire your Honour to let his Majeſty know, that it is advertiſed hither out of *England*, as a thing ſo certain, that there is not a Miniſter of State (excepting the *Conde* of *Gondomar*) that hath not given ſome credit unto it. I have therefore, according to his Majeſties directions, given ſuch declarations touching the author and believers of it, as you Honour in his Majeſties name hath commanded me. I have likewiſe received by Mr. *Greiſley* your Letter of the 31th of the laſt: In anſwer of which, all that I ſhall need to ſay unto your Honour is, that my Lord of *Briſtol* hath received your former Letter, acquainting him with his Majeſties pleaſure concerning the ſame buſineſs, from whom his Majeſty will receive an account thereof. This is all that I have to ſay to your Honour, at this preſent, touching thoſe particulars mentioned in your Letter; I ſhall now here farther acquaint you with ſuch advertiſements as I conceive may any ways have reference unto his Majeſties ſervice. My Lord of *Briſtol*, and my ſelf, repairing ſome few days ſince unto the *Pardo*, having conference with the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, his Lordſhip acquainted the *Conde* with the Letters of revocation, which he had received from his Majeſty, and withall deſired that he would procure him licence to take his leave of the King. The *Conde* anſwered his Lordſhip, That he had much to ſay unto him by order from his Majeſty, the ſubſtance of his Speech was; That they had received large advertiſements out of *England*, by which they underſtood the hard meaſure that he was there likely to ſuffer by the power of his enemies, and that the onely crime which they could impute unto him, was for labouring to effect the Marriage, which his Maſter could not but take much to heart, and held himſelf obliged to publiſh to the world the good ſervice

that

that my Lord had done unto the King of Great *Britain*; and therefore, for the better encouragement likewiſe of his own, and all other Miniſters that ſhould truly ſerve their Maſters, he was to offer him a blank Paper ſigned by the King, wherein his Lordſhip might ſet down his own Conditions, and demands; which he ſaid he did not propound to corrupt any ſervant of his Majeſties, but for a publick declaration of what was due unto his Lordſhip's proceedings. He ſaid farther, that in that offer, he laid before him the Lands and Dignities that were in his Maſter's power to diſpoſe of; out of which he left it at his pleaſure to chooſe what Eſtate, or Honour, he ſhould think good, adding thereunto ſome other extravagant and diſproportionable offers. My Lord's anſwer was, That he was very ſorry to hear this language uſed unto him, telling the *Conde*, that his Catholick Majeſty did owe him nothing, but that what he had done was upon the King his Maſter's Commands, and without any intention to ſerve *Spain*. And that howſoever he might have reaſon to fear the power of his enemies, yet he truſted much upon the innocency of his own Cauſe, and the Juſtice of the King, and that he could not underſtand himſelf in any danger: but were he ſure to loſe his head at his arrival there, he would go to throw down himſelf at his Majeſties feet and mercy, and rather there die upon a Scaffold, than be Duke of *Infantada* in *Spain*. On the 26th of this Month, there was declared here in Council, a reſolution of this King, to make a Journy to his frontier Towns in *Andaluzia*, with an intention to begin his Journy upon the 29th of this Month, *Stil. Vet.* And, as I am informed, his Majeſty will there entertain himſelf the greateſt part of theſe three Months following; ſo that his return hither will not be until the beginning of *May*. My Lord of *Briſtol* hath ſent divers to the *Conde* for leave to diſpeed himſelf of the King; but in reſpect of his Majeſties being at the *Pardo*, he hath been hitherto delayed, and hath no certain day appointed for it: But I conceive it will be ſometime this week. The Cauſe of the delaying of his Lordſhip's admittance to the King, as I underſtand, is, that the ſame day that his Lordſhip ſhall declare his revocation to the King, they will here in Council declare the revocation of the Marqueſs of *Inoiſa*. Howſoever in reſpect of the King's departure, (at which time they uſe here to embarge all the Mules, and means of carriage in this Town,) I believe his Lordſhip will not begin his Journey ſo ſoon as he intended.

All the relations which are lately come out of *England* do wiſh them to entertain themſelves here with no farther hopes, that there is any intention to proceed to the Match; and this advice comes accompanied with ſuch a report of the ſtate of all things there, that hath much irritated all theſe Miniſters, and let looſe the tongues of the people againſt the proceedings of his Majeſty, and Highneſs. I labour as much as I can, and as far as my directions will give me latitude, to give them better underſtandings of the real intentions of his Majeſty and Highneſs: but divers of them cleerly tell me, That I profeſs one thing, and the actions of his Majeſty and Highneſs (upon the which they muſt ground their belief) are differing from it. I ſhall therefore here, in diſcharge of my duty, advertize your Honour, that they do here expect nothing but a War, about which they have already held divers Councils, and go ſeriouſly to work, preparing themſelves for what may happen. Which I deſire your Honour to advertize his Majeſty, being high time, as far as I am able to judg, that am here upon the place, that his Majeſty do either reſolve upon ſome courſe for the allaying of theſe ſtorms; or that he go in hand with equal preparations. Having obſerved, in former times, the ſtrange rumours that have run in *England* upon ſmall foundations, I have thought it fit to prevent the credit which may be given to idle relations, by advertizing your Honour that I cannot conceive how any great attempt can be made from hence this year, howſoever buſineſſes ſhould go. The Squadron of the King's Fleet (under the Command of *Don Fadrique de Toledo*) is come into *Cadiz*, and joined with that which *Don Juan Taxardo* is Captain of. And, as I am credibly informed, this King will have by the end of *April* between fifty and ſixty Gallions at Sea. It is true, that other years the number commonly falls ſhort of what is expected, and their ſetting forth to Sea ſome Months later than the time appointed; but there is extraordinary care taken this year; that there be no default in neither; the chief end (that I can underſtand) of this King's Journy, being to ſee the Fleet of Plate come in, to take view of his Armado, and ſee them put to Sea. That which I underſtand is only left alive of the Marriage here is, that the Jewels which the Prince left with this King for the Infanta and her Ladies, are not yet returned; but it is intimated unto me, that if the Letters which they ſhall receive out of *England*, upon the anſwer they have given to his Majeſty about the buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, be no better than ſuch as they have lately received, they will return the Jewels, and declare the buſineſs of the Match for broken. I ſhall therefore intreat your Honour to know his Majeſties pleaſure how I ſhall carry my ſelf, if they be offered unto me, being reſolved in the mean time, until I ſhall know his Majeſties pleaſure, if any ſuch thing happen, abſolutely to refuſe them. The Princeſs ſome few days ſince fell ſick of a *Calentura*, of which ſhe remaineth ſtill in her bed, though it be ſaid ſhe is now ſomewhat better. I will conclude, with many thanks for your friendly advertiſements concerning my own particular, which (God willing) as far as I can, I will obſerve; and do earneſtly intreat you, that you will pleaſe to continue the like favours unto me, which I ſhall highly eſteem of. And ſo with a grateful acknowledgment of my obligations, I reſt

Your Honours, &c.

January, 22. 1623. W. Aſton.

Sir

Sir Walter Aſton *to the Lord* Conway.

Right Honourable,

I Have advertiſed by former diſpatches, that the Parliament here had granted unto this King Sixty Millions of Ducates to be paid in Twelve years, which with Twelve Millions which remain yet unpaid of what was given the King at the laſt Seſſion, this King was to receive Seventy two Millions in the Twelve years next following. I ſhall now acquaint your Honour that there are only Nineteen Cities that have voice in this Parliament, and that each of them do ſend hither two *Provadores*, (as they call them here;) but theſe have no power finally to conclude any thing; but what is agreed on by them is to be approved of by the ſaid Cities, or the greateſt number of them, before it have the force of an Act of Parliament, and that therefore there hath been all poſſible art uſed to procure the Cities to confirm what hath been granted by their *Procuradores* touching the Sixty Millions; and it is here thought that one of the motives of this King's journey was, hoping by the authority of his preſence to procure the conſent unto the ſaid gift of the four Cities which he is to paſs by in this journey, namely *Cordova*, *Sivel*, *Joen*, and *Granado*; it being here doubted, that the ſaid Cities might make great oppoſition to the ſaid grant, notwithſtanding his Majeſty hath not had ſuch ſucceſs as was expected. But *Cordova* which was the firſt City with which his Majeſty began, hath abſolutely refuſed to give their Conſent, letting his Majeſty underſtand, though in as fair and reſpectful terms as they could expreſs themſelves, That it was a demand impoſſible for them to Comply withall. What the ſucceſs of this may be is doubtful, *Cordova* having given but an ill example to the other Cities; and yet it is rather believed here, that the greateſt number of them being under the Command of ſuch as are either this King's ſervants, or abſolutely under his diſpoſe, that his Majeſty will be able to overcome the buſineſs; and they are now buſie how to ſettle the manner of the levy of the ſaid ſum by yearly and equal portions.

They having found here divers inconveniences in their new Government of *Portugal* by way of Governours, are reſolved to place Vice-Kings again there. And for to gratifie the Emperour, have elected for that charge his third Brother *Don Carlos*, who is preſently to make his repair hither. On the 27th of the laſt month, my Lord of *Briſtol* took his leave of the Queen and the Infanta, and on the Sunday following, being the 29th of the ſaid month, his Lordſhip delivered unto me the Powers which his Highneſs left with him, and thoſe which have been ſince ſent hither. His Lordſhip is preparing for his Journey, and ſaith that he is already in ſuch a forwardneſs, as upon the arrival here of Mr. *Greiſley*, or any other from *England*, whereby he ſhall receive means for the taking up of Moneys here, he will preſently put himſelf upon the way. The Queen here ſome few days ſince fell ſuddenly ill, and ſwooned two or three times; but her Indiſpoſition laſted not above two or three days: Her Majeſty is now (thanks be to God) very well again. The King having received advice thereof, intended (as it is ſaid) to come preſently poſt hither; but upon better news, His Majeſty proceeds in his Journey; and for any thing that I can underſtand, it will be *May* before his return to this Town.

There are lately thrown abroad in this Town divers Copies of a Proclamation pretended to be publiſhed in *Ireland*, bearing date the 27 of *January* laſt. It hath made a great noiſe here, and divers of their Miniſters have ſpoken with me about it, they conceiving it to be contrary to what hath been lately Capitulated. For my part, I have been able to give them no anſwer, not having yet underſtood from your Honour, nor any of his Majeſties Miniſters, of any ſuch Proclamation. I have ſeen the Proclamation as it came Printed from thence, and do here incloſed ſend your Honour a Copy thereof, deſiring you that you will acquaint his Majeſty therewithall, that he may be pleaſed to Command therein what to his wiſdom ſhall ſeem fit. To thoſe that have ſpoken with me about this Proclamation (having firſt diſclaimed the having had knowledge of any ſuch thing) I have uſed diſcourſes of mine own touching the abuſes of thoſe which are called titulary Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. letting them underſtand here, that if thoſe kind of people have been buſie there to plant ſecretly their Government, they have far exceeded the favour which was promiſed them, and given his Majeſty juſt cauſe to give order for the reformation.

My laſt to your Honour was of the 7*th* of *February* laſt by *Albert Rivas*, whom I diſpatched with all diligence to you, ſince when I have received nothing from your Honour. I ſhall therefore, &c.

Your Honours, &c.

W. Aſton.

Sir

Sir Walter Aſton *to the Lord* Conway.

Right Honorable,

IN a former Diſpatch which I lately made unto your Honour, I ſent unto you the Copy of a Letter, which I then had newly received from the Secretary *Don Andreas de Prada*, by which he adverti-ſed me, That the King his Maſter (according to what I had requeſted by Memorial) had commanded, that all Engliſh Commodities and Manufactures (which I have long ſince advertiſed, were prohibited by *Pragmaticas* publiſhed here for the reformation of Abuſes) ſhould enter into theſe Kingdoms. I have long ſince performed divers diligences my ſelf, both with the Secretary, and Preſident of *Caſtile*, for the procuring a Declaration of the ſaid Order, being carefull to prevent ſuch inconveniences as the King our Maſter's Subjects might fall into, for want thereof: But having been toſſed up and down between the Secretary and the Preſident with ſeveral delays, the one remitting me to the other; I repaired to the *Conde* of *Olivarez* (ſuſpecting ſome novelty in the buſineſs) and acquainted him, that upon the receipt of a Letter ſent me from the Secretary *Don Andreas de Prada*, concerning the free entrance of Engliſh Commodities, I had given notice by a Copy of the ſaid Letter, unto the King my Maſter, of what was therein Commanded, and had likewiſe advertiſed the Merchants that reſide in theſe Kingdoms, of the ſaid Order: I alſo gave him account of the ſeveral diligences which I had performed with the Preſident, and the Secretary, for the procuring a Declaration thereof; and deſired, that he would preſently command, and there might be ſuch courſe taken, that there ſhould be no farther delays uſed therein, ſince I ſhould be loth to ſee the King my Maſters Subject's, encouraged by the ſaid Order, to repair hither with their Merchandiſes, and fall into inconveniences for want of notice given thereof unto their Miniſters in the Ports. The *Conde* fell into diſcourſes far from my expectation, asking me, whether it were not free for any King, in his own Kingdom, to command his own Subjects to wear what he pleaſed? ſaying farther, That the Engliſh were not prohibited to bring in their Commodities, but that the King his Maſter might command his ſubjects to ſpend the Bayes, and other Commodities of his own Kingdoms, and not to make uſe of thoſe that came from forreign parts, as to his wiſdom, for the good of his Kingdoms, ſhould ſeem beſt: That there ſhould be a ſuſpenſion of the execution of the ſaid *Pragmaticas* untill St. *James-tide*, and no longer. To which I anſwered, That I made no doubt of the power that every King had over his own Subjects; notwithſtanding, where it was articled betwixt two Kings, that there ſhould be a free admittance of each others Commodities into their ſeveral Kingdoms, and after, a Command ſhould be given, prohibiting either of them unto their Subjects, the making uſe thereof, it could not but be underſtood a defrauding and deluding of the Articles, and the true intention of them: But I told him, I came not to diſpute this now, for the Secretary's Letter had deſired me to take notice of another Reſolution; therefore I deſired, that there might be a ſpeedy and publick Declaration made of what was therein ſignified unto me: or if there were any new Reſolution, that I might underſtand it. To which he anſwered (pretending that he ſpake it as a freedom which he uſed with me, but came out with it in ſuch a manner, as I ſaw he was full of it,) That the truth was, that they would proceed here, as they were proceeded withall in *England*: That the King my Maſter had lately given leave to the *Hollanders* to tranſport Artillery out of *England*, and had denied the like to their Ambaſſadors, having required it; which was (as he ſaid) directly againſt the Articles of Peace, wherein it was Capitulated, That neither ſhould aſſiſt with any kind of Arms, the Enemy of the other. He ſaid farther, That the *Engliſh* had taken *Ormuz*, and there was no ſatisfaction given concerning that buſineſs, nor appearance of any intention to doe it; and concluded, That when the Articles of Peace ſhould be obſerved to them, they would do the like. I told the *Conde*, I had not underſtood any thing of thoſe particulars which he mentioned, and therefore could ſay nothing unto him; neither thought I fit to give him any farther Anſwer, being loth, in a buſineſs of this importance, where the Articles between theſe Kingdoms are in queſtion, to doe any thing at gueſs, but to advertiſe it to the King my Maſter, and to proceed according to ſuch Order as he ſhall pleaſe to give me. I do therefore intreat your Honour, that you will be pleaſed to acquaint his Majeſty with what hath paſſed, wherein I doubt not but his Majeſty will obſerve the diſtraction, and inconſtancy of their proceedings here at preſent, in Commanding what his Majeſty will have found by this Secretary's Letter, and taking preſently after new reſolutions. After this language which the *Conde* hath uſed unto me, I cannot expect any Reaſon or Juſtice here; and the Merchants have many Suits depending, wherein they have received great Injuries, whereof I have not hitherto complained, becauſe I was in continual hope of procuring redreſs; and their Suits proceeded on, I cannot ſay as I would have wiſhed, but according to the ſtyle here, and in ſuch manner as they have done in former times. I doubt not but his Majeſty will therefore likewiſe pleaſe to conſider what a ſtop there is likely to be here of all buſineſſes concerning the Commerce, and either proceed as occaſion ſhall there be offered, in the like manner, or take ſuch a courſe for ſetling things in better order, as to his Wiſdom ſhall ſeem beſt. I have ſince had ſome overtures made unto me, that the ſaid Declararion ſhall preſently come out; in the mean time I would

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not wiſh that the Merchants ſhould adventure any thing truſting to their Courteſie here. By my laſt unto your Honour which was of the 20th of *May*, I advertiſed the advice which was given hither, That the Galleons that bring the Plate were upon the way for theſe parts; ſince when there is news of their arrival at St. *Lucas*, excepting two of them, which periſhed in their journey hitherward; the one ſprung a leak in a calm day, and ſunk ſo faſt, that there were only ſaved 52 men; the reſt, which were about 200 Perſons, were all drowned; neither was any of her Fraight ſaved. The other was their *Admirant*, which correſponds with our Vice-Admiral, which likewiſe ſprung a leak, but all the men aboard were ſaved, and a good part of her Silver. There is loſt, upon Regiſter, in theſe two Ships above three millions; and it is thought there periſhed in them above a million, in Silver, and Goods unregiſtred.

Upon order that was lately ſent unto the *Aſſiſtent* of *Sevil*, for the perfecting the Grant of the Millions to the King by the ſaid City, there being doubt made whether it was a lawfull Conceſſion, or no; The *Aſſiſtent* called together thoſe that had voices in the ſaid Grant of the ſaid Millions, and made a Speech unto them, wiſhing a general Conformity to what his Majeſty had deſired of them; but the Propoſition was wery diſtaſtfull unto the greater number, who little expected to have heard that buſineſs revived again. And the People having gotten notice, upon the breaking up of that meeting, of what had been there propounded, in a tumultuous manner ran after the *Aſſiſtent*, who was returning to his houſe; and hearing ſuch a clamour behind him, thought that the People had been diſquieted by ſome accident, and ſtayed to have appeaſed them; but by the Curſes which he heard, and the Blows he received by the Stones which were thrown at him, he quickly found againſt whom the Fury of the People was bent, and ſo made all the haſte he could to his own houſe, which at length he recovered ſore wounded, and with much hazard of his Life.

The *Iriſh* Prieſts, and others of that Kingdom which reſide in this Court, begin to grow very buſie here, and do promiſe great matters unto this King in the aſſiſtance which his Majeſty ſhall find in *Ireland*, whenſoever he ſhall pleaſe to attempt any thing againſt that Kingdom; but for any thing I can learn, there hath been as yet ſo little ear given unto them, that they have not deſcended to make any particular offer. But they are treated here with much Courteſie, *Tyr-Connel* being made a Page to the Queen, and the reſt receiving good ſatisfaction, I will be as vigilant as I can to trace out their ſteps, and I hope I ſhall be able to give ſeaſonable advertiſement of their proceedings. Howſoever, ſince ſecret Counſels may be held, and Reſolutions taken, which I may miſs of; I doubt not but the King our Maſter, conſidering the preſent jealouſies and diſtaſts betwixt theſe Crowns, will be vigilant to ſecure that Kingdom, that there may be nothing neglected upon which they may here take any ſudden advantage. By the Engliſh Merchants that reſide at *Malaga* I have received advice, that 3 *Scotiſh* Maſters of Ships have lately had a ſentence pronounced againſt them by the D. of *Medina Sidona*, wherein their Ships and all their Goods are confiſcated, for having brought *Holland* Commodities to that Port, and their perſons condemned to the Galleys; which, notwithſtanding their Appellation unto the Council of War here, (which ought to have been admitted them,) was preſently put into execution. The ſame day that I received the advice, I gave in a memorial to the Council of State, repreſenting the rigorous and unjuſt proceeding againſt the ſaid *Scotiſh* Maſters, and deſiring that they would ſend their Order, that the Appellation might be admitted, and that their perſons might be preſently returned off of the Gallies. I likewiſe repaired to the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, acquainting him with the proceedings of the Duke, and was able to give him ſome examples of divers *Hollanders* that had been treated, in the like occaſion with far leſs rigour. Whereupon there is Command given, according to what I have deſired; and whatſoever ſhall become of their Goods, I have a promiſe from the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, that their Perſons ſhall be treated with all Courteſie. It is publiſhed by the Ladies of the Palace, that the Queen is with Child, which hath filled this Court with much joy, and her Majeſty hath ſo much better Health now upon her being new with Child, than ſhe hath had of the reſt, that they are already here full of hopes that ſhe will bring them a Prince, *&c.*

June 5. 1624.

Your Honours, &c.
W. Aſton.

The Abſtract of a Letter from Sir Walter Aſton *to the Lord* Conway.

HE acknowledgeth the receipt of his Majeſties Letters of the 27th of *June*, by Mr. *Wych*, and is buſie in preparing to put thoſe Directions in execution; and that being done, will give a ſpeedy and full account. The Marqueſs *Inioſa* diſpatched away a Poſt to *Spain* from *Calice*, and by him gave as malicious an account of his uſage at his departure from *England*; and alſo of all other late paſſages there, as Malice it ſelf could have dictated. He omits no Libels or infamous Songs, nor ſpares his own inventions where they may ſerve to incenſe. The Credit they are like give to their Embaſſador, the height of diſcontent they are now in, the aſſurance given them of the weak and mean Eſtate of

all

height of Diſcontent they are now in, the aſſurance given them of the weak and mean eſtate of all things in *England*, may tempt them to offer the giving us a Blow where we are weakeſt: And therefore no neceſſary preparations for Defence to be neglected on our part. None of their Armado ſtirs yet, but only four Gallions appointed to accompany for ſome days the *Nova Eſpagna* Fleet that put to Sea the fourth of this preſent.

Sir *Walter Aſton* doubts, that the Light he hath received of the preſent ſtate of things in *England*, and the Arguments to anſwer their Objections, will hardly be applied to give any Satisfaction, (things being in ſo much diſtemper there.) And where the beſt Anſwers on both ſides are Recriminations, he conceives little is to be expected but a direct falling out. The cauſe of their retarding *Mendoza*'s coming for *England* hath been their deſire to ſee the Iſſue of the proceedings with their Embaſſadour. All the Grandees, and principal perſons of *Spain*, are ſummoned to give their attendance with their Arms, which is done by three Letters. 1. *Admonitoria.* 2. *Mandatoria.* 3. *Executoria.* The two firſt are already ſet forth. And there is order likewiſe given for the *Battalon* to be in a readineſs, which is the ſame as the Trained-Bands in *England.* This is an ancient practice there, upon ſuſpition of Foreign Invaſion, or Domeſtick Commotion. There are Leavies new making according to cuſtome, for ſupplying of Garriſons; and though theſe Leavies are greater than uſually, yet not much worthy of note. An Embaſſadour arrived there from *Denmark*; his coming being given out to be to negotiate the buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, and to make overtures for a Peace with *Holland*: but if nothing be heard of this in *England*, it is not like to be true. A Requeſt preſented unto the King by a *Conſulta* from the Inquiſitor General, *&c.* to procure a *Jubilee* from *Rome* for Expiation of the late great Contempt done by a *Frenchman* to the Sacrament. The King promiſeth to doe it, and he, the Queen, and the whole Houſhold will endeavour to deſerve it by Faſting, and other Duties. In his Anſwer to the *Conſulta* there is a paſſage, that intimates his intention of looking abroad with his Arms. The *Frenchman* was condemned, burnt publickly, and died a Roman Catholick. There have been divers Proceſſions in expreſſion of the general Grief for that Action. The King, Queen, his Brothers and Siſter, with the Grandees, and the Council, went in Proceſſion about the two ſquare Courts of the Palace, where there were four Altars built, one by the King's Care, the reſt by the Queen, the *Infanta*, Cardinal, *Don Carlos*, and *Donna Maria*, who joyned in the care of one of them. The greateſt Riches of Diamonds and Pearls that were in the Churches thereabouts, and in the King's Store, were preſented on thoſe Altars, and were valued at ten Millions. They intend to diſpatch one *Jaques Brones*, Secretary of the Council of *Flanders*, by Poſt into *England*, to bring *Don Carlos* Warrant to come away, and to ſtay Agent in *England* untill the Arrival of another Embaſſadour, which will not be long. They ſtay the giving out of the Order for the free admittance of Engliſh Merchandiſes, untill they ſee what will be done with their Ships in the Downs, *&c.*

July 17. 1624.

Sir Walter Aſton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Aſſure my ſelf that your Grace is very confident, that I have not only purſued the Complaint which I here made againſt the Marqueſs of *Inoyoſa* with the Duty of a Miniſter in Obedience to the King my Maſter's Command, but as paſſionately intereſſed againſt his Perſon, who maliciouſly attempted to ſtain (if it had been poſſible) the Honour of the Prince, his Highneſs, and your Grace's, my nobleſt Friend. And certainly, my Lord, I ſhould be infinitely afflicted in not having brought this buſineſs to that Iſſue which I thirſted after, could I accuſe my ſelf of omitting any thing that might have ſharpened them here againſt him: But the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, with a ſtrong and violent hand, hath delivered the Marqueſs from any exemplary Puniſhment, which would certainly have been inflicted upon him, had he been left to the Council of State; and without Care either of the King his Maſter's Honour or Engagement, hath ſaved the Marqueſs, and left the Envy of it upon his Majeſty, if the King our Maſter will ſo pleaſe to underſtand it.

In my laſt unto your Grace, which was of the 24th of the laſt Month, I humbly intreated you to procure me his Majeſty's leave to return into *England* for ſome few Months, which Suit I do here again renew unto your Grace. Howſoever, in reſpect of this Novelty in the Marqueſs his Buſineſs, I will forbear putting my ſelf upon the Way untill I hear of the receipt of this Diſpatch; ſince if his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to give any Demonſtrations here, of his Senſe of their unworthy Proceedings, I would be loth that thoſe Commands ſhould find me out of the way. With the remembrance of my Duty, I reſt

Your Grace's, &c.

20. of *Octob.* 1624. W. Aſton.

Sir Walter Aſton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

THE Arch-Duke *Don Carlos*, Brother to the Emperour, made his entry into this Town on the 15th of the laſt Month, *Stil. Vet.* He was met by the Almirante of *Caſtile* two days journey from this place, who went from hence well accompanied, and attented by many Liveries richly ſet forth. Some 400 paces without a Gate of this Town, called *Alcala*, the Arch-Duke was received by the two Infants, *Don Carlos* and the Cardinal, and about 200 paces without the ſaid Gate by the King himſelf, who came attended with the greateſt part of this Court, and in his Coach accompanied with the Duke of *Newbergh*, and the *Conde* of *Olivarez*: The King lighted out of his Coach to receive the Arch-Duke, and ſome complements being paſt between them, returned into his Coach, and ſet the Arch-Duke by him on his left hand; in the other end of the Coach ſate the two Infants; in one boot the Duke of *Newbergh*, and the *Conde* of *Olivarez*; and in the other the Emperour's Embaſſadour, and the Almirante; the Almirante taking place of the Embaſſadour. Being come to the Palace, the King accompanied the Arch-Duke to the Queen's Quarter, where his Majeſty left him to be conveyed from thence to his own Quarter (which is the ſame was given to the Prince his Highneſs at his being in this Court,) by the Infants his Brothers, as he was, having finiſhed his Complements with the Queen, and the Infanta *Dona Maria*. There were preparations here making for the honouring his reception with ſeveral feaſts, and entertainments after their manner here, but theſe have been ſtopped by the Arch-Duke's ſickneſs, who felt himſelf indiſpoſed the day after his arrival; and applying ſome Phyſical Remedies by the Advice of a Phyſician which he brought along with him, his Diſtemper increaſed, and (as it is pretented by theſe Phyſicians) by a wrong Courſe held with him. What hath been the true Cauſe of his Infirmity, I leave to be Diſputed by them; He hath been held divers Days with a terrible Calenture, which proved at laſt a *Tabardillo*, whereupon there was little hope conceived of his Life; but he hath ſince received ſome eaſe, and is now in a good way of Amendment. In reſpect of the Emperour's unworthy Proceedings with the King our Maſter, I have not dared to viſit him, until I ſhall have notice of his Majeſty's Pleaſure therein, which I ſhall be glad to underſtand from your Grace.

Since the expiring of the Truce betwixt this Crown and the *Hollanders*, this King hath given Licenſe to divers Port-Towns on the Coaſts of *Biſcay*, to arm out what Ships they ſhall think good, and to make prize to their own particular benefit of what they ſhall light upon belonging to the Enemies of this Crown: by which means it is here hoped, That theſe Coaſts will be much better ſecured from the daily pillages of the Holland Men of War, and the Turkiſh Pyrates. For the advancing thereof, upon requeſt made of thoſe of *Sevil*, there is Licenſe given unto them to arm what Men of War they can find means. The Duke of *Maqueda* likewiſe with leave hath lately ſet forth ſix ſhips which are abroad in Pyracy.

There is advice given hither, that the Duke of *Brandenburgh* hath given his conſent to the conferring of the Electoral Dignity upon the Duke of *Bavaria*, which I can hardly believe, though I find it aſſured from very good hands.

The Duke of *Newbergh* remains ſtill in this Court, and preſſes to carry a clear reſolution in his buſineſſes from hence; but for any thing I can yet learn, his negotiation remains in the ſame eſtate as I advertiſed in my laſt to Mr. Secretary *Conway*.

The Armado prepared in *Portugal* for the recovering of *Braſil* is gone to Sea; and whereas, they were to have ſtayed at the *Cape* St. *Vincent* for the Armado of Caſtile, upon advice that is given hither, that the Hollanders in *Braſil* are not able to make any reſiſtance of conſideration, they have order to proceed in their journey. Twenty Ships of War, and 4000 land Soldiers (which is the force of that Fleet) being here held ſufficient for that enterprize. The Armado in *Cadiz* is not yet departed, but hath her men aboard, and there is daily expectation of news that it is gone to Sea. The Duke of *Saxony* having received Letters from the King our Maſter, and the King of *Denmark*, ſent preſently copies of them unto the Emperour, with his anſwers unto their Majeſties, and accompanied them with a Letter of his own unto the Emperour. All which the Emperour ſent unto the King. The carriage of the Duke is much eſteemed here, for having given (as I am informed) by his Letters unto the King our Maſter, and the King of *Denmark* ſuch an anſwer as they are here much ſatisfied withal. Notwithſtanding in this Letter to the Emperour, with many reaſons, and much inſtance, he adviſeth him to apply himſelf to the ſettling of the peace in *Germany*; and expreſſing much affection to the compoſing of the affairs of the Prince Palatine, doth earneſtly intreat his Majeſty not to deſtroy that ancient houſe. In the mean time the Duke of *Bavaria* uſes all diligence to combine himſelf with this Crown, and now doth offer to caſt off all other thoughts of Leagues, and to depend wholly upon *Spain*, ſo that this King will protect him in his Electoral Dignity, and what he had lately poſſeſſed himſelf of in thoſe Parts. This offer of the Duke's hath been ſeveral days debated in Council, where the Marqueſs *Inoioſa* hath been buſie in the behalf of the Duke: but the wiſer part of this Council ſeeing how

how prejudicial the increaſe of the Duke's Greatneſs may prove to the Empire, do no way favour his Pretenſions. They likewiſe hold fit to continue the ſtate of things in poſſibilty of an accomodation without our Matter.

The Arch-Duke *Don Carlos* hath brought Power from the Emperour to proceed to the Conſummation of a Marriage between the Emperor's Son and the Infanta *Donna Maria*, wherein, he ſays, he hath nothing to Capitulate, but brings them a blank Paper, and hath Power and Order to confirm what Condition they ſhall here ſet down. The Emperour's Embaſſadour doth much preſs to proceed to the Capitulations, but there is yet nothing done. The Infanta of *Bruſſels* hath [illegible]ely written hither, importing this King to admit of a Treaty of Marriage betwixt the Prince of [illegible]a, and the Infanta his Siſter, extolling with many expreſſions the Worth and Parts of that Prince.

There hath been ſome Months a general ſtop of their proceedings here in all Suits of Engliſh Merchants depending in this Court; but I have at laſt procured a *Junto* to be aſſigned for the hearing of all Engliſh Cauſes, wherein I am promiſed there ſhall be a ſpeedy Reſolution taken of whatſoever is at preſent in Queſtion.

The Duke of *Feria* hath lately advertiſed hither from *Millain*, that the French King, and the Duke of *Savoy* do miniſter much occaſion of jealouſie, that they intend to attempt ſome novelty in thoſe parts, and doth therefore deſire, that his Troops may be augmented; whereupon (above the ordinary charge) there was inſtantly remitted unto him 2000 Ducats.

The great annual *Aſſiento* which this King makes with the *Genoeſes*, is newly concluded; it is for 7 millions, whereof 4 are remitted for *Flanders*, to be paid by monthly Portions.

In a late meeting of the Council of State, upon a diſcourſe that paſſed amongſt them, taking into conſideration this King's Wants, and the preſent diſtemper of his Affairs, the Inquiſitor-General expreſſing how neceſſary a time it was for his Majeſty's Subjects to aſſiſt his preſent occaſions, made offer of 100 Ducats for his part, which the *Conde* of *Olivarez* followed with a tender of 300; the *Conde* of *Monterrey* of 100; all the reſt of the Council of State following their example, gave according to their Quality. Notice being taken of this abroad, the Condeſtable wrote a Letter unto this King, wherein he made tender of 200 Ducats, the Marqueſs of *Caſtel Rodrigo* of 100, the Marqueſs of *Carpio* of the like ſumme. Divers others have likewiſe declared themſelves in this Donative; and it is hoped that it will go over the whole Kingdom, and bring an extraordinary Treaſure into the King's Purſe. Thus, with the remembrance of my Duty, I reſt

December, 10. 1624.

Your Graces, &c.
W. A.

Sir Walton Aſton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Have received ſo much comfort by the care which I ſee in your Grace to take all occaſions to honour and favour me, that I ſhould be glad (if it were poſſible) in my affection to your Perſon, and in my deſire to ſerve you, that your Grace might ſee ſomething in me above what you could find in any other Servant. What an honeſt thankfulneſs can be, I am, and what an honeſt ſervant can yield you, ſhall be ever vigilant in me to ſerve you. Since the departure of the laſt Poſt (by whom I wrote lately unto your Grace) my Lord of *Briſtol* hath had audience with this King, (taking me along with him,) to whom his Lordſhip repreſented the King our Maſter's deſire concerning the Palatinate, in conformity to what his Majeſty hath commanded by his late Letters; we are now ſolliciting to haſten this King's Anſwer, which we hope we ſhall ſhortly ſend unto his Majeſty; and there is no diligence omitted by my Lord of *Briſtol*, nor my ſelf (that we can think on) to negotiate ſuch an anſwer as may be to his Majeſties good liking. The Diſpatches from *Rome* are not yet come; but by Letters which they have lately received from the Duke of *Paſtrana*, it is adverniſed, that all things are concluded, and that he would ſend them away within a few days. By my Lord of *Briſtol*'s Letter to his Majeſty, your Grace will underſtand the reſolution which his Lordſhip hath taken concerning his proceedings upon the arrival of the Diſpatches from *Rome*; his Lordſhip hath communicated with me his Majeſty's Letter, and deſired my opinion concerning the reſolution which he had taken, wherein I have concurred with his Lordſhip, not underſtanding it any way to be differing in ſubſtance from his Majeſty's directions; the altering of the day mentioned in his Majeſty's Letters being only the changing it from a time when the Powers are of no force, to a time when they may be of uſe: the putting of any thing in execution in the one time, or in the other, depending upon his Majeſty's, and his Highneſs's farther directions. I have hitherto underſtood, that his Majeſty and his Highneſs have really affected this Match, and have laboured faithfully to ſecond their Deſires with my utmoſt Endeavours. There is none, I am ſure, a better witneſs than my ſelf of the affection which your Grace hath born unto it, which I have ſeen remain conſtant through many tryals; and therefore until I underſtand the contrary from your ſelf, I muſt believe, that your deſires are the ſame which I have ſeen them. I muſt ever ſpeak my Heart freely unto your Grace,

and confeſs that upon the Letter which I received from his Highneſs, and upon the ſight of his Majeſty's to my Lord of *Briſtol*, I have been jealous of his Majeſty's Heart and his Highneſs, that they are not that to the Match which they have been; but theſe are but diſtruſts of my own, and not foundation ſufficient to ſlacken or cool thoſe Diligences which I daily perform, in conformity to his Majeſty's, and his Highneſs's Commands, and to what remains apparent of their Deſires. I ſhall therefore humbly deſire your Lordſhip to open mine Eyes, and, if I am out of the way, to ſet me ſtreight; for I have no affections of mine own, but what agrees with my Maſter's, and will ever ſubmit, with all humility, my ſelf, and my judgment unto his Majeſty's Wiſdom, and faithfully labour to ſerve him accordingly to what I ſhall underſtand to be his Will and Pleaſure. But untill I know by your Grace's Favour by what Compaſs to guide my Courſe, I can only follow his Majeſty's revealed Will; and will once take the boldneſs to repreſent unto your Grace, in diſcharge of what I owe you, theſe Conſiderations, which my deſire to ſerve you forceth from me. I do look upon your Grace as a perſon infinitely provoked to be an Enemy to this Match, and believe, that you have had repreſented unto you many reaſons, ſhewing how much it concerns you to ſeek to break it, with all the force you have: But I can neither believe, that the Errour of one man can make you an Enemy to that which brings along with it ſo much Happineſs and Content unto his Majeſty, and his Highneſs; nor that your Grace's judgment can be led by thoſe arguments, that under the colour of ſafety, would bring you into a dangerous Labyrinth. Your Grace hath given noble teſtimony, how little you have valued your own ſafety in reſpect of his Majeſty's ſervice, and therefore I aſſure my ſelf you would contemn all Conſiderations concerning your ſelf, that might hinder the advancement of his Majeſty's Ends. In the proceeding to this Match, there is the ſame conveniency to his Majeſty that ever hath been, there is the ſame Lady, the ſame Portion, the ſame Friendſhip deſired, they profeſſing here an exact complying with what is capitulated, and a reſolution to give his Majeſty ſatisfaction in whatever is in their power. From your Grace none can take away the honour of having been the principal means by which this great buſineſs hath been brought to a concluſion. And whatſoever others may ſuggeſt againſt your Grace, the Infanta, truly informed, cannot but underſtand you the perſon to whom ſhe owes moſt in this buſineſs. Your Grace, and the *Conde Olivarez* have fallen upon different ways, that which concerns the Honour of the King our Maſter, being different to that which he underſtood concerned moſt his Maſter; your ends were both one for concerting of the Match, and with the concluſion of it, he cannot but better underſtand you. Would your Grace would commit it to my charge to inform the Infanta what you have merited, and accommodate all other miſtakes here concerning the proceeding. If your Grace would reconcile your Heart, I would not doubt, but, with the concluſion of the Match, to compoſe all things to your good ſatisfaction. and to bring them to a truer underſtanding of you, and of their obligation unto you. In what a Sea of Confuſions the breaking of this Alliance would engage his Majeſty, I will leave to your Lordſhip's Wiſdom to conſider of, it being too large a diſcourſe for a Letter.

I will therefore onely deſire your Lordſhip to conſider, that even the moſt proſperous War hath misfortune enough in it to make the Author of it unhappy; of which how innocent ſoever your Lordſhip is, the occaſions that have been given you, will ever make you liable to the aſperſion of it. This I write not unto your Grace, as thinking to divert you from what you are falling into; for I am confident your Heart runs a more peaceable way: but I am willing that you ſhould ſee, that howſoever others ſhould be inclined to carry you into this Tempeſt, it concerns you, in your care of their happineſs, and your own, to divert them from it. I humbly deſire your Grace to pardon this Errour of mine (if it be one) which I can excuſe with the affection, and infinite deſire which I have to ſee you ever happy and flouriſh.

Concerning my ſelf, your Grace knows my Wants, and I doubt not but your Care is what I could wiſh. I ſhould be glad when you have done with *Peter Wych*, to ſee him diſpatched away with ſome ſupplies unto me, which I ſhall be in extream want of by Chriſtmaſs, my Debts beſides in *England* being clamorous upon me for ſome ſatisfaction. I leave all to your Grace's care and favour, ever reſting

Your Grace's humbleſt, and moſt bounden Servant,
Walter Aſton.

Poſtſcript.

The *Condeſſa* of *Olivarez* bids me tell you, that ſhe kiſſes your Grace's Hands, and doth every day recommend you particularly by name in her Prayers to God.

Sir Walter Aſton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Have committed to the truſt and ſecrecy of this Bearer, Mr. *Clark*, (whom I find your Grace's faithfull ſervant,) certain advertiſements to be delivered by him unto you; which as one that ſhall (God willing) in all things ſhew himſelf your paſſionate Servant, I could no way conceal from you. And howſoever your Grace may have many advertiſements from hence, (the Relations that come from

from *England* giving occaſion to many diſcourſes cenſuring the Prince, and your Grace,) yet I hope to be ſo vigilant, that there ſhall hardly be any reſolution taken by theſe Miniſters which may have any reflection on your Perſon, that I ſhall not one way or other get notice of, and advertiſe unto you.

I have in all things with ſo much affection deſired to ſerve your Grace every way to your ſatisfaction, that it hath infinitely afflicted me, that I ſhould have done any thing, whereby I might leſſen your favourable opinions towards me: but I hope your Grace hath by this time ſet me ſtreight both with his Majeſty, and his Highneſs, and reſtored me to the ſame place in your Affection which I have formerly had. Which I am the rather confident of, ſince I cannot accuſe any Action, or Thought of mine, that hath not born towards your Grace all poſſible reſpect and love. I found by experience here, that the favour which by your Grace's means I received from his Highneſs, and that which you were pleaſed likewiſe to honour me withall, had raiſed me many Enemies; and I have reaſon to fear, upon this occaſion, there may be ſome that will be buſie to doe me ill offices with you; but I truſt ſo much upon my own ſincerity, that as I never made any ſecond means unto your Grace, but to have ever ſingly depended upon the conſtancy of your Goodneſs to me, finding my ſelf the ſame that I have been, I make no means to reſiſt ſuch injuries as others may offer to doe me, but continue depending wholly upon that Goodneſs, and Juſtneſs, which I know in your Grace, and which I aſſure my ſelf will never fail me. I have not been ſo careleſs a Servant of your Grace's, as not to have debated over and over with my ſelf, how far the proceedings or breaking of the preſent Treaty here might concern your Grace, which I have diſcourſed largely to Mr. *Clark*, thinking them of too large a body to be contained in a Letter; but I ſhall, in all things, ſubmit my ſelf to your better Wiſdom: And when you ſhall pleaſe to impart unto me, wherein his Majeſty and his Highneſs ſhall be beſt ſerved, your Grace ſhall find, in all my actions, that my Affections, with all obedience, ſhall run the ſame way; and that my Proceedings ſhall have thoſe reſpects in them towards your Grace, as you may expect from your faithfull Servant, And ſo, *&c.*

Decemb. 22. 1623.

Your G. &c.
W. A.

A Memorial to the King of Spain, *by Sir* Walter Aſton, *Ambaſſadour in* SPAIN.

SIr *Walter Aſton*, Ambaſſadour to the King of *Great Britain*, ſaith, That the King, his Maſter, hath commanded him to repreſent to your Majeſty, That having declared to your Majeſty the Reaſons why he could receive no ſatisfaction by your Majeſty's Anſwer of the firſt of *January*; and that thereby, according to the unanimous conſent of his Parliament, he came to diſſolve both the Treaties of the Match and *Palatinate*, he received another Anſwer from you Majeſty, wherein he finds leſs ground to build upon: and having underſtood, that either by the *Padre de Maeſtro*, or your Majeſty's Ambaſſadours, which have aſſiſted theſe days paſt in this Court, there was ſomething to be propounded and declared touching the buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, whereby he might have received ſatisfaction; the ſaid Ambaſſadours, untill now, have not ſaid any thing at all to purpoſe: Which comparing with other circumſtances of their ill carriage, he gathers and doubts, that according to the ill-affection, and depraved intentions, wherewith they have proceeded in all things, but eſpecially, in particular, they have laboured to hinder the good Correſpondency, and ſo neceſſary and deſired Intelligence which ſhould be conſerved with your Majeſty. Farthermore, he ſaith, That the King his Maſter hath commanded him to give account to your Majeſty, that in an Audience which he gave to the Marqueſs *de Inoyoſa* and *Don Carlos Colomma*, they, under cloak and pretext of Zeal, and particular care of his Perſon, pretended to diſcover unto him a very great Conjuration againſt his Perſon and Royal Dignity; and it was,

That at the beginning of the Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham* had conſulted with certain Lords, of the arguments and means which were to be taken touching the breaking and diſſolving of the Treaties of the *Palatinate* and Match; and the Conſultations paſſed thus far, That if his Majeſty would not accomodate himſelf to their Counſels, they would give him a Houſe of Pleaſure, whither he might retire himſelf to his Sports, in regard that the Prince had now years ſufficient to, and parts anſwerable for, the Government of the Kingdom.

The Information was of that quality, that it was ſufficient to put impreſſion in him of perpetual jealouſies, in regard, that through the ribs of the Duke he gave wounds to the Prince his Son, and the Nobility: and it is not probable, that they could bring to effect ſuch deſigns, without departing totally from the Obligation of Faith and Loyalty which they owed to his Perſon and Crown, becauſe the Lords made themſelves culpable as Concealers: And it is not likely that the Duke would hurl himſelf into ſuch an Enterprize, without communicating it firſt with the Prince, and knowing his Pleaſure.

And

And becauſe this Information might be made more clear, he did make many inſtances unto the ſaid Embaſſadors, that they would give him the Authours of the ſaid Conjuration, this being the ſole means whereby their own Honour might be preſerved, &c. whereby their great Zeal, and Care they had pretended to have of his Perſon might appear. But inſtead of confirming the great Zeal they had pretended to bear him, all the anſwer they made him conſiſted of Arguments againſt the diſcovery of the Conſpirators: So that for the confirmation of the ſaid Report, there remained no other means than the examination of ſome of his Council of State, and principal Subjects; which he put in execution, and made them take Oath every one particularly in his own preſence, and commanded that ſuch Interrogatories and Queſtions ſhould be propounded unto them that were moſt pertinent to the Accuſation; ſo that neither part, particle, or circumſtance, remained, which was not exactly examined and winnowed; and he found in the Duke, and the reſt that were accuſed, a ſincere Innocency touching the Accuſations and Importation wherewith they were charged.

This being ſo, he turned to make new inſtances unto the ſaid Embaſſadours, that they ſhould not prefer the diſcovery of the Names of the Conſpiratours to the Security of his Royal Perſon, and Truth and Honour of themſelves, and the hazard of an opinion, to be held and judged the Traytors of a Plot of ſuch Malice, Sedition, and Danger: But the Embaſſadours remaining in a knotty kind of obſtinacy reſolved to conceal the Authours. Nevertheleſs, afterwards he gave them an Audience, wherein the Marqueſs of *Inoyoſa* took his leave.

Few days after, they demanded new Audience, pretending, that they had ſomething to ſay that concerned the publick Good, and conduced to the entire reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, with deſire to loſe no opportunity that might conduce thereunto, and therewith the confirmation and conſervation of the friendſhip with your Majeſty. His Majeſty having ſuſpended ſome few days to give them Audience, thinking that thereby better adviſed, they would reſolve upon a wiſer courſe, and declare the Authours of ſo pernicious an Action: And having ſince made many inſtances, and attended the ſucceſs of ſo long Patience, he ſent his Secretary, and Sir *Francis Cottington*, Secretary to the Prince, commanding them, that they ſhould ſignifie unto the Embaſſadours, that he deſired nothing more than the continuance of the Friendſhip 'twixt both the Crowns; and if ſo be they had any thing to ſay, they would communicate it to the ſaid Secretaries, as Perſons of ſo great Truſt, which he ſent to that end: And if they made difficulty of this, that they would chuſe, amongſt his Council of State, thoſe which they liked beſt, and he would command that they ſhould preſently repair unto them: And if this did not likewiſe ſeem beſt unto [illegible] they would ſend what they had to ſay, in a Letter ſealed up, by whom ſhould ſeem beſt unto them, and he would receive it with his own hands. But the Embaſſadours mis-behaving themſelves in all that was propounded, the ſaid Secretaries, according to the Order which they brought, told them, That they being the Authours of an Information ſo dangerous and ſeditious, had made themſelves uncapable to treat farther with the King their Maſter; and were it not for the reſpect to the King, his dear and beloved Brother, and their Maſter, and in contemplation of their condition as Embaſſadours of ſuch a Majeſty, he would, and could by the Law of Nations, and the right of his own Royal Juſtice, proceed againſt them with ſuch ſeverity as their Offence deſerved; but, for the reaſons aforeſaid, he would leave the reparation hereof to the juſtice of their King, of whom he would demand and require it.

In conformity whereof, the ſaid Embaſſadour of the King of *Great Britain* ſaith, That the King his Maſter hath commanded him to demand Reparation and Satisfaction of your Majeſty againſt the ſaid Marqueſs *de Inoyoſa*, and *don Carlos Colomma*, making your Majeſty Judge of the great Scandal and enormous Offence which they have committed againſt them and the publick Right, and expect Juſtice from your Majeſty, in the demonſtrations and chaſtiſements which your Majeſty ſhall inflict upon them; which, for his proceeding ſake with your Majeſty, and out of your Majeſty's own Uprightneſs and Goodneſs, ought to be expected.

Farthermore, he ſaith, That the King his Maſter hath commanded him to aſſure your Majeſty, that till now he hath not mingled the Correſpondence and Friendſhip he held with your Majeſty, with the Faults and Offences of your Miniſters, but leaves and reſtrains them to their own perſons; and that he remains with your Majeſty in the true and ancient Friendſhip and Brotherhood as heretofore; and that he is ready to give hearing to any thing that ſhall be Reaſon, and to anſwer thereunto: And when your Majeſty is pleaſed to ſend your Embaſſadours thither, he will make them all good Treaty, and receive them with that good Love that is due.

For concluſion, the ſaid Embaſſadour humbly beſeecheth your Majeſty will be pleaſed to obſerve and weigh the care and tenderneſs wherewith the King, his Maſter, proceeded with your Majeſty's Embaſſadours, not obliging to precipitate reſolutions, but giving them much time to prove and give light of that which they had ſpoken; and beſides, opening unto them many ways that they might comply with their orders, if they had any ſuch. Which courſe if they had taken, they might well have given ſatisfaction to the King his Maſter, and moderated the ſo grounded opinion of their ill proceedings againſt the Peace, and ſo good Intelligence and Correſpondence betwixt both the Crowns.

Madrid, Aug. 5. 1624.

Sir

Sir Walter Aſton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

THE Portugal Armado put to Sea on the 12th of the laſt month, *ſtil. vet.* it conſiſts of 22 Ships of War, 4 Victuallers, and two ſmall Pinnaces of Advice: There goeth in it near upon 4000 Land Soldiers. From *Cadiz* I have now freſh Advice, That *Don Frederique* is ſtill in the Port, with the Fleet which he commands, but himſelf and his men all embarked. That Armado conſiſteth of ſome 35 Ships of War, and about 8000 Soldiers, and both the Fleets are victualled for 8 months. That of *Portugal* had firſt order to expect *Don Frederique* at the *Cape* St. *Vincent*, but hath ſince received command to proceed on the journey. It being now 27 days ſince the Fleet departed, and this remaining ſtill in Harbour, doth give me much cauſe of jealouſie; eſpecially underſtanding that they have here advice, (which they give credit to) that the Troops lately delivered to Count *Manſfelt* are ſent to ſuccour *Breda*, fearing (if it be ſo) that they laying hold of it as a breach of the Peace (which interpretation I meet with in every diſcourſe) ſhould preſently fall with this Armado upon ſome part of *Ireland*. I have no farther ground for this diſtruſt, than what I have here repreſented, which your Grace weighing with the importancy of their enterpriſe in hand for the recovering the *Baya*, and the occaſions that will be given them from *England*, do beſt know what rigid judgment to make. Sithence I wrote my other Letter unto your Grace, (which accompanies this,) I underſtand the *French* Embaſſadour, by order from the King his Maſter, hath given account unto this King of the Concluſion of the Match betwixt the Prince his Highneſs, and Madam *Chriſtiene* his Maſter's Siſter. Whereupon this King, and the whole Court, put on *Galas*: I conceive (howſoever I have not heard any thing thereof by any Letter unto me) that this is ground enough to Congratulate with your Grace this good beginning, which I ſhall affectionately wiſh may in the ſucceſs, in all times prove a happineſs to his Highneſs, and a particular bleſſing to your Grace. The *Conde* of *Gondomar* hath newly received a Command from the King his Maſter (ſignified unto him by the Secretary *Don Andreas de Prada*) to put himſelf preſently upon the way for *England*, which, he hath anſwered, he will obey; howſoever I believe he will keep his *Chriſtmas* here. Mr. *Butler*, whom your Grace left here placed with this King, meets often with ſuch diſcourſes in the Palace, that, as a faithfull ſervant to your Grace, he hath no patience to bear; which he hath reaſon to believe, will in a ſhort time throw him out of this Court, which he would be glad to prevent, if he might have your Grace's command to return, being infinitely deſirous that your Grace would diſpoſe otherwiſe of him. I will conclude with the ſame ſuit for my ſelf, there being none that hath more need of Comfort from your Grace. I beſt know, that I have no way deſerved any change or decay in your Grace's favour towards me, having not been ſlow in upbraiding this Nation with their obligations to your Grace, and their ſhamefull ungratefulneſs, nor without a conſtant and paſſionate deſire to ſerve your Grace every way to your content, if your Grace's commands would but direct me what to doe; I do therefore reſt confident of your care and goodneſs towards me. And ſo, with my Prayers to God to continue his Bleſſings upon you, I reſt,

The 10th of *Decemb.* 1625. *Your Grace's*, &c.

W. Aſton.

Mr. Edmond Anderſon's *Letter to Sir* Francis Bacon.

Noble Sir,

THere is ever a certain preſumption to be had of the Favour of great Men, ſo as there be a reaſon added to accompany their Juſtice; mine, that gives boldneſs to call upon your ſuccour, is, that I am fallen more under the malignity of Rumour, than ſeverity of Laws, though that hath ever ſet mine Offence at the blackeſt Mark: to force this Cloud away, none can but the Breath of a King: th'other which threateneth and oppreſſeth more, every good Spirit may help to diſperſe. In this name, honourable Sir, I beſeech your goodneſs to ſpend ſome few words to the putting of falſe Fame to flight, which hath ſo often endangered even the Innocent: And if the ſaving of a poor penitent Man may come to be part of your Care, let it ever be reckoned to your Virtue, that you have not only aſſiſted to preſerve, but create a perſon ſo corrected by Neceſſity, as the Example of his Repentance was not worthy to be loſt, who will live and die thankfully yours,

Edmond Anderſon.

Sir FRANCIS BACON'S Letters, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Lord Treasurer, concerning the Sollicitor's Place.*

AFter the remembrance of my humble Duty, though I know by late experience how mindfull your Lordship vouchsafeth to be of me and my poor Fortune; and since it pleased your Lordship, during my Indisposition, and when her Majesty came to visit your Lordship, to make mention of me for my Imployment and Preferment: yet being now in the Country, I do presume that your Lordship, who of your self had an honourable Care of the Matter, will not think it a trouble to be solicited therein. My hope is this, That whereas your Lordship told me, her Majesty was somewhat gravelled upon the offence she took at my Speech in Parliament, your Lordship's favourable Endeavour, who hath assured me that for your own part you construe that I spake to the best, will be as a good Tide to remove her from that Shelve; and it is not unknown unto your good Lordship, that I was the first of the ordinary sort of the Lower House that spake for the Subsidy; and that which I after spake in difference, was but in circumstance of time; which methinks was no great matter, since there is variety allowed in Council, as a Discord in Musick, to make it more perfect.

But I may justly doubt her Majesty's impression upon this particular, as her conceipt otherwise of my insufficiency and unworthiness; which though I acknowledg to be great, yet it will be the less, because I purpose not to divide my self between her Majesty, and the causes of other men, as others have done, but to attend her business onely; hoping that a whole man, meanly able, may do as well as half a man better able: And if her Majesty thinketh that she shall make an adventure in using one that is rather a man of study than of practice and experience, surely I may remember to have heard, that my Father (an example, I confess, rather ready than like) was made Sollicitor of the Augmentation (a Court of much business) when he had never practised, and was but 27 years old: And Mr. *Brograve* was now, in my time, called Attorney of the Dutchy, when he had practised little or nothing, and yet hath discharged his place with great sufficiency. But those, and the like things, are as her Majesty shall be made capable of them: wherein knowing what authority your Lordship's commendations have with her Majesty, I conclude with my self, that the substance of strength which I may receive, will be from your Lordship. It is true, my Life hath been so private, as I have had no means to do your Lordship service; but yet, as your Lordship knoweth, I have made offer of such as I could yield. For, as God hath given me a mind to love the Publick, so incidently I have ever had your Lordship in singular admiration, whose happy Ability her Majesty hath so long used to her great Honour and yours. Besides, that amendment of State, or Countenance, which I have received, hath been from your Lordship: And therefore, if your Lordship shall stand a good Friend to your poor Allie, you shall but *tueri opus* which you have begun; and your Lordship shall bestow your Benefit upon one that hath more sense of Obligation, than of Self-love.

Thus humbly desiring Pardon of so long a Letter, I wish your Lordship all Happiness.

Your Lordship's in all humbleness to be commanded,

June 6. 1595. FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Lord Treasurer* Burghley.

My Lord,

WIth as much Confidence as mine own honest and faithful Devotion unto your Service, and your honourable Correspondence unto me and my poor Estate, can breed in a Man, do I commend my self unto your Lordship. I wax now somewhat Ancient; one and thirty Years is a great deal of Sand in the Hour-glass: My health, I thank God, I find confirmed, and I do not fear that Action shall impair it, because I account my ordinary course of Study and Meditation to be more painful than most parts of Action are. I ever bear a Mind (in some middle Place, that I could discharge) to serve her Majesty; not as a Man born under *Sol*, that loveth Honour; not under *Jupiter*, that loveth Business, (for the contemplative Planet carrieth me away wholly;) but as a Man born under an excellent Sovereign, that deserveth the dedication of all Men's Abilities. Besides, I do not find in my self so much self-love, but that the greater parts of my Thoughts are to deserve well (if I were able) of my Friends, and namely, of your Lordship, who being the *Atlas* of this Common-wealth, the Honour of my House, and the second Founder of my poor Estate, I am tied by all Duties, both of a

good

good Patriot, and of an unworthy Kinſman, and of an obliged Servant, to imploy whatſoever I am, to doe you ſervice. Again, the meanneſs of my Eſtate doth ſomewhat move me: for, though I cannot accuſe my ſelf, that I am either prodigall, or ſlothfull, yet my Health is not to ſpend, nor my Courſe to get. Laſtly, I confeſs, that I have as vaſt contemplative Ends, as I have moderate civil Ends; for I have taken all Knowledge to be my Providence; and if I could purge it of two ſorts of Rovers, whereof the one with frivolous Diſputations, Confutations, and Verboſities; the other with blind Experiments, and auricular Traditions and Impoſtures, hath committed ſo many Spoils; I hope I ſhould bring in induſtrious Obſervations, grounded Concluſions, and profitable Inventions and Diſcoveries, the beſt ſtate of that Providence. This, whether it be Curioſity, or Vain-glory, or Nature, or (if one take it favourably) *Philantrophia*, is ſo fixed in my mind, as it cannot be removed: And I do eaſily ſee, that place of any reaſonable Countenance doth bring commandment of more Wits than of a Man's own, which is the thing I greatly affect. And for your Lordſhip, perhaps you ſhall not find more ſtrength, and leſs encounter, in any other. And if your Lordſhip ſhall find now, or at any time, that I do ſeek or affect any Place whereunto any that is nearer unto your Lordſhip ſhall be concurrent, ſay then, that I am a moſt diſhoneſt Man. And if your Lordſhip will not carry me on, I will not doe as *Anaxagoras* did, who reduced himſelf, with Contemplation, unto voluntary Poverty: But this I will doe, I will ſell the Inheritance that I have, and purchaſe ſome Leaſe of quick Revenue, or ſome Office of Gain that ſhall be executed by Deputy, and ſo give over all care of Service, and become ſome ſorry Book-maker, or a true Pioneer in that Mine of Truth, which (he ſaid) lay ſo deep. This which I have writ unto your Lordſhip, is rather Thoughts than Words, being ſet down without all Art, Diſguiſing, or Reſervation. Wherein I have done Honour, both to your Lordſhip's Wiſdom, in judging that that will be beſt believed of your Lordſhip, which is trueſt; and to your Lordſhip's good Nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even ſo I wiſh your Lordſhip all Happineſs, and to my ſelf, Means and Occaſion to be added to my faithfull deſire to doe you Service.

From my Lodging, at Grays-Inn.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Lord Treaſurer* Burghley

My ſingular good Lord,

YOur Lordſhip's comfortable Relation of her Majeſty's gracious Opinion and Meaning towards me, though, at that time, your leiſure gave me not leave, to ſhew how I was affected therewith; yet upon every repreſentation thereof, it entreth, and ſtriketh more deeply into me, as both my Nature and Duty preſſeth me, to return ſome Speech of Thankfulneſs. It muſt be an exceeding Comfort and Encouragement to me, ſetting forth, and putting my ſelf in way towards her Majeſty's Service, to encounter with an Example, ſo private and domeſtical, of her Majeſty's gracious Goodneſs and Benignity, being made good and verified in my Father, ſo far forth, as it extendeth to his Poſterity.

Accepting them as commended by his Service, during the Nonage (as I may term it) of their own Deſerts, I, for my part, am very well content, that I take leaſt part, either of his Abilities of Mind, or of his worldly Advancement; both which he held, and received, the one of the Gift of God immediately, the other of her Majeſty's Gift: Yet in the loyal and earneſt Affection which he bare to her Majeſty's Service, I truſt, my Portion ſhall not be with the leaſt, nor in proportion with the youngeſt Birth. For, methinks, his Precedent ſhould be a ſilent Charge, upon his Bleſſing, unto us all, in our Degrees, to follow him afar off, and to dedicate unto her Majeſty's Service, both the uſe and ſpending of our Lives. True it is, that I muſt needs acknowledge my ſelf prepared and furniſhed thereunto with nothing but with a multitude of Lacks and Imperfections; but calling to mind, how diverſly, and in what particular Providence, God hath declared himſelf to tender the State of her Majeſty's Affairs, I conceive and gather hope, that thoſe whom he hath, in a manner, preſt for her Majeſty's Service, by by working and imprinting in them a ſingle and zealous Mind to beſtow their Duties therein, he will ſee them accordingly appointed of ſufficiency convenient for the Rank and ſtanding where they ſhall be imployed; ſo as under this her Majeſty's Bleſſing, I truſt, to receive a larger Allowance of God's Graces. And as I may hope for this, ſo I can aſſure and promiſe for my Endeavour, that it ſhall not be in fault; but what diligence can intitle me unto, that, I doubt not, to recover. And now, ſeeing it hath pleaſed her Majeſty to take knowledge of this my Mind, and to vouchſafe to appropriate me unto her Service, preventing any Deſert of mine with her Princely Liberality; firſt, I humbly do beſeech your Lordſhip, to preſent to her Majeſty my more than humble Thanks for the ſame: And withall, having regard to mine own Unworthineſs to receive ſuch Favour, and to the ſmall poſſibility in me to ſatisfie and anſwer what her Majeſty conceiveth, I am moved to become a moſt humble Suitor to her Majeſty, that this Benefit alſo may be affixed unto the other, which is, That if there appear in me no ſuch Towardneſs of Service, as it may be, her Majeſty doth benignly value and aſſeſs me at, by reaſon of my ſundry Wants, and the diſadvantage of my Nature, being unapt to lay forth the ſimple ſtore of thoſe inferiour Gifts which God hath allotted unto me moſt to view; yet that it would pleaſe her Excellent Majeſty, not to accompt

my Thankfulneſs the leſs, for that my diſability is great to ſhew it; but to ſuſtain me in her Majeſty's gracious Opinion, whereupon I onely reſt, and not upon any expectation of Deſert, to proceed from my ſelf, towards the contentment thereof. But if it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend forth an occaſion whereby my faithful Affection may be tried, I truſt, it ſhall ſave me labour for ever making more proteſtation of it hereafter. In the mean time, howſoever it be not made known to her Majeſty, yet God knoweth it, through the daily ſollicitations wherewith I addreſs my ſelf unto him in unfeigned Prayer for the multiplying of her Majeſty's Proſperities: to your Lordſhip alſo, whoſe recommendation, I know right well, hath been material to advance her Majeſty's good Opinion of me, I can be but a bounden Servant. So much may I ſafely promiſe, and purpoſe to be, ſeeing publick and private Bonds vary not, but that my Service to her Majeſty and your Lordſhip draw in line; I wiſh therefore to ſhew it with as good proof, as I can ſay it in good faith, *&c.*

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Two Letters framed, one as from Mr. Anthony Bacon *to the Earl of* Eſſex, *the other, as the Earl's Anſwer.*

My ſingular good Lord,

THis ſtanding at a ſtay doth make me, in my Love towards your Lordſhip, jealous, leſt you doe ſomewhat, or omit ſomewhat, that amounteth to a new Errour: For I ſuppoſe, that of all former matters there is a full Expiation; wherein, for any thing which your Lordſhip doth, I, for my part, (who am remote) cannot caſt or deviſe wherein my Errour ſhould be, except in one point, which I dare not cenſure, nor diſſuade; which is, that as the Prophet ſaith, in this affliction you look up *ad manum percutientem*, and ſo make your Peace with God. And yet I have heard it noted, that my Lord of *Leiceſter*, who could never get to be taken for a Saint, yet in the Queen's Diſfavour waxed ſeeming Religious. Which may be thought by ſome, and uſed by others, as a Caſe reſembling yours, if Men do not ſee, or will not ſee the Difference between your two Diſpoſitions. But, to be plain with your Lordſhip, my fear rather is, becauſe I hear how ſome of your good and wiſe Friends, not unpractiſed in the Court, and ſuppoſing them ſelves not to be unſeen in that deep and unſcrutable Centre of the Court, which is her Majeſty's Mind, do not onely toll the Bell, but even ring out Peals, as if your Fortune were dead and buried, and as if there were no poſſibility of recovering her Majeſty's Favour; and as if the beſt of your Condition were, to live a private and retired Life, out of Want, out of Peril, and out of manifeſt Diſgrace. And ſo, in this perſuaſion to your Lordſhip-wards, to frame and accommodate your Actions and Mind to that end; I fear (I ſay) that this untimely Deſpair may in time bring forth a juſt Deſpair, by cauſing your Lordſhip to ſlacken and break off your wiſe, loyall and ſeaſonable Endeavour and Induſtry for Redintegration to her Majeſty's Favour, in compariſon whereof, all other Circumſtances are but as *Atomi*, or rather as a *Vacuum*, without any Subſtance at all.

Againſt this Opinion, it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to conſider of theſe Reaſons, which I have collected; and to make Judgment of them, neither out of the Melancholy of your preſent Fortune, nor out of the Infuſion of that which cometh to you by other's Relation, which is ſubject to much Tincture, but *ex rebus ab ipſis*, out of the Nature of the Perſons and Actions themſelves, as the trueſt, and leſs deceiving, ground of Opinion. For, though I am ſo unfortunate as to be a Stranger to her Majeſty's Eye, much more to her Nature and Manners, yet by that which is extant I do manifeſtly diſcern, that ſhe hath that Character of the Divine Nature and Goodneſs, as *quos amavit, amavit uſque ad finem*; and where ſhe hath a Creature, ſhe doth not deface nor defeat it: inſomuch as, if I obſerve rightly, in thoſe Perſons whom heretofore ſhe hath honoured with her ſpecial Favour, ſhe hath covered and remitted, not onely Defections and Ingratitudes in Affection, but Errours in State and Service.

2. If I can, Scholar-like, ſpell and put together the Parts of her Majeſty's Proceedings now towards your Lordſhip, I cannot but make this Conſtruction; That her Majeſty, in her Royal Intention, never purpoſed to call your Doings into publick Queſtion, but onely to have uſed a Cloud without a Shower, and cenſuring them by ſome reſtraint of Liberty, and debarring from her Preſence. For both the handing the Cauſe in the Star-Chamber was inforced by the violence of Libelling and Rumours, wherein the Queen thought to have ſatisfied the World, and yet ſpared your Appearance: And then after, when that means, which was intended for the quenching of malicious Bruits, turned to kindle them, becauſe it was ſaid your Lordſhip was condemned unheard, and your Lordſhip's Siſter wrote that private Letter, then her Majeſty ſaw plainly, that theſe Winds of Rumours could not be commanded down, without a handling of the Cauſe, by making you Party, and admitting your Defence. And to this purpoſe, I do aſſure your Lordſhip, that my Brother *Francis Bacon*, who is too Wiſe to be abuſed, though he be both reſerved in all Particulars more than is needfull, yet in generality he hath ever conſtantly, and with aſſeveration, affirmed to me, That both thoſe days, that of the Star-Chamber, and that at my Lord Keeper's, were wone of the Queen, merely upon Neceſſity and Point of Honour, againſt her own Inclination.

3. In

3. In the laſt proceeding, I note three points, which are directly ſignificant, that her Majeſty did expreſly forbear any point which was irrecuperable, or might make your Lordſhip in any degree uncapable of the return of her Favour, or might fix any character indelible of Diſgrace upon you: For ſhe ſpared the publick places, which ſpared ignominy; ſhe limited the Charge preciſely, not to touch Diſloyalty, and no Record remaineth to memory of the Charge or Sentence.

4. The very diſtinction which was made in the ſentence of Sequeſtration, from the places of ſervice in State, and leaving to your Lordſhip the place of Maſter of the Horſe, doth in my underſtanding, point at this, that her Majeſty meant to uſe your Lordſhip's Attendence in Court, while the exerciſes of other places ſtood ſuſpended.

5. I have heard, and your Lordſhip knoweth better, that now ſince you were in your own cuſtody, her Majeſty, *in verbo Regio*, and by his mouth to whom ſhe committeth her Royal Grants and Decrees, hath aſſured your Lordſhip, ſhe will forbid, and not ſuffer your Ruine.

6. As I have heard her Majeſty to be a Prince of that Magnanimity, that ſhe will ſpare the Service of the ableſt Subject or Peer, where ſhe ſhall be thought not to ſtand in need of it; ſo ſhe is of that Policy, as ſhe will not blaze the Service of a meaner than your Lordſhip, where it ſhall depend meerly upon her choice and will.

7. I held it for a Principle, That thoſe Diſeaſes are hardeſt to cure, whereof the Cauſe is obſcure; and thoſe eaſieſt, whereof the Cauſe is manifeſt. Whereupon I conclude, that ſince it hath been your Errours in your lowneſs towards her Majeſty which have prejudiced you, that your reforming and conformity will reſtore you, ſo as you may be *Faber fortunæ propriæ*.

Laſtly, Conſidering your Lordſhip is removed from dealing in Cauſes of State, and left only to a place of Attendence, methinks the Ambition of any which can endure no Partners in State-matters may be ſo quenched, as they ſhould not laborioufly oppoſe themſelves to your being in Court. So as upon the whole matter, I cannot find, neither in her Majeſties Perſon, nor in your own Perſon, nor in any third Perſon, neither in former Precedents, nor in your own Caſe, any cauſe of peremptory deſpair. Neither do I ſpeak this, but that if her Majeſty out of her reſolution ſhould deſign you to a private life, you ſhould be as willing, upon the appointment, to go into the Wilderneſs, as into the Land of Promiſe; only I wiſh that your Lordſhip will not deſpair, but put truſt (next to God) in her Majeſty's Grace, and not be wanting to your ſelf. I know your Lordſhip may juſtly interpret, that this which I perſuade may have ſome reference to my particular, becauſe I may truly ſay, *tu ſtante non virebo*, for I am withered in my ſelf; but *manebo*, or *tenebo*, I ſhould in ſome ſort be, or hold out. But though your Lordſhip's Years and Health may expect return of Grace and Fortune, yet your Eclipſe for a time is an *ultimum vale* to my fortune: And were it not that I deſired and hope to ſee my Brother eſtabliſhed by her Majeſties Favour, as I think him well worthy for that he hath done and ſuffered, it were time I did take that courſe from which I diſſuade your Lordſhip. Now in the mean time, I cannot chuſe but perform thoſe honeſt Duties unto you, to whom I have been ſo deeply bound, &c.

The Earl of Eſſex *his Anſwer to Mr.* Anthony Bacon's *Letter.*

Mr. Bacon,

I Thank you for your kind and carefull Letter; it perſuadeth that which I wiſh for ſtrongly, and hope for weakly, that is, Poſſibility of Reſtitution to her Majeſties Favour: Your arguments that would cheriſh Hope, turn into Deſpair: You ſay the Queen never meant to call me to publick Cenſure, which ſheweth her Goodneſs; but you ſee I paſſed it, which ſheweth others Power. I believe moſt ſtedfaſtly, her Majeſty never intended to bring my Cauſe to a publick cenſure; and I believe as verily, that ſince the Sentence ſhe meant to reſtore me to tend upon her Perſon: but thoſe which could uſe occaſions (which it was not in me to let) and amplifie and practiſe occaſions to repreſent to her Majeſty a neceſſity to bring me to the one, can and will do the like to ſtop me from the other. You ſay, my Errours were my prejudice, and therefore I can mend my ſelf. It is true; but they that know that I can mend my ſelf, and that if I ever recover the Queen, that I will never loſe her again, will never ſuffer me to obtain Intereſt in her Favour: and you ſay, the Queen never forſook utterly where ſhe hath inwardly favoured; but know not whether the Hour-glaſs of Time hath altered her; but ſure I am, the falſe Glaſs of others Informations muſt alter her, when I want acceſs to plead mine own Cauſe. I know I ought doubly, infinitely to be her Majeſty's, both *jure creationis*, for I am her Creature; and *jure redemptionis*, for I know ſhe hath ſaved me from Overthrow. But for her firſt Love, and for her laſt Protection, and all her great Benefits, I can but pray for her Majeſty; and my endeavour is now to make my Prayers for her and my ſelf better heard. For thanks be to God, that they which can make her Majeſty believe I counterfeit with her, cannot make God believe that I counterfeit with him; and they that can let me from coming near to her, cannot let me from drawing nearer to him, as I hope I do daily. For your Brother, I told him an honeſt Gentleman, and wiſh

him all good, much rather for your ſake; your ſelf, I know, hath ſuffered more for me, and with me, than any friend that I have: But I can but lament freely, as you ſee I do, and adviſe you not to doe that I doe, which is, to deſpair. You know Letters what hurt they have done me, and therefore make ſure of this: and yet I could not, as having no other pledge of my Love, but communicate openly with you for the eaſe of my Heart and yours.

Your loving Friend,
R. ESSEX.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the* Earl *of* Salisbury, *concerning the Sollicitor's Place.*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

I Am not privy to my ſelf of any ſuch ill deſerving towards your Lordſhip, as that I ſhould think it an impudent thing to be a Suitor for your favour in a reaſonable matter, your Lordſhip being to me as (with your good favour) you cannot ceaſe to be: but rather it were a ſimple and arrogant part in me to forbear it.

It is thought Mr. *Attorney* ſhall be chief Juſtice of the Common-Place; in caſe Mr. *Sollicitor* riſe, I would be glad now at laſt to be Sollicitor: chiefly becauſe I think it will increaſe my practice, wherein, God bleſſing me a few years, I may mend my State, and ſo after fall to my Studies and Eaſe; whereof one is requiſite for my Body, and the other ſerveth for my Mind; wherein if I ſhall find your Lordſhip's favour, I ſhall be more happy than I have been, which may make me alſo more wiſe. I have ſmall ſtore of means about the King, and to ſue my ſelf is not fit; and therefore I ſhall leave it to God, his Majeſty, and your Lordſhip: for I muſt ſtill be next the door. I thank God, in theſe tranſitory things I am well reſolved. So beſeeching your Lordſhip not to think this Letter the leſs humble, becauſe it is plain, I reſt, *&c.*

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Earl of* Eſſex, *when Sir* Robert Cecil *was in* France.

My ſingular good Lord,

I Do write, becauſe I have not yet had time fully to expreſs my conceit, nor now to attend you touching *Iriſh* matters, conſidering them as they may concern the State; that it is one of the apteſt particulars that hath come, or can come upon the Stage, for your Lordſhip to purchaſe Honour upon, I am moved to think for three reaſons: becauſe it is ingenerate in your Houſe in reſpect of my Lord your Father's noble Attempts; becauſe of all the accidents of State at this time, the labour reſteth upon moſt that; and becauſe the World will make a kind of compariſon between thoſe that ſet it out of frame, and thoſe that ſhall bring it into frame: which kind of Honour giveth the quickeſt kind of Reflection. The tranferring this Honour upon your ſelf conſiſteth in two points: The one, if the principal Perſons imployed come in by you, and depend upon you; the other, if your Lordſhip declare your ſelf to undertake a care of that matter. For the perſons, it falleth out well, that your Lordſhip hath had no intereſt in the Perſons of imputation: For neither Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, nor Sir *John Norris* was yours: Sir *William Ruſſel* was conceived yours, but was curbed: Sir *Coniers Clifford*, as I conceive it, dependeth upon you, who is ſaid to doe well; and if my Lord of *Ormond* in this interim do accomodate well, I take it he hath always had good underſtanding with your Lordſhip. So as all things are not only whole and entire, but of favourable aſpect towards your Lordſhip, if you now chuſe well: wherein, in your wiſdom, you will remember there is a great difference in choice of the perſons, as you ſhall think the Affairs to incline to Compoſition, or to War. For your care-taking, popular conceit hath been, that *Iriſh* Cauſes have been much neglected, whereby the very reputation of better care will be a ſtrength: And I am ſure, her Majeſty and my Lords of the Counſel do not think their care diſſolved, when they have choſen whom to imploy; but that they will proceed in a ſpirit of State, and not leave the main point to Diſcretion. Then if a reſolution be taken, a Conſultation muſt proceed; and the Conſultation muſt be governed upon Information to be had from ſuch as know the place, and matters in fact: And in taking of Information I have always noted there is a skill and a wiſdom. For I cannot tell what accompt or inquiry hath been taken of Sir *William Ruſſel*, of Sir *Ralph Bingham*, of the Earl of *Tomond*, of Mr. *Wilbraham*: but I am of opinion, much more would be had of them, if your Lordſhip ſhall be pleaſed ſeverally to conſer, not *obiter*, but expreſly, upon ſome *Caveat* given them to think of it before; for, *bene docet qui prudenter interrogat.* For the points of oppoſing them, I am too much a ſtranger to the buſineſs, to deduce them: but in a — Topick methinks the pertinent Interrogations muſt be either of the poſſibility and means of Accord, or of the nature of the War, or of the reformation of the particular Abuſes, or of the joyning of Practice with

with force in the Diſunion of the Rebels. If your Lordſhip doubt to put your Sickle in other Men's Harveſts, yet conſider you have theſe Advantages. Firſt, Time being fit to you in Mr. Secretary's Abſence: Next, *Vis unita fortior:* Thirdly, The buſineſs being mixt with matters of War, it is fitteſt for you: Laſtly, I know your Lordſhip will carry it with that Modeſty and Reſpect towards aged Dignity, and that good Correſpondence towards my dear Ally, and your good Friend, now abroad, as no inconvenience may grow that way. Thus have I plaid the ignorant Stateſman, which I do to no body but your Lordſhip, except I do it to the Queen ſometimes, when ſhe trains me on. But your Lordſhip will accept my Duty and good meaning, and ſecure me touching the privateneſs of that I write.

Your Lordſhip's, to be commanded,

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Earl of* Eſſex, *concerning the Earl of* Tyrone.

THoſe Advertiſements which your Lordſhip imparted to me, and the like, I hold to be no more certain to make Judgment upon, than a Patient's Water to a Phyſician: Therefore for me upon one Water to make a Judgment, were indeed like a fooliſh bold Mountebank, or Dr. *Birket*; yet for willing Duty's ſake, I will ſet down to your Lordſhip what opinion ſprung in my Mind upon that I read. The Letter from the Council there leaning to diſtruſt, I do not much rely upon, for three cauſes. Firſt, becauſe it is always both the Grace, and the Safety from Blame of ſuch a Council, to erre in Caution: whereunto add, that it may be they, or ſome of them, are not without Envy towards the Perſon who is uſed in treating the Accord. Next, becauſe the time of this Treaty hath no ſhew of Diſſimulation, for that *Tyrone* is now in no Streights, but like a Gameſter that will give over becauſe he is a Winner, not becauſe he hath no more Money in his Purſe.

Laſtly, I do not ſee but thoſe Articles whereon they ground their Suſpicion, may as well proceed out of Fear as out of Falſhood, for the retaining of the dependence of the protracting the admiſſion of a Sheriff, the refuſing to give his Son for Hoſtage, the holding from preſent repair to *Dublin*, the refuſing to go preſently to accord, without including *O Donell*, and others his Aſſociates, may very well come of a guilty reſervation, in caſe he ſhould receive hard meaſure, and not out of Treachery; ſo as if the Great Perſon be faithfull, and that you have not here ſome preſent intelligence of preſent Succours from *Spain*, for the expectation whereof *Tyrone* would win time, I ſee no deep cauſe of diſtruſting the Cauſe if it be good. And for the Queſtion, her Majeſty ſeemeth to me a Winner three ways: Firſt, her Purſe ſhall have reſt: Next it will divert the Foreign deſigns upon that Place: Thirdly, though her Majeſty is like for a time to govern *Precario* in the North, and be not in true Command in better ſtate there than before, yet beſides the two reſpects of Eaſe of Charge, and Advantage of Opinion abroad, before mentioned, ſhe ſhall ſhall have a time to uſe her Princely Policy in two Points: In the one to weaken by diviſion and diſunion of the Heads; the other, by recovering and winning the People by Juſtice, which of all other Cauſes is the beſt. Now for the *Athenian* Queſtion, you diſcourſe well, *Quid igitur agendum eſt?* I will ſhoot my Fool's Bolt, ſince you will have it ſo. The Earl of *Ormond* to be encouraged and comforted above all things, the Garriſons to be inſtantly provided for; for Opportunity makes a Thief: and if he ſhould mean never ſo well now, yet ſuch an Advantage as the Breaking of her Majeſty's Garriſons, might tempt a true Man. And becauſe he may as well waver upon his own Inconſtancy as upon occaſion, and wont of variableneſs is never reſtrained but with Fear, I hold it neceſſary to be menaced with a ſtrong War; not by Words, but by Muſters and Preparations of Forces here, in caſe the Accord proceed not; but none to be ſent over leſt it diſturb the Treaty, and make him look to be overrun as ſoon as he hath laid down Arms. And, but that your Lordſhip is too eaſie to paſs, in ſuch caſes, from Diſſimulation to Verity, I think, if your Lordſhip lent your Reputation in this Caſe, it is to pretend, that if not a defenſive War, as in times paſt, but a full Re-conqueſt of thoſe Parts of the Countrey be reſolved on, you would accept the Charge, I think it would help to ſettle him, and win you a great deal of Honour *gratis*. And that which moſt properly concerneth this Action, if it prove a Peace, I think her Majeſty ſhall do well to cure the Root of the Diſeaſe, and to profeſs by a Commiſſion of peaceable Men chiefly of Reſpect and Countenance, the Reformation of Abuſes, Extortions and Injuſtices there, and to plant a ſtronger and ſurer Government than heretofore, for the Eaſe and protection of the Subject; for the removing of the Sword, or Government in Arms, from the Earl of *Ormond*, or the ſending of a Deputy, which will eclipſe it, if Peace follow, I think unſeaſonable. Laſtly, I hold ſtill my opinion, both for your better information, and your fuller declaration of your Care, and evermore meriting Service, that your Lordſhip have a ſet Conference with the Perſons I named in my former Writing. I reſt,

At your Lordſhip's Service,

FR. BACON.

Another

Another to the Earl before his going to Ireland.

My ſingular good Lord,

YOur note of my Silence in your Occaſions hath made me ſet down theſe few wandring Lines, as one that would ſay ſomewhat, and can ſay nothing touching your Lordſhip's intended Charge for *Ireland*; which my endeavour I know your Lordſhip will accept graciouſly and well, whether your Lordſhip take it by the Handle of the Occaſion miniſtred from your ſelf, or of the Affection from which it proceedeth. Your Lordſhip is deſigned to a Service of great Merit and great Peril; and as the greatneſs of the Peril muſt needs include no ſmall conſequence of Peril, if it be not temperately governed; ſo all immoderate Succeſs extinguiſheth Merit, and ſtirreth up Diſtaſte and Envy, the aſſured Fore-runner of whole changes of Peril. But I am at the laſt Point firſt, ſome good Spirit leading my Pen to preſage your Lordſhip's Succeſs; wherein it is true, I am not without my Oracle and Divinations, none of them ſuperſtitious, and yet not all natural: For firſt, looking into the courſe of God's Providence in things now depending, and calling into conſideration how great things God hath done by her Majeſty, and for her Collect he hath diſpoſed of this great Diſſection in *Ireland*, whereby to give an urgent occaſion to the Reduction of that whole Kingdom, as upon the Rebellion of *Deſmond* there enſued the Reduction of that Province. Next, your Lordſhip goeth againſt three of the unluckieſt Vices of all other, Diſloyalty, Ingratitude, and Inſolence; which three Offences in all Examples have ſeldom their Doom adjourned to the World to come. Laſtly, he that ſhall have had the Honour to know your Lordſhip inwardly, as I have had, ſhall find *bona exta*, whereby he may better ground a Divination of Good, than upon the Diſſection of a Sacrifice. But that part I leave, for it is fit for others to be confident upon you, and you to be confident upon the Cauſe, the Goodneſs and Juſtice whereof is ſuch as can hardly be matched in any Example, it being no ambitious War of Foreigners, but a Recovery of Subjects, and that after Lenity of Conditions often tried; and a Recovery of them not onely to Obedience, but to Humanity and Policy, from more than Indian Barbariſm. There is yet another kind of Divination familiar in matters of State, being that which *Demoſthenes* ſo often relieth upon in his time, where he ſaith, That which for the time paſt is worſt of all, is for the time to come the beſt, which is, that things go ill, not by accident but by Errour; wherein though your Lordſhip hath been a waking Cenſor, yet you muſt look for no other now, but *Medice, cura teipſum*; and although your Lordſhip ſhall not be the bleſſed Phyſician that cometh to the Declination of the Diſeaſe, yet you embrace that condition which many noble Spirits have accepted for Advantage, which is, that you go upon the greater peril of your Fortune, and the leſs of your Reputation; and ſo the Honour countervaileth the Adventure: of which Honour your Lordſhip is in no ſmall Poſſeſſion, when that her Majeſty, known to be one of the moſt judicious Princes in diſcerning of Spirits that ever governed, hath made choice of you merely out of her Royal Judgment, (her Affection inclining rather to continue your Attendence,) into whoſe Hands and Truſt to put the Commandment and Conduct of ſo great Forces, the gathering in the Fruit of ſo great Charge, the Execution of ſo many Councils, the redeeming of the Defaults of ſo many former Governours, and the clearing the Glory of ſo many happy Years Reign, onely in this part excepted. Nay farther, how far forth the peril of that State is interlaced with the peril of *England*; and therefore how great the Honour is to keep and defend the approaches of this Kingdom, I hear many diſcourſe; and indeed there is a great difference, whether the *Tortoiſe* gather her ſelf into her Shell hurt or unhurt: And if any Man be of opinion, that the nature of an Enemy doth extenuate the Honour of a Service, being but a Rebel and a Savage, I differ from him; for I ſee the juſteſt Triumphs that the *Romans* in their greateſt greatneſs did obtain, and that whereof the Emperours in their Styles took additions and denominations, were of ſuch an Enemy; that is, People barbarous, and not reduced to Civility, magnifying a kind of lawleſs Liberty, prodigal of Life, hardened in Body, fortified in Woods and Bogs, placing both Juſtice and Felicity in the Sharpneſs of their Swords. Such were the *Germans* and ancient *Britains*, and divers others. Upon which kind of People, whether the Victory be a Conqueſt, or a Re-conqueſt upon a Rebellion or Revolt, it made no difference that ever I could find, in Honour. And therefore it is not the inriching the predatory War that hath the preeminence in Honour; elſe ſhould it be more honour to bring in a Carrack of rich Burthen, than one of the twelve *Spaniſh* Apoſtles. But then this nature of People doth yield a higher point of Honour (conſidering in Truth and Subſtance) than any War can yield which ſhould be atchieved againſt a civil Enemy, if the end may be——*Pacique imponere morem*, to replant and refound the Policy of that Nation, to which nothing is wanting but a juſt and civil Government. Which deſign, as it doth deſcend to you from your noble Father, (who loſt his Life in that Action, though he paid Tribute to Nature, and not to Fortune,) ſo I hope your Lordſhip ſhall be as fatal a Captain to this War, as *Africanus* was to the War of *Carthage*, after that both his Uncle and his Father had loſt their Lives in *Spain* in the ſame War.

Now although it be true, that theſe things which I have writ (being but repreſentations unto your Lordſhip of the Honour and appearance of Succeſs in the Enterprize) be not much to the purpoſe of my direction,

direction, yet it is that which is beſt to me, being no Man of War, and ignorant in the particulars of State: for a Man may by the Eye ſet up the White right in the midſt of the Butt, though he be no Archer. Therefore I will only add this wiſh, according to the Engliſh Phraſe, which termeth a well-wiſhing Advice a Wiſh, that your Lordſhip in this whole action, looking forward, ſet down this Poſition; That Merit is worthier than Fame; and looking back hither, would remember this Text, That *Obedience is better than Sacrifice*. For deſigning to Fame and Glory may make your Lordſhip, in the adventure of your Perſon, to be valiant as a private Soldier, rather than as a General; it may make you in your Commandments rather to be gracious than diſciplinary; it may make you preſs Action, in the reſpect of the great expectation conceived, rather haſtily than ſeaſonably and ſafely; it may make you ſeek rather to atchieve the War by Force, then by mixture of Practice; it may make you (if God ſhall ſend you proſperous beginnings) rather ſeek the Fruition of the Honour, than the Perfection of the Work in hand. And for your proceeding like a good Proteſtant (upon warrant, and not upon good intention) your Lordſhip knoweth, in your Wiſdom, that as it is moſt fit for you to deſire convenient liberty of Inſtruction, ſo it is no leſs fit for you to obſerve the due limits of them, remembring that the exceeding of them may not onely procure (in caſe of adverſe accident) a dangerous diſavow, but alſo (in caſe of proſperous Succeſs) be ſubject to interpretation, as if all was not referred to the right end.

Thus I have preſumed to write theſe few Lines to your Lordſhip *in methodo ignorantiæ*, which is, when a Man ſpeaketh of any Subject not according to the parts of the Matter, but according to the model of his own Knowledge: And moſt humbly deſire your Lordſhip, that the weakneſs thereof may be ſupplied in your Lordſhip, by a benign Acceptation, as it is in me by my beſt Wiſhing.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Earl of* Eſſex *after his Enlargement.*

My Lord,

NO man can expound my doings better than your Lordſhip, which makes me need to ſay the leſs; only I humbly pray you to believe that I aſpire to the Conſcience and Commendation of *Bonus Civis* and *Bonus Vir*; and that though I love ſome things better, I confeſs, than I love your Lordſhip; yet I love few perſons better, both for Gratitude's ſake, and for Vertues, which cannot hurt, but by accident. Of which my good Affection it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to aſſure your ſelf, of all the true effects and offices that I can yield: for as I was ever ſorry your Lordſhip ſhould fly with waxen Wings, doubting *Icarus*'s fortune; ſo for the growing up of your own feathers, be they Oſtridges or other kind, no Man ſhall be more glad; and this is the Axel-tree, whereupon I have turned, and ſhall turn. Which having already ſignified unto you by ſome near means, having ſo fit a Meſſenger for mine own Letter, I thought good to redouble alſo by Writing. And ſo I commend you to God's Protection. From *Grayes-Inn*, &c.

July 19. 1600. FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *in recommendation of his ſervice, to the Earl of* Northumberland, *a few days before Queen* Elizabeth's *death.*

May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

AS the time of ſowing of Seed is known, but the time of coming up and diſcloſing is caſual, or at leaſt according to the Seaſon; ſo I am a witneſs to my ſelf, that there hath been covered in my Mind a long time a Seed of Affection and Zeal towards your Lordſhip, ſown by the eſtimation of your Vertues, and your particular Honours and Favours to my Brother deceaſed, and to my ſelf; which Seed ſtill ſpringing, now burſteth forth into this profeſſion. And to be plain with your Lordſhip, it is very true, and no winds or noiſes of civil matters can blow this out of my head or heart, that your great Capacity and Love towards Studies and Contemplations, of an higher and worthier nature than popular, a Nature rare in the World, and in a perſon of your Lordſhip's quality almoſt ſingular, is to me a great and chief motive to draw my Affection and Admiration towards you: and therefore, good my Lord, if I may be of any uſe to your Lordſhip by my Head, Tongue, Pen, Means, or Friends, I humbly pray you to hold me your own: and herewithal, not to dee ſo much diſadvantage to my good Mind, nor partly, to your own Worth, as to conceive, that this commendation of my humble Service produceth out of any ſtraits of my occaſions, but merely out of an election, and indeed, the fulneſs of my heart. And ſo wiſhing your Lordſhip all Proſperity, I continue.——

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon to *Mr.* Robert Kempe, *upon the Death of Queen* Elizabeth.

*MR. *Kempe*, This alteration is so great, as you might justly conceive some coldness of my affection towards you, if you should hear nothing from me, I living in this place. It is in vain to tell you, with what a wonderfull still and calm this Wheel is turned round, which whether it be a remnant of her Felicity that is gone, or a fruit of his Reputation that is coming, I will not determine; for I cannot but divide my self, between her Memory and his Name. Yet we account it but as a fair Morn before Sun rising, before his Majesties presence; though, for my part, I see not whence any Weather should arise. The Papists are contained with fear enough, and hope too much. The French is thought to turn his Practice upon procuring some disturbance in *Scotland*, where Crowns may do wonders. But this day is so welcome to the Nation, and the time so short, as I do not fear the effect. My Lord of *Southampton* expecteth release by the next dispatch, and is already much visited, and much well wished. There is continual Posting, by Men of good Quality, towards the King, the rather, I think, because this Spring time it is but a kind of sport. It is hoped, that as the State here hath performed the part of good Attorneys, to deliver the King quiet Possession of his Kingdom; so the King will re-deliver them quiet Possession of their Places, rather filling Places void, than removing Men placed. So, *&c.*

Sir Francis Bacon *to Mr.* David Foules *in* Scotland, *upon the entrance of his Majesty's Reign.*

*SIR, The occasion awaketh in me the remembrance of the constant and mutual good Offices which passed between my good Brother and your self; whereunto, as you know, I was not altogether a Stranger, though the time and design (as between Brethren) made me more reserved. But well do I bear in mind the great opinion which my Brother (whose Judgment I much reverence) would often express to me of the extraordinary Sufficiency, Dexterity, and Temper, which he had found in you, in the Business and Service of the King our Sovereign Lord. This latter bred in me an Election, as the former gave an inducement, for me to address my self to you, and to make this signification of my desire, towards a mutual entertainment of good Affection and Correspondence between us, hoping that some good effect my result of it, towards the King's Service, and that for our particulars, though occasion give you the precedence, of furthering my being known by good note unto the King; so no long time will interceed, before I, on my part, shall have some means given to requite your Favours, and verifie your Commendation. And so with my loving commendations (good Mr. *Foules*,) I leave you to God's Goodness.

From *Gray*'s-Inn, this 25th of *March*.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Sir* Robert Cecil, *after defeat of the* Spaniards *in* Ireland, *for reducing that Kingdom to Civility, with some Reasons inclosed.*

It may please your Honour,

AS one that wisheth you all increase of Honour, and as one that cannot leave to love the State, what interest soever I have, or may come to have in it, and as one that now this dead Vacation time have some leisure *ad aliud agendum*. I will presume to propound unto you that which though you cannot but see, yet I know not whether you apprehend and esteem it in so high a degree, that is for the best action of importation to your self, of sound Honour and Merit to her Majesty, and this Crown, without ventosity or popularity, that the Riches of any Occasion, or the Tide of any Opportunity can possibly minister or offer. And that is, the Causes of *Ireland*, if they be taken by the right handle: For if the Wound be not ripped up again, and come to a festered sense, by new forreign succours, I think that no Physician will go on much with letting Bloud *in declinatione morbi*, but will intend to purge and corroborate. To which purpose, I send you mine opinion, without labour of words in the inclosed, and sure I am, that if you shall enter into the matter according to the vivacity of your own Spirit, nothing can make unto you a more gainful return: For you shall make the Queen's Felicity compleat, which now (as it is) is incomparable; and for your self, you shall make your self as good a Patriot, as you are thought a Politick, and to have no less generous ends, than dextrous delivery of your self towards your ends; and as well to have true Arts and Grounds of Government, as the Facility and Fecility of Practice and Negotiation; and to be

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as well ſeen in the Periods and Tides of Eſtates, as in your own Circle and Way: than the which I ſuppoſe nothing can be a better addition and accumulation of Honour unto you.

This, I hope, I may in privateneſs write, either as a Kinſman, that may be bold, or as a Scholar, that hath liberty of Diſcourſe, without committing of any abſurdity. If not, I pray your Honour to believe, I ever loved her Majeſty and the State, and now love your ſelf; and there is never any vehement Love without ſome Abſurdity, as the Spaniard well ſaith, *Deſuario con la calentura.* So deſiring your Honour's Pardon, I ever continue, &c.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Lord Treaſurer, touching his Speech in Parliament.*

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

I Was ſorry to find by your Lordſhip's Speech yeſterday, that my laſt Speech in Parliament, delivered in diſcharge of my Conſcience, my Duty to God, her Majeſty, and my Countrey, was offenſive: if it were miſreported, I would be glad to attend your Lordſhip, to diſavow any thing I ſaid not; if it were miſconſtrued, I would be glad to expound my Words, to exclude any Senſe I meant not; if my heart be miſ-judged by imputation of Popularity, or Oppoſition, I have great wrong, and the greater, becauſe the manner of my Speech did moſt evidently ſhew, that I ſpake moſt ſimply, and onely to ſatisfie my Conſcience, and not with any Advantage or Policy to ſway the Caſe, and my Terms carried all ſignification of Duty and Zeal towards her Majeſty and her Service. It is very true, that from the beginning, whatſoever was a double Subſidy, I did wiſh might for Precedents ſake appear to be extraordinary, and for Diſcontents ſake might not have been levied upon the poorer Sort, though otherwiſe I wiſhed it as riſing as I think this will prove, or more. This was my mind, I confeſs it: and therefore I moſt humbly pray your Lordſhip, firſt, to continue me in your own good Opinion, and then, to perform the part of an honourable good Friend, towards your poor Servant and Ally, in drawing her Majeſty to accept of the ſincerity and ſimplicity of my Zeal, and to hold me in her Majeſty's Favour, which is to me dearer than my life, And ſo, &c.

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble in all Duty,

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Earl of* Northampton.

May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

AS the time of ſowing of a Seed is known, but the time of coming up and diſcloſing is caſual, or according to the ſeaſon; ſo I am witneſs to my ſelf, that there hath been covered in my Mind a long time a Seed of Affection and Zeal towards your Lordſhip, ſown by the eſtimation of your Vertues, and your particular Honours and Favours to my Brother deceaſed, and to my ſelf; which Seed ſtill ſpringing, now burſteth forth into this Profeſſion. And to be plain with your Lordſhip, it is very true, and no winds or noiſes of evil Matters can blow this out of my Head or Heart, that your great Capacities and Love towards Studies and Contemplations, of an higher and worthier Nature than Popular, a matter rare in the World, and in a Perſon of your Lordſhip's Quality almoſt ſingular, is to me a great and chief motive to draw my Affection and Admiration towards you: and therefore, good my Lord, if I may be of any uſe to your Lordſhip, I humbly pray your Lordſhip, to hold me your own: and therefore withal, not to do ſo much diſadvantage to my good Mind, as to conceive, that this Commendation of my humble Service proceedeth out of any ſtraits of my Occaſions; but meerly out of an Election, and indeed, the fulneſs of my Heart. And ſo wiſhing your Lordſhip all Proſperity, I continue yours, &c.

FR. BACON.

A Letter to Mr. Matthew, *upon ſending his Book* De Sapientia Veterum.

Mr. Matthew,

*I do very heartily thank you for your Letter of the 24th of *Aug.* from *Salamanca*; and in recompence thereof, I ſend you a little Work of mine, that hath begun to paſs the World. They tell me my Laton is turn'd into Silver, and become currant. Had you been here you had been my Inquiſitor, before it came forth. But I think the greateſt Inquiſitor in *Spain* will

allow it. But one thing you must pardon me, if I make no haste to believe, that the World should be grown to such an ecstasie, as to reject Truth in Philosophy, because the Author dissenteth in Religion; no more than they do by *Aristotle*, or *Averrois*. My great Work goeth forward, and after my manner, I alter ever when I add: So that nothing is finished till all be finished. This I have written in the midst of a Term and Parliament, thinking no time so precious, but that I should talk of these Matters with so good and dear a Friend. And so, with my wonted Wishes, I leave you to God's Goodness.

From *Grays-Inn*, *Febr.* 17. 1610.

A Letter to the King, touching Matter of Revenue and Profit.

It may please your Majesty,

I May remember what *Tacitus* saith, by occasion that *Tyberius* was often and long absent from *Rome*, *In Urbe, & parva & magna negotia Imperatorem simul premunt.* But saith he, *in Recessu, dimissis rebus minoris momenti, summæ rerum magnarum magis agitantur.* This maketh me think, it shall be no incivility to trouble your Majesty with Business, during your aboad from *London*, knowing your Majesty's Meditations are the principal Wheel of your Estate, and being warranted by a former Commandment, which I received from you.

I do now onely send your Majesty these Papers inclosed, because I greatly desire so far forth to preserve my Credit with you, as thus: That whereas lately (perhaps out of too much desire, which induceth too much belief,) I was bold to say, that I thought it as easie for your Majesty to come out of want, as to go forth of your Gallery, your Majesty would not take me for a Dreamer, or a Projector. I send your Majesty therefore some Grounds of my hopes. And for that Paper which I have gathered of Increasements *sperate*: I beseech you to give me leave to think, that if any of the Particulars do fail, it will be rather for want of Workmanship in those that shall deal in them, than want of Materials in the things themselves. The other Paper hath many discarding Cards; and I send it chiefly, that your Majesty may be the less surprised by Projectors, who pretend sometimes great Discoveries and Inventions, in things that have been propounded, and perhaps after a better fashion, long since. God Almighty preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble and devoted Servant and Subject.

April 25. 1610.

A Letter to the King, touching the Lord Chancellour's Place.

It may please your Most Excellent Majesty.

YOur worthy Chancellour, I fear, goeth his last day. God hath hitherto used to weed out such Servants, as grew not fit for your Majesty, but now he hath gathered to himself a true Sage, or *Salvia*, our of your Garden; But your Majesty's Service must not be mortal.

Upon this heavy Accident, I pray your Majesty, in all humbleness and sincerity, to give me leave to use a few Words. I must never forget, when I moved your Majesty for the Attorney's Place, it was your own sole Act; more than that *Somerset*, when he knew your Majesty had resolved it, thrust himself into the Business, for a Fee. And therefore I have no reason to pray to Saints.

I shall now again make Obligation to your Majesty, first of my Heart, then of my Service, thirdly, of my Place of Attorney (which I think is honestly worth 6000 *l. per annum*,) and fourthly, of my Place of the Star-Chamber, which is worth 1600 *l. per annum*; and with the Favour and Countenance of a Chancellour, much more.

I hope I may be acquitted of Presumption, if I think of it, both because my Father had the place, which is some civil Inducements to my desire: And I pray God your Majesty may have twenty no worse Years in your Greatness, than Queen *Elizabeth* had in her Model, (after my Father's placing,) and chiefly, because, if the Chancellour's Place went to the Law, it was ever conferred upon some of the Learned Councel; and never upon a Judge. For *Audley* was raised from K. Serjeant, my Father from Attorney of the Wards, *Bromley* from Sollicitor, *Puckering* from Serjeant, *Egerton* from Master of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorney's Place. Now I beseech your Majesty, let me put you the present Case, truly. If you take my Lord *Cooke*, this will follow; first, your Majesty shall put an over-ruling Nature into an over-ruling Place, which may breed an extream: Next, you shall blunt his Industries in matter of Financies, which seemeth to aim at another Place. And lastly, popular Men are no sure Mounters for your Majesty's Saddle. If you take my Lord *Hubbard*, you shall have a Judge at the upper end of your Councel-board, and another at the lower end: Whereby your Majesty will find your Prerogative pent. For though there should be emulation between them, yet as

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Legists they will agree, in magnifying that wherein they are best, he is no States-man, but an *Oeconomist*, wholly for himself. So as your Majesty, (more than an outward Form) will find little help in him, for the Business. If you take my Lord of *Canterbury*, I will say no more, but the Chancellour's Place requires a whole Man. And to have both Jurisdictions, Spiritual and Temporal, in that height, is fit but for a King.

For my self, I can onely present your Majesty with *Gloria in obsequio*: yet I dare promise, that if I sit in that Place, your Business shall not make such short turns upon you, as it doth; but when a Direction is once given, it shall be pursued and performed; and your Majesty shall only be troubled with the the true care of a King, which is to think what you would have done in Chief, and not how, for the Passages.

I do presume also, in respect of my Father's Memory, and that I have been always gratious in the Lower House, I have interest in the Gentlemen of *England*, and shall be able to doe some good Effect, in rectifying that Body of Parliament Men, which is *Cardo rerum*. For let me tell your Majesty, that that part of the Chancellour's Place which is to Judge in Equity, between Party and Party, that same *Regnum judiciale* (which since my Father's time is but too much enlarged) concerneth your Majesty least, more than the acquitting your Conscience for Justice. But it is the other Parts of a Moderatour, amongst your Council, of an Overseer over your Judges, of a Planter of fit Justices, and Governours in the Countrey, that importeth your Affairs in these times most.

I will add also, that I hope by my care, the inventive part of your Council will be strengthened, who now commonly, do exercise rather their Judgments, than their Inventions: And the inventive part cometh from Projectors, and private Men, which cannot be so well; in which kind, my Lord of *Salisbury* had a good Method, if his Ends had been upright.

To conclude, if I were the Man I would be, I should hope, that as your Majesty hath of late wone Hearts by depressing; you should in this leese no Hearts by advancing. For I see your People can better skill of *Concretum* than *Abstractum*, and that the Waves of their Affections flow rather after Persons than Things. So that Acts of this nature (if this were one) do more good than twenty Bills of Grace.

If God call my Lord, the Warrants and Commissions which are requisite for the taking the Seal, and for the working with it, and for the reviving of Warrants under his Hand, which die with him, and the like, shall be in readiness. And in this time presseth more, because it is the end of a Term, and almost the beginning of the Circuits: So that the Seal cannot stand still. But this may be done, as heretofore, by Commission, till your Majesty hath resolved of an Officer. God ever preserve your Majesty.

Febr. 12. 1615.

Your Majesty's most humble Subject, and bounden Servant.

A Letter to the King, of my Lord Chancellour's Amendment, and the Difference begun between the Chancery *and* King's-Bench.

It may please your Most Excellent Majesty,

I Do find (God be thanked) a sensible Amendment in my Lord Chancellour; I was with him yesterday in private Conference, about half an hour, and this day again, at such times as he did seal, which he endured well almost the space of an hour, though the vapour of the Wax be offensive to him. He is free from a Fever, perfect in his powers of Memory and Speech, and not hollow in his Voice nor Looks. He hath no panting, or labouring Respiration, neither are his Coughs dry or weak. But whosoever thinketh his Disease to be but Melancholy, maketh no true Judgment of it; for it is plainly a formed and deep Cough, with a pectoral Surcharge, so that, at times, he doth almost *animam agere*. I forbear to advertise your Majesty of the care I took to have Commissioners in readiness, because Master Secretary *Lake* hath let me understand he signified as much to your Majesty. But I hope, there shall be no use of them for this time.

And as I am glad to advertise your Majesty of the Amendment of your Chancellour's Person, so I am sorry to accompany it with an Advertisement of the Sickness of your Chancery Court; though (by the Grace of God) that Cure will be much easier than the other. It is true, I did lately write to your Majesty, that for the matter of *Habeas corpora* (which was the third Matter in Law you had given me in charge) I did think the Communion of Service between my Lord Chancellour, and my Lord Chief Justice, in the great business of Examination, would so joyn them, as they would not square at this time. But pardon me (I humbly pray your Majesty) if I have too reasonable Thoughts. And yet that which happened the last day of the Term concerning certain Indictments; in the nature of *Præmunire*, preferred into the King's Bench, but not found, is not so much as is noised abroad, (though I must say, it was *Omni tempore nimium, & hoc tempore alienum.*) And therefore I beseech your Majesty not

to give any believing Ear to Reports, but to receive the Truth from me that am your Attorney General, and ought to ſtand indifferent for Jurisdictions of all Courts; which I account I cannot give your Majeſty now, becauſe I was then abſent, and ſome are now abſent, which are Properly and Authentically to inform me, touching that which paſſed. Neither let this any way diſ-joint your other Buſineſs; for there is a time for all things, and this very Acciden tmay be turnedto good; not that I am of Opinion, that that ſame cunning Maxime of *Separa & Impera*, which ſometimes holdeth in Perſons, can well take place in Jurisdictions; but becauſe ſome good Occaſion by this Exceſs may be taken, to ſettle that which would have been more dangerous, if it had gone on, by little and little. God preſerve your Majeſty.

Febr. 15th 1615.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble Subject, and moſt bounden Servant.

A Letter to Sir Geo. Villiers, *touching the Difference between the Courts of* Chancery *and* King's-Bench.

Sir,

I Received this Morning from you two Letters by the ſame Bearer, the one written before the other, both after his Majeſty had received my laſt. In this Difference between the two Courts of Chancery and King's Bench (for ſo I had rather take it at this time, then between the Perſons of my Lord Chancellour, and my Lord Chief Juſtice,) I marvell not, if Rumour get way of true Relation; for I know Fame have ſwift Wings, ſpecially that which hath black Feathers; but within theſe two days (for ſooner I cannot be ready) I will write to his Majeſty both the Narrative truly, and my Opinion ſincerely, taking much comfort, that I ſerve ſuch a King, as hath God's Property, in diſcerning truly of Men's Hearts. I purpoſe to ſpeak with my Lord Chancellour this day, and ſo to exhibit that Cordial of his Majeſty's Grace, as I hope this other Accident will rather rowſe and raiſe his Spirits, than deject him, or incline him to a relapſe; mean while, I commend the Wit of a mean Man that ſaid this other day, Well (ſaith he) next Term you ſhall have an old Man come with a Beſom of Worm-wood in his hand, that will ſweep away all this. For it is my Lord Chancellour his Faſhion, eſpecially towards the Summer, to carry a Poſie of Worm-wood. I write this Letter in haſte, to return the Meſſenger with it. God keep you, and long and happily may you ſerve his Majeſty.

Feb. 19. 1615.

Your true and affectionate Servant.

POST-SCRIPT.

Sir, I humbly thank you for your inward Letter: I have burned it as you commanded, but the flame it hath kindled in me will never be extinguiſhed.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King, concerning the* Præmunire *in the* King's-Bench *againſt the* Chancery.

It may pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Was yeſterday in the Afternoon with my Lord Chancellour, according to your Commandment, which I received by the Mr. of the Horſe, and find the old Man well comforted, both towards God and towards the World. And that ſame middle Comfort, which is a Divine and Humane, proceeding from your Majeſty, being God's Lieutenant on Earth, I am perſuaded hath been a great Cauſe, that ſuch a Sickneſs hath been portable to ſuch an Age. I did not fail in my Conjecture, that this Buſineſs of the Chancery hath ſtirred him. He ſheweth to deſpiſe it, but yet he is full of it, and almoſt like a young Duelliſt that findeth himſelf behind hand.

I will now (as your Majeſty requireth) give you a true Relation of that which paſſed; neither will I decline your Royall Commandment, for delivering my Opinion alſo, though it be a tender Subject to write on. But I that account my Being but an Accident to my Service, will neglect no Duty upon ſelf-ſafety. Firſt, it is neceſſary I let your Majeſty know the ground of the Difference between the two Courts, that your Majeſty may the better underſtand the Narrative.

27 *E.* 3. *Cap.* 1. There was a Statute made 27 *Ed.* 3. *Cap.* 1. which (no doubt) in the principal Intention thereof, was ordained againſt thoſe that ſued to *Rome*, wherein there are Words ſomewhat general, againſt any that queſtioneth or impeacheth any Judgment given in the King's Courts, in any other Courts. Upon theſe doubtfull Words (other Courts) the Controverſie groweth; For the ſounder Interpretation taketh them to be meant of thoſe Courts which though locally they were not held at *Rome*, or where the Pope's Chair was, but here within the Realm,

Realm, yet in their Jurisdiction had their dependency upon the Court of *Rome*; as were the Court of the Legat here, and the Courts of the Arch-bishops and Bishops, which were then but subordinate judgment Seats, to that high Tribunal of *Rome*.

And for this Construction, the opposition of the Words, (if they be well observed) between the King's Courts and other Courts, maketh very much; For it importeth as if those other Courts were not the King's Courts. Also the main scope of the Statute fortifieth the same; and lastly, the Practice of many Ages. The other interpretation (which cleaveth to the Letter, expoundeth the King's Courts to be the Courts of Law only, and other Courts to be Courts of Equity, as the Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Dutchy, &c. though this also flyeth indeed from the Letter; for that all these are the King's Courts.

There is also another Statute, which is but a simple Prohibition, and not with a Penalty of *Præmunire* as the other is, That after Judgments given in the King's Court, the Parties shall be in Peace, except the Judgments be undone, by Errour, or Attaint, which is a legal form of Reversal. And of this also, I hold the sounder Interpretation to be, to settle Possessions against Disturbances, and not to take away Remedy in Equity, where those Judgments are obtained *ex rigore juris*, and against good Conscience. 4 *H.* 4. *Cap.* 23.

But upon these two Statutes, there hath been a late Conceipt in some, that if a Judgment pass at the Common Law against any, he may not after sue for Relief in Chancery; and if he do, both he and his Council, and his Sollicitor, yea and the Judge, in Equity, himself, are within the danger of those Statutes. There your Majesty hath the true state of the Question, which I was necessarily to shew you first, because your Majesty calleth for this Relation, not as News, but as Business. Now to the Historical part; It is the Course of the King's-Bench, that they give in Charge to the Grand Jury Offences of all Natures to be presented within *Middlesex*, where the said Court is; and the manner is to enumerate them, as it were in Articles. This was done by Justice *Crooke*, the Wednesday before the Term ended; and that Article, *if any Man after a Judgment given had drawn the said Judgment to a new Examination in any other Court*, was by him especially given in Charge, which had not used to be given in Charge before. It is true, it was not solemnly dwelt upon, but as it were, thrown in amongst the rest.

The last day of the Term (and that which all Men condemn, the supposed last day of my Lord Chancellour's life) there were two Indictments preferred of *Præmunire*, for suing in Chancery after Judgment at Common Law; The one by *Richard Glanduile*, the other by *William Allen*; the former against *Courtney* the Party in Chancery, *Gibb* the Councellour, and *Dearst* the Clerk. The latter against Alderman *Bowles*, and *Humfrey Smith*, Parties in Chancery, Serjeant *Moore* the Councellour, *Elias Wood* Sollicitor in the Cause, and Sir *John Tyndall* Master of the Chancery, and an Assessor to my Lord Chancellour. For the Cases themselves, it were too long to trouble your Majesty with them; but this I will say, if they were set on that preferred them, they were the worst Workmen that ever were that set them on; for there could not have been chosen two such Causes, to the Honour and Advantage of the Chancery, for the justness of the Decrees, and the foulness and scandal, both of Fact and Person, in those that impeach the Decrees.

The Grand Jury, consisting (as it seemeth) of very substantial and intelligent Persons, would not find the Bills, notwithstanding that they were much clamoured by the Parties, and twice sent back by the Court; and in conclusion, resolutely 17 of 19 found an *Ignoramus*; wherein, for that time, I think *Ignoramus* was wiser than those that knew too much.

Your Majesty will pardon me, if I be sparing in delivering to you some other Circumstances of aggravation, and Concurrances of some like Matters the same day, as if it had been some fatal Constellation. They be not things so sufficiently tried, as I dare put them into your Ear.

For my Opinion, I cannot but begin with this Preface, that I am infinitely sorry that your Majesty is thus to put to salve and cure, not only Accidents of time, but Errours of Servants. For I account this a kind of Sickness of my Lord *Coke*'s, that comes almost, in as ill a time, as the Sickness of my Lord Chancellour. And as I think it was one of the wisest Parts that ever he plaid when he went down to your Majesty to *Royston*, and desired to have my Lord Chancellour joined with him. So this was one of the weakest Parts that ever he plaid, to make all the World perceive that my Lord Chancellour is severed from him at this time.

But for that which may concern your Service, which is my end (leaving other Men to their own ways.) First, my Opinion is plainly, that my Lord *Coke*, at this time, is not to be disgraced, both because he is so well habituate for that which remaineth of these capital Causes, and also for that which I find is in his Breast touching your Finances, and matter of Repair of your Estate. And (if I might speak it) as I think it were good his hopes were at an end in some kind, so I could wish they were raised in some other. On the other side, this great and publick Affront, not only to the Reverend and well deserving Person of your Chancellour (and at a time when he was thought to lye a dying, which was barbarous) but to your high Court of Chancery (which is the Court of your absolute Power) may not (in my Opinion) pass lightly, nor end only in some formal Attonement; but use is to be made thereof, for the setling of your Authority, and strengthening of your Prerogative, according

according to the rules of Monarchy. Now to accommodate and reconcile these advices, which seem almost opposite.

First, Your Majesty may not see it (though I confess it be suspitious) that my Lord *Cooke* was any way aforehand privy to that which was done, or that he did set it, or animate it, but only took the matter as it came before him, and that his Errour was only that at such a time he did not divert it in some good manner.

Secondly, If it be true (as is reported) that any of the Puisne Judges did stir this business, or that they did openly revile and menace the Jury for doing their Conscience (as they did honestly and truly) I think that Judge is worthy to lose his place. And to be plain with your Majesty, I do not think there is any thing, a greater *Polycreston*, *ad multa utile*, to your affairs, than upon a just and fit occasion, to make some example against the presumption of a Judge, in causes that concern your Majesty; whereby the whole Body of those Magistrates may be contained in better awe; and it may be, this will light upon no unfit Subject, of a Person that is rude, and that no Man cares for.

Thirdly, If there be no one so much in fault (which I cannot yet affirm, either way, and there must be a just Ground, God forbid else) yet I should think, that the very presumption of going so far in so high a Cause deserveth to have that done, which was done in this very Case, upon the Indictment of Serjeant *Heale*, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, that the Judges should answer it upon their Knees before your Majesty, or your Council, and receive a sharp Admonition; at which time also, my Lord *Wrey*, being then Chief Justice, slipt the Collar, and was forborn.

Fourthly, For the Persons themselves, *Glanvile* and *Allen*, which are base Fellows, and turbulent, I think there will be discovered and proved against them (besides the preferring of the Bill) such Combination and contemptuous Speeches and Behaviour, as there will be good ground to call them, and perhaps some of their petty Councellours at Law, into the Star-Chamber.

In all this which I have said, your Majesty may be pleased to observe, that I do not engage you I now forbear. But two things I wish to be done; the one, That your Majesty take this occasion much in the main Point of the Jurisdiction, for which I have a great deal of Reason, which to redouble unto all your Judges your ancient and true Charge and Rule; that you will endure no innovating in the point of Jurisdictions; but will have every Court impaled within their own Presidents, and not assume to themselves new Powers, upon conceipts and inventions of Law: The other that in these high Causes, that touch upon State and Monarchy, your Majesty give them streight charge, That upon any occasions intervenient, hereafter, they do not make the vulgar party to their Contestations, by publick handling them before they have consulted with your Majesty, to whom the reglement of those things appertaineth. To conclude, I am not without hope, that your Majesty's managing this business, according to your great Wisdom, unto which I acknowledge my self not worthy to be Card-holder, or Candle-holder, will make profit of this accident, as a thing of Gods sending.

Lastly, I may not forget to represent to your Majesty, that there is no thinking of Arraignments, until these things be somewhat accommodated, and some outward and superficial Reconciliation, at least, made between my Lord Chancellour and my Lord Chief Justice; for this accident is a Banquet to all *Somerset*'s Friends. But this is a thing that falleth out naturally of it self, in respect of the Judges going Circuit, and my Lord Chancellour's Infirmity, with hope of Recovery. And although this protraction of time may breed some doubt of mutability, yet I have lately learned, out of an excellent Letter of a certain King, That the Sun sheweth sometimes watry to our Eyes, but when the Cloud is gone, the Sun is as before. God preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesties most humble subject, and most bounden Servant.

Febr. 21. 1615.

Your Majesty's Commandment speaketh for Pardon of so long a Letter; which yet I wish may have a short continuance, and be punished with fire.

Sir Francis Bacon, *the King's Attorney, to the King, touching the Proceeding with* Somerset.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

AT my last access to your Majesty, it was fit for me to consider the time, and your Journey, which make me now trouble your Majesty with a remnant of that I thought then to have said, besides your old Warrant, and Commission to me, to advertise your Majesty, when you are *aux champs*, of any thing that concern'd your Service, and my Place. I know your Majesty is *Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus*; and I confess, in regard of your great Judgment, (unto which nothing ought to be presented, but well weighed,) I could almost wish, that the manner of *Tiberius* were in use again, of whom *Tacitus* saith, *Mos erat quamvis præsentem scripto adire*; much more in absence.

I said

I ſaid to your Majeſty, that which I do now repeat, that the Evidence, upon which my Lord of *Somerſet* ſtandeth indicted, is of a good ſtrong Thread, conſidering, impoyſoning is the darkeſt of offences; but, that the Thread muſt be well ſpun, and woven together: For your Majeſty knoweth, it is one thing to deal with a Jury of *Middleſex* and *Londoners*, and another to deal with the Peers, whoſe objects, perhaps, will not be ſo much what is before them in the preſent Caſe, (which, I think, is as odious to them as to the vulgar,) but what may be hereafter. Beſides, there be two diſadvantages, we that ſhall give in evidence ſhall meet with, ſomewhat conſiderable; the one, that the ſame things, often open'd, loſe their freſhneſs, except there be an aſperſion of ſomewhat that is new; the other is, the expectation raiſed, which makes things ſeem leſs than they are, becauſe they are leſs than opinion. Therefore I were not your Attorney, nor my ſelf, if I ſhould not be very carefull, that in this laſt part, which is the pinnacle of your former Juſtice, all things may paſs *ſine offenſiculo, ſine ſcrupulo*. Hereupon I did move two things, which (having now more fully explained my ſelf) I do in all humbleneſs renew. Firſt, That your Majeſty will be carefull to chuſe a Steward of Judgment, that may be able to moderate the Evidence, and cut off Digreſſions; for I may interrupt, but I cannot ſilence: The other, that there may be ſpecial care taken, for the ordering of the Evidence, not only for the knitting, but for the liſt, and (to uſe your Majeſty's own word) the confining of it. This to doe, if your Majeſty vouchſafe to direct it your ſelf, that is the beſt; if not, I humbly pray you, to require my Lord Chancellor, that he, together with my Lord Chief Juſtice, will confer with my ſelf, and my fellows, that ſhall be uſed for the marſhalling and bounding of the Evidence; that we may have the help of his opinion, as well as that of my Lord Chief-Juſtice, whoſe great Travels as I much commend; yet that ſame *Plerophoria*, or over-confidence, doth always ſubject things to a great deal of chance.

There is another buſineſs proper for me to crave of your Majeſty at this time, as one that have in my Eye a great deal of ſervice to be done,) concerning your caſual Revenue; but conſidering times and Perſons, I deſire to be ſtrengthened by ſome ſuch form of Commandment, under your Royal Hand, as I ſend you here incloſed. I moſt humbly pray your Majeſty, to think, that I underſtand my ſelf right well in this which I deſire, and that it tendeth greatly to the good of your Service. The warrant I mean not to impart, but upon juſt occaſion. Thus, thirſty to hear of your Majeſty's good Health, I reſt.

Jan. 22. 1615.

Sir Francis Bacon, *the King's Attorney, to Sir* George Villiers *concerning the proceeding with* Somerſet.

SIR,

I Thought it convenient to give his Majeſty an Account of that which his Majeſty gave me in charge in general, reſerving the particulars for his coming. And I find it neceſſary to know his Pleaſure in ſome things, e're I could farther proceed.

My Lord Chancellour, and my ſelf, ſpent *Thurſday* and Yeſterday, the whole Fore-noons of both days, in the examination of Sir *Robert Cotton*, whom we find hitherto but empty, ſave onely in the great Point of the Treaty with *Spain*.

This Examination was taken before his Majeſty's Warrant came to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, for communicating unto us the ſecrets of the Penſions: Which Warrant I received yeſterday Morning, being *Friday*, and a meeting was appointed at my Lord Chancellour's, in the Evening, after Council: upon which conference, we find matter of farther Examination for Sir *Robert Cotton*, of ſome new Articles, whereupon to examine *Somerſet*, and of entring into Examination of Sir *William Mounſon*.

Wherefore, firſt for *Somerſet*, being now ready to proceed to examine him, we ſtay only upon the Duke of *Lenox*, who it ſeemeth is fallen Sick, and keepeth in; without whom, we neither think it warranted by his Majeſty's Direction, nor agreeable to his Intention, that we ſhould proceed; for, that will want, which ſhould ſweeten the cup of Medicine, he being his Country-Man and Friend. Herein then we humbly crave his Majeſty's Direction, with all convenient ſpeed, whether we ſhall expect the Duke's recovery, or proceed by our ſelves; or that his Majeſty will think of ſome other Perſon (qualified according to his Majeſty's juſt Intention,) to be joyned with us. I remember we had Speech with his Majeſty of my Lord *Hay*, and I, for my part, can think of no other, except it ſhould be my Lord Chancellour of *Scotland*, for my Lord *Binning* may be thought too near allied.

I am farther to know his Majeſty's Pleaſure concerning the day: For my Lord Chancellour, and I, conceived his Majeſty to have deſigned the *Monday* and *Tueſday* after St. *George*'s Feaſt; and nevertheleſs, we conceived alſo, that his Majeſty underſtood, that the Examinations of *Somerſet*, about this, and otherwiſe, touching the *Spaniſh* Practices, ſhould firſt be put to a Point; which will not be poſſible, as time cometh on, by reaſon of the accident of the Duke's ſickneſs, and the cauſe we find of Sir *William Mounſon's* Examination; and that divers of the Peers are to be ſent for, from remote Places.

It

It may pleaſe his Majeſty therefore, to take into conſideration, whether the Days may not well be put off till *Wedneſday* and *Thurſday* after the Term, which endeth on the *Monday*, being the *Wedneſday* and *Thurſday* before *Whitſontide*; or, if that pleaſe not his Majeſty, (in reſpect it may be his Majeſty will be then in Town, whereas theſe Arraignments have been ſtill in his Majeſty's Abſence from Town,) then to take *Monday* and *Tueſday* after Trinity Sunday; being the *Monday* and *Tueſday* before Trinity Term.

Now for Sir *William Mounſon*, if it be his Majeſty's Pleaſure that my Lord Chancellour and I ſhall proceed to the Examination of him, (for that of the Duke of *Lenox* differs, in that there is not the like Cauſe as in that of *Somerſet*,) then his Majeſty may be pleaſed to direct his Commandment and Warrant to my Lord Chief Juſtice, to deliver unto me the Examinations he took of Sir *William Mounſon*, that thoſe joined to the Information which we have received from Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, may be full Inſtructions unto us for his Examination. Farther, I pray let his Majeſty know, that on *Thurſday* in the Evening, my Lord Chief Juſtice and my ſelf attended my Lord Chancellour at his Houſe, for the ſettling of that Scruple which his Majeſty moſt juſtly conceived in the Examination of the Lady *Somerſet*; at which time, reſting on his Majeſty's opinion, that that Evidence, as it ſtandeth now unclear'd, muſt *ſecundum leges ſanæ Conſcientiæ* be laid aſide; the Queſtion was, Whether we ſhould leave it out, or try what a Re-examination of my Lady *Somerſet* would produce? Whereupon, we agreed upon a Re-examination of my Lady *Somerſet*, which my Lord Chief Juſtice and I have appointed for *Monday* Morning. I was bold, at that Meeting, to put my Lord Chief Juſtice a poſing Queſtion, which was, Whether that opinion which his Brethren had given upon the whole Evidence, and he had reported to his Majeſty, *viz. That it was good Evidence, in their opinions, to convict my Lord of* Somerſet, was not grounded upon this part of the Evidence now to be omitted, as well as upon the reſt. Who anſwered poſitively, No: and they never ſaw the Expoſition of the Letter, but only the Letter.

The ſame *Thurſday* Evening, before we entred into this laſt matter, and in the preſence of Mr. Secretary *Winwood*, (who left us when we went to the former Buſineſs,) we had conference concerning the Frauds and abuſive Grants paſſed to the prejudice of his Majeſty's ſtate of Revenue; where my Lord Chief Juſtice made ſome relation of his Collections which he had made of that kind; of which I will only ſay this, that I heard nothing that was new to me, and I found my Lord Chancellour, in divers particulars, more ready than I found him. We grew to a diſtribution both of Times and of Matters: For we agreed what to begin with preſently, and what ſhould follow; and alſo we had conſideration what was to be holpen by Law, what by Equity, and what by Parliament; wherein I muſt confeſs, that in the laſt of theſe (of which my Lord Chief Juſtice made moſt account,) I make moſt doubt. But the concluſion was, That upon this entrance, I ſhould adviſe and confer at large with my Lord Chief Juſtice, and ſet things in work. The Particulars I refer till his Majeſty's coming.

The learned Council have attended me twice at my Chamber, to confer upon that which his Majeſty gave us in Commandment, for our Opinions upon the Caſe ſet down by my Lord Chancellour, whether the Statutes extend to it or no. Wherein we are more and more edified and confirmed, that they do not; and ſhall ſhortly ſend our Report to his Majeſty.

Sir, I hope you will bear me witneſs, I have not been Idle; but all is nothing to the Duty I owe his Majeſty, for his ſingular favours paſt and preſent. Supplying all with Love and Prayers, I reſt,

April 13. 1616. *Your true Friend, and devoted Servant.*

Sir Francis Bacon, *the King's Attorney, giving Account of an Examination taken of* Somerſet *at the Tower.*

SIR,

I Received from you a Letter of very brief and clear Directions, and I think it a great Bleſſing of God upon me and my labours, that my Directions come by ſo clear a Conduit, as they receive no Tincture in the paſſage.

Yeſterday, my Lord Chancellour, the Duke of *Lenox*, and my ſelf, ſpent the whole Afternoon at the Tower, in the Examination of *Somerſet*, upon the Articles ſent from his Majeſty, and ſome other Additionals, which were in effect contained in the former, but extended to more particularity, by occaſion of ſomewhat diſcovered by *Cotton*'s Examination, and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's Information.

He is full of Proteſtations, and would fain keep that Quarter toward *Spain* clear, uſing but this for Argument, That he had ſuch Fortunes from his Majeſty, as he could not think of bettering his conditions from *Spain*, becauſe (as he ſaid) he was no military Man. He cometh nothing ſo far on (for that which concerneth the Treaty) as *Cotton*, which doth much aggravate Suſpition againſt him. The farther Particulars I reſerve to his Majeſty's coming.

In

In the end, *tanquam obiter*, but very effectually, my Lord Chancellour put him in mind of the ſtate he ſtood in for the Impriſonment; but he was little moved with it, and pretended carcleſneſs of Life, ſince Ignominy had made him unfit for his Majeſty's Service. I am of opinion, that the fair uſage of him, as it was fit for the *Spaniſh* Examinations, and for the Queſtions touching the Papers and Diſpatches, and all that; ſo it was no good preparative, to make him deſcend into himſelf touching his preſent Danger: and therefore my Lord Chancellour and my ſelf, thought not good to inſiſt upon it at this time.

I have received from my Lord Chief Juſtice the Examinations of Sir *William Mounſon*; with whom we mean to proceed to farther Examination with all ſpeed.

My Lord Chief Juſtice is altered touching the Re-examination of the Lady, and deſired me that we might ſtay till he ſpake with his Majeſty, ſaying, it could be no caſting back to the Buſineſs, which I did approve.

My ſelf, with the reſt of my Fellows, upon due and mature advice, perfected our Report touching the Chancery; for the receiving whereof, I pray you put his Majeſty in mind, at his coming, to appoint ſome time for us to wait upon him all together, for the delivery in of the ſame, as we did in our former Certificate.

For the Reventie matters, I reſerve them to his Majeſty's coming; and in the mean time, I doubt not but Mr. Secretary *Winwood* will make ſome kind of Report thereof to his Majeſty.

For the concluſion of your Letter, concerning my own comfort, I can ſay but the Pſalm of *Quid retribuam?* God, that giveth me favour in his Majeſty's Eyes, will ſtrengthen me in his Majeſty's Service. I ever reſt,

Your true and devoted Servant.

To requite your Poſt-ſcript of Excuſe for Scribling, I pray you excuſe that the Paper is not gilt, I writing from *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where we are not ſo fine.

Sir Francis Bacon, *the King's Attorney, to Sir* George Villiers, *touching the Proceeding with* Somerſet.

SIR,

I Have received my Letter from his Majeſty, with his Marginal Notes, which ſhall be my Directions, being glad to perceive I underſtand his Majeſty ſo well. That ſame little Charm, which may be ſecretly infuſed into *Somerſet*'s Ear ſome few Hours before his Tryall, was excellently well thought of by his Majeſty, and I do approve it, both for matter and time; only, if it ſeem good to his Majeſty, I would wiſh it a little enlarged: For if it be no more but to ſpare his Blood, he hath a kind of proud humour, which may over-work the Medicine. Therefore I could wiſh it were made a little ſtronger, by giving him ſome hope that his Majeſty will be good to his Lady and Child; and that time (when Juſtice, and his Majeſty's Honour, is once ſaved and ſatisfied) may produce farther fruit of his Majeſty's Compaſſion; which was to be ſeen in the Example of *Southampton*, whom his Majeſty, after Attainder, reſtored; and *Cobham* and *Gray*, to whom his Majeſty (notwithſtanding they were Offenders againſt his own Perſon,) yet ſpared their Lives; and for *Gray*, his Majeſty gave him back ſome part of his Eſtate, and was upon point to deliver him much more; he, having been ſo highly in his Majeſty's Favour, may hope well, if he hurt not himſelf by his publick miſdemeanour.

For the Perſon that ſhould deliver this Meſſage, I am not ſo well ſeen in the Region of his Friends, as to be able to make choice of a particular; my Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *Knolles*, or any of his neareſt Friends, ſhould not be truſted with it; for they may go too far, and perhaps, work contrary to his Majeſty's ends. Thoſe which occur to me, are my Lord *Hay*, my Lord *Burleigh* (of *England*, I mean,) and Sir *Robert Carr*.

My Lady of *Somerſet* hath been re-examined, and his Majeſty is found, both a true Prophet, and a moſt juſt King, in that ſcruple he made: For now ſhe expoundeth the word *He*, that ſhould ſend the Tarts to *Helwiſh*'s Wife, to be of *Overbury*, and not of *Somerſet*: But for the Perſon that ſhould bid her, ſhe ſaith, it was *Northampton*, or *Weſton*, not pitching upon certainty, which giveth ſome Advantage to the Evidence.

Yeſterday being *Wedneſday*, I ſpent 4 or 5 hours with the Judges, whom his Majeſty deſigned to take conſideration with the four Judges of the King's-Bench, of the Evidence againſt *Somerſet*. They all concur in Opinion, that the queſtioning him, and drawing him on to Tryall, is moſt honourable and juſt, and that the Evidence is fair and good.

His Majeſty's Letter to the Judges concerning the *Commendams* was full of Magnanimity and Wiſdom. I perceive his Majeſty is never leſs alone, than when he is alone; for I am ſure there was no body by him to inform him, which made me admire it the more.

The Judges have given a day over, till the ſecond *Saturday* of the next Term, ſo as that matter may indure farther Conſideration for his Majeſty, not only not to loſe ground, but to win ground.

To Morrow is appointed for the Examination of *Somerset*, which by ſome infirmity of the Duke of *Lenox*, was put off from this day. When this is done, I will write more fully, ever reſting.

May 2. 1616. *Your true and devoted Servant.*

Sir Francis Bacon, the *King's Attorney*, *to Sir* George Villiers, *of Account and Advice to his Majeſty touching* Somerſet's *Arraignment.*

SIR,

I am far enough from Opinion, that the *Reſtintegration* or *Reſuſcitation* of *Somerſet's* Fortune can ever ſtand with his Majeſty's Honour and Safety; and therein I think I expreſt my ſelf fully to his Majeſty in one of my former Letters; and I know well any expectation or thought abroad will doe much hurt. But yet the glimmering of that which the King hath done to others, by way of talk to him, cannot hurt, as I conceive; but I would not have that part of the Meſſage as from the King, but added by the meſſenger, as from himſelf. This I remit to his Majeſty's Princely judgment.

For the perſon, though he truſt the Lieutenant well, yet it muſt be ſome new man; for in theſe caſes, that which is ordinary worketh not ſo great impreſſions, as that which is new and extraordinary.

The time I wiſh to be the *Tueſday*, being the Even of his Lady's Arraignment. For as his Majeſty firſt conceived, I would not have it ſtay in his Stomach too long, leſt it ſowre in the digeſtion; and to be too near the time, may be thought but to tune him for that day.

I ſend herewithall the ſubſtance of that which I purpoſe to ſay nakedly, and only in that part which is of tenderneſs; for that I conceive was his Majeſty's meaning.

It will be neceſſary, becauſe I have diſtributed parts to the two Serjeants, (as that Paper doth expreſs,) and they underſtand nothing of his Majeſty's Pleaſure, of the manner of carrying the Evidence, more than they may gueſs by obſervation of my Example, (which they may aſcribe as much to my Nature, as to Direction,) therefore that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to write ſome few words to us all, ſigned with his own Hand, that the matter it ſelf being Tragical enough, bitterneſs and inſulting be forborn; and that we remember our part, to be to make him delinquent to the Peers, and not odious to the People. That part of the Evidence of the Lady's expoſition of the Pronoun (He,) which was firſt caught hold of by me, and after by his Majeſty's ſingular Wiſdom and Conſcience excepted to, and now is by her re-examination retracted, I have given order to Serjeant *Montague*, (within whoſe part it falleth) to leave it out of the Evidence.

I do yet crave Pardon, if I do not certifie touching the point of Law for reſpiting the Judgment, for I have not fully adviſed with my Lord Chancellour concerning it, but I will advertiſe it in time.

I ſend his Majeſty the Lord Steward's Commiſſion in two ſeveral Inſtruments, the one to remain with my Lord Chancellour, which is that which is written in Secretary Hand for his Warrant, and is to paſs the Signet; the other, that, whereunto the Great Seal is to be affixed, which is in Chancery-Hand. His Majeſty is to Sign them both, and to tranſmit the former to the Signet, if the Secretaries either of them be there, and both of them are to be returned to me with all ſpeed. I ever reſt.

May 5. 1616. *Your true and devoted Servant.*

Sir Francis Bacon *the King's Attorney, and ſome great Lords Commiſſioners, concerning the perſuaſion uſed to the Lord of* Somerſet *to a frank Confeſſion.*

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE have done our beſt endeavours, to perform your Majeſty's Commiſſion, both in matter and manner, for the Examination of my Lord *Somerſet*, wherein that which paſſed (for the general) was to this effect, that he was to know his own Caſe, for that his day of Tryall could not be far off; but that this days work was that which would conduce to your Majeſty's Juſtice little or nothing, but to your Mercy much, if he did lay hold upon it, and therefore, might doe him good, but could doe him no hurt; for as for your Juſtice, there had been taken great and grave Opinion, not only of ſuch Judges as he may think Violent, but of the moſt ſtaidſt and moſt temperate of the Kingdom, who ought to underſtand the ſtate of the Proofs, that the Evidence was full to convict him, ſo as there needeth neither Confeſſion, nor ſupply of Examination. But for your Majeſty's Mercy (although he were not to expect we ſhould make any promiſe) we did aſſure him, that your Majeſty was compaſſionate of him, if he gave you ſome ground whereon to work; that as long as he ſtood upon his Innocency, and Tryall, your Majeſty was tied in Honour to proceed according to Juſtice, and that he little underſtood (being a cloſe Priſoner) how much the expectation of the World, beſides your Love to Juſtice it ſelf, ingaged your Majeſty, whatſoever your inclination were. But nevertheleſs

vertheleſs, that a frank and clear Confeſſion might open the Gate of Mercy, and help to ſatisfie the Point of Honour.

That his Lady (as he knew, and that after many Oaths, and Imprecations to the contrary) had nevertheleſs in the end, been touched with Remorſe, confeſſed, that ſhe that led him to offend, might lead him likewiſe to repent of his Offence. That the Confeſſion of one of them could not fitly doe either of them much good; but the Confeſſion of both of them might work ſome farther effect towards both. And therefore, in Concluſion, we wiſhed him not to ſhut the Gate of your Majeſty's Mercy againſt himſelf, by being obdurate any longer. This was the effect of that which was ſpoken, part by one of us, part by another, as it fell out, adding farther that he might well diſcern who ſpake in us, in the courſe we held; for that Commiſſioners for Examination might not preſume ſo far of themſelves.

Not to trouble your Majeſty with Circumſtances of his Anſwers, the ſequel was no other, but that we found him ſtill, not to come any degree farther on to confeſs; only his Behaviour was very ſober, and modeſt, and mild, (differing apparently from other times) but yet, as it ſeem'd reſolv'd to expect his Tryall.

Then did we proceed to examine him upon divers Queſtions, touching the Impoyſonment, which indeed were very material, and ſupplemental to the former Evidence; wherein either his Affirmatives gave ſome light, or his Negatives do greatly falſifie him, in that which is apparently proved.

We made this farther Obſervation, that when we asked him ſome Queſtion that did touch the Prince, or ſome foreign Practice, (which we did very ſparingly at this time,) yet he grew a little ſtirred, but in the Queſtions of the Impoyſonment very cold and modeſt. Thus not thinking it neceſſary to trouble your Majeſty with any farther particulars, we end with Prayer to God, ever to preſerve your Majeſty.

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Faithfull Servant, &c.

If it ſeem good unto your Majeſty, we think it not amiſs ſome Preacher (well choſen) had acceſs to my Lord of *Somerſet*, for his preparing and Comfort, although it be before his Tryal.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King, upon ſome inclination of his Majeſty, ſignified to him for the Chancellour's Place.*

It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

THE laſt day when it pleaſed your Majeſty to expreſs your ſelf towards me in Favour, far above that I can deſerve, or could expect, I was ſurpriſed by the Prince's coming in; I moſt humbly pray your Majeſty, therefore, to accept theſe few Lines of acknowledgment.

I never had great thoughts for my ſelf, farther than to maintain thoſe great thoughts which I confeſs I have for your Service. I know what Honour is, and I know what the Times are; but I thank God with me my Service is the Principal, and it is far from me, under honourable Pretenſes, to cover baſe Deſires, which I account them to be, when Men refer too much to themſelves, eſpecially ſerving ſuch a King. I am affraid of nothing, but that the Maſter of the Horſe, your excellent Servant, and my Self, ſhall fall out about this, who ſhall hold your Stirrup beſt; but were your Majeſty mounted, and ſeated without difficulties and diſtaſts in your Buſineſs, as I deſire and hope to ſee you, I ſhould *ex animo* deſire to ſpend the decline of my Years in my Studies, wherein alſo I ſhould not forget to doe him Honour, who beſides his active and politick Vertues, is the beſt Pen of King's, and much more the beſt Subject of a Pen. God ever preſerve your Majeſty.

April 1. 1616.

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble Subject, and more and more obliged Servant.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Sir* George Villiers, *of Advice concerning* Ireland, *from* Gorambury *to* Windſor.

SIR,

BEcauſe I am uncertain whether his Majeſty will put to a Point ſome Reſolutions touching *Ireland*, now at *Windſor*; I thought it my Duty to attend his Majeſty by my Letter, and thereby to ſupply my Abſence, for the renewing of ſome former Commiſſions for *Ireland*, and the framing of a new Commiſſion for the Wards, and the Alienations, which appertain properly to me, as his Majeſty's Attorney, and have been accordingly referred by the Lords, I will undertake that they are prepared with a greater Care, and better Application to his Majeſty's Service, in that Kingdom, than heretofore they have been; and therefore of that I ſay no more. And for the Inſtructions of the new Depu-

ty, they have been ſet down by the two Secretaries, and read to the Board, and being things of an ordinary Nature, I do not ſee but they may paſs. But there have been three Propoſitions and Councils which have been ſtirred, which ſeem to me of very great importance, wherein I think my ſelf bound to deliver to his Majeſty my Advice, and Opinion, if they ſhould now come in Queſtion. The firſt is touching the Recuſant Magiſtrates of the Towns of *Ireland*, and the Commonalties themſelves, and their Electors, what ſhall be done; which Conſultation ariſeth from the late Advertiſements from the two Lord Juſtices, upon the inſtance of the two Towns *Limerick* and *Kilkenny*; in which Advertiſements, they repreſent the Danger only without giving any light for the Remedy, rather warily for themſelves, than agreeable to their Duties and Places. In this Point, I humbly pray his Majeſty to remember, that the refuſal is not of the Oath of Allegiance, (which is not enacted in *Ireland*,) but of the Oath of Supremacy, which cutteth deeper into matter of Conſcience.

Alſo that his Majeſty, will out of the depth of his Excellent Wiſdom and Providence, think, and as it were calculate with himſelf, whether Time will make more for the Cauſe of Religion in *Ireland*, and be ſtill more and more propitious, or whether differing Remedies will not make the Caſe more difficult. For if Time give his Majeſty the Advantage, what needeth precipitation of extreme Remedies; but if the Time will make the Caſe more deſperate, then his Majeſty cannot begin too ſoon. Now, in my Opinion, Time will open and facilitate things for Reformation of Religion there, and not ſhut up or lock out the ſame. For Firſt, the Plantations going on, and being principally of Proteſtants, cannot but mate the other party in time. Alſo his Majeſty's care in placing good Biſhops, and good Divines; in amplifying the College there, and looking to the education of Wards, and ſuch like; as they are the moſt natural means, ſo are they like to be the moſt effectual and happy, for the weeding out of Popery, without uſing the Temporal Sword; ſo that I think I may truly conclude, that the ripeneſs of time is not yet come.

Therefore my Advice is, in all humbleneſs, that this hazardous courſe of proceeding to tender the Oath to the Magiſtrates of Towns, proceed not, but die by degrees. And yet to preſerve the Authority and Reputation of the former Council, I would have ſomewhat done, which is, that there be a proceeding to ſeiſure of Liberties, but not by any act of Power, but by *quo Warranto*, or *Scire Facias*, which is a legal courſe, and will be the work of three or four Terms; by which time the matter will be ſomewhat cool.

But I would not (in no caſe) that the proceeding ſhould be with both the Towns which ſtand now in contempt, but with one of them only, chuſing that which ſhall be moſt fit. For, if his Majeſty proceed with both, then all the Towns that are in the like caſe will think it a common Cauſe, and that it is but their caſe to day, and their own to morrow. But if his Majeſty proceed but with one, the apprehenſion and terrour will not be ſo ſtrong; for, they may think, it may be their caſe to be ſpared, as well as proſecuted. And this is the beſt Advice that I can give to his Majeſty, in this ſtreight; and of this Opinion ſeemed my Lord Chancellour to be.

The ſecond Propoſition is this, it may be, his Majeſty will be moved to reduce the number of his Council of *Ireland*, (which is now almoſt Fifty) to Twenty, or the like Number, in reſpect that the greatneſs of the Number doth both imbaſe the Authority of the Council, and divulge the Buſineſs. Nevertheleſs, I hold this Propoſition to be rather ſpecious, and ſolemn, than needfull at this time; for certainly, it will fill the State full of Diſcontentment, which, in a growing and unſetled State, ought not to be. This I could wiſh, that his Majeſty would appoint a ſelect number of Councellours there, which might deal in the improvement of his Revenue (being a thing not to paſs through too many Hands,) and the ſaid ſelected number ſhould have days of ſitting by themſelves, at which the reſt of the Council ſhould not be preſent; which being once ſetled, then other principal buſineſs of State may be handled at theſe ſittings; and ſo the reſt begin to be diſuſed, and yet retain their Countenance, without murmur, or diſgrace.

The third Propoſition, as it is moved, ſeemeth ro be pretty, if it can keep promiſe; for it is this, That a means may be found to re-inforce his Majeſty's Army by five Hundred, or a Thouſand Men, and that without any penny increaſe of charge. And the means ſhould be, That there ſhould be a Commandment of a local removing, and transferring ſome companies from one Province to another, whereupon it is ſuppoſed, that many that are planted in Houſe and Lands, will rather loſe their entertainment, than remove; and thereby new Men may have their Pay, yet the old be mingled in the Countrey, for the ſtrength thereof. In this Propoſition two things may be feared; the one, diſcontent of thoſe that ſhall be put off; the other, that the Companies ſhould be ſtuffed with Novices, (*Tirones*) inſtead of *Veterani*. I wiſh therefore, that this Propoſition be well debated, before it be admitted. Thus having performed that which Duty binds me to, I commend you to Gods beſt Preſervation.

July 5. 1616. *Your moſt devoted and bounden Servant*

The

The Copy of a Letter, conceiv'd to be written to the Late Duke of Buckingham, *when he firſt became a Favourite to King* James, *by Sir* Francis Bacon, *afterwards Lord* Verulam, *and Viſcount S.* Alban; *containing ſome Advices unto the Duke, for his better direction in that eminent Place of the Favourite; drawn from him at the intreaty of the Duke himſelf, by much importunity.*

Noble Sir,

WHat you requeſted of me by Word, when I laſt waited on you, you have ſince renewed by your Letters. Your Requeſts are Commands unto me; and yet the matter is of that Nature, that I find my ſelf very unable to ſerve you therein, as you deſire. It hath pleaſed the King to caſt an extraordinary Eye of Favour upon you, and you expreſs your ſelf very deſirous to win upon the Judgment of your Maſter, and not upon his Affections only. I do very much commend your noble Ambition herein; for, Favour ſo bottomed, is like to be laſting; whereas if it be built but upon the ſandy Foundation of perſonal Reſpects only, it cannot be long-lived.

Yet in this you have erred, in applying your ſelf to me, the moſt unworthy of your Servants, to give Aſſiſtance upon ſo weighty a Subject.

You know, I am no Courtier, nor vers'd in State-Affairs; my Life, hitherto, hath rather been Contemplative, than Active; I have rather ſtudied Books than Men, I can but gueſs, at the moſt, at theſe things, in which you deſire to be adviſed: Nevertheleſs, to ſhew my Obedience, though with the hazard of my Diſcretion, I ſhall yield unto you.

Sir, in the firſt Place, I ſhall be bold to put you in mind of the preſent Condition you are in; you are not only a Courtier, but a Bed-Chamber Man, and ſo are in the Eye and Ear of your Maſter; but you are alſo a Favourite: The Favourite of the time, and ſo are in his Boſome alſo; the World hath ſo voted you, and doth ſo eſteem of you, (for Kings and great Princes, even the wiſeſt of them, have had their Friends, their Favourites, their Privadoes, in all Ages; for they have their Affections, as well as other Men,) of theſe they make ſeveral uſes, ſometimes to communicate and debate their Thoughts with them, and to ripen their Judgments thereby; ſometimes to eaſe their Cares by imparting them, and ſometimes to interpoſe them, between themſelves and the Envy or Malice of their People, (for Kings cannot err, that muſt be diſcharged upon the Shoulders of their Miniſters; and they who are neareſt unto them muſt be content to bear the greateſt Load.) Truly Sir, I do not believe or ſuſpect that you are choſen to this Eminency, out of the laſt of theſe Conſiderations; for you ſerve ſuch a Maſter, who by his Wiſdom and Goodneſs, is as free from the Malice or Envy of his Subjects, as, I think I may ſay truly, ever any King was, who hath ſate upon his Throne before him: But I am confident, his Majeſty hath caſt his Eyes upon you, as finding you to be ſuch as you ſhould be, or hoping to make you to be ſuch as he would have you to be; for this I may ſay, without flattery, your out-ſide promiſeth as much as can be expected from a Gentleman: But be it in the one reſpect, or other, it belongeth to you to take care of your ſelf, and to know well what the name of a Favourite ſignifies; if you be choſen upon the former reſpects, you have reaſon to take care of your Actions and Deportment, out of your Gratitude, for the King's ſake; but if out of the latter, you ought to take the greater care, for your own ſake.

You are as a new riſen Star, and the eyes of all Men are upon you; let not your own Negligence make you fall like a Meteor.

The Contemplation of your preſent condition muſt neceſſarily prepare you for Action; what time can be well ſpar'd from your attendance on your Maſter will be taken up by Suitors, whom you cannot avoid, nor decline, without Reproach; for if you doe not already, you will ſoon find the throng of Suitors attend you; for no Man, almoſt, who hath to do with the King will think himſelf ſafe, unleſs you be his good Angel, and guide him, or at leaſt, that you be not a *Malus Genius* againſt him; ſo, that in reſpect of the King your Maſter, you muſt be very wary, that you give him true Information, and if the matter concern him in his Government, that you do not flatter him; if you do, you are as great a Traytor to him in the Court of Heaven, as he that draws his Sword againſt him; and in reſpect of the Suitors which ſhall attend you, there is nothing will bring you more Honour and more Eaſe, than to doe them what right in juſtice you may, and with as much ſpeed as you may; for believe it, Sir, next to the obtaining of the Suit, a ſpeedy and a gentle denial (when the caſe will not bear it) is the moſt acceptable to Suitors; they will gain by their diſpatch; whereas elſe they ſhall ſpend their Time and Money in attending; and you will gain in the eaſe you will find in being rid of their importunity. But if they obtain what they reaſonably deſired, they will be doubly bound to you for your Favour; *Bis dat, qui cito dat*, it multiplies the Courteſie, to doe it with good words, and ſpeedily.

That

That you may be able to doe this with the beſt Advantage, my humble Advice is this; when Suitors come unto you, ſet a part a certain hour in a day to give them Audience: If the Buſineſs be light and eaſie, it may by Word only be delivered, and in a Word be anſwered; but if it be of Weight, or of Difficulty, direct the Suitor to commit it to Writing, (if it be not ſo already) and then direct him to attend for his Anſwer at a ſet time to be appointed, which would conſtantly be obſerved, unleſs ſome Matter of great Moment do interrup it; when you have received the Petitions (and it will pleaſe the Petitioners well, to have acceſs unto you to deliver them into your own hand) let your Secretary firſt read them, and draw Lines under the material Parts thereof (for the Matter, for the moſt part, lies in a narrow room) The Petitions being thus prepared, do you conſtantly ſet a part an hour in a day to peruſe thoſe Petitions; and after you have ranked them into ſeveral Files, according to the Subject-matter, make choice of two or three Friends, whoſe Judgments and Fidelities you believe you may truſt in a Buſineſs of that Nature, and recommend it to one or more of them, to inform you of their Opinions, and of their Reaſons for or againſt the granting of it; and if the Matter be of great Weight indeed, then it would not be amiſs to ſend ſeveral Copies of the ſame Petition to ſeveral of your Friends, the one not knowing what the other doth, and deſire them to return their Anſwers to you by a certain time, to be perfixed in Writing; ſo ſhall you receive an impartial Anſwer, and by comparing the one with the other, you ſhall both diſcern the Abilities and Faithfulneſs of your Friends, and be able to give a Judgment thereupon, as an Oracle. But by no means truſt not to your own Judgment alone, for no Man is omniſcient; nor truſt only to your Servants, who may miſlead you, or miſ-inform you; by which they may perhaps gain a few Crowns, but the Reproach will lie upon your ſelf, if it be not rightly carried.

For the facilitating of your Diſpatches, my Advice is farther, that you divide all the Petitions, and the Matters therein contained, under ſeveral Heads, which, I conceive, may be fitly ranked into theſe eight Sorts.

1. Matters that concern Religion, and the Church and Church-men.
2. Matters concerning Juſtice, and the Laws, and the Profeſſours thereof.
3. Councellours, and the Council Table, and the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdom.
4. Forreign Negotiations and Embaſſies.
5. Peace and War, both Forreign and Civil, and in that the Navy and Forts, and what belongs to them.
6. Trade at Home and Abroad.
7. Colonies, or forreign Plantations.
8. The Court, and Curiality.

And whatſoever will not fall naturally under one of theſe Heads, believe me, Sir, will not be worthy of your thoughts, in this Capacity we now ſpeak of. And of theſe ſorts, I warrant you, you will find enough to keep you in Buſineſs.

I begin with the firſt, which concerns Religion.

1. In the firſt place, be you your ſelf rightly perſuaded and ſettled in the true Proteſtant Religion, profeſſed by the Church of *England*; which doubtleſs is as ſound and orthodox in the Doctrine thereof, as any Chriſtian Church in the World.

2. In this your need not be a Monitour to your gracious Maſter the King; the chiefeſt of his imperial Titles, is, to be *The Defender of the Faith*; and his Learning is eminent, not only above other Princes, but obove other Men; be but his Scholar, and you are ſafe in that.

3. For the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, by Biſhops, &c. I will not poſitively ſay, as ſome do, that its *Jure Divino*; but this I ſay, and think, *ex animo*, that it is the neareſt to Apoſtolical Truth; and confidently I ſhall ſay, it is the fitteſt for Monarchy of all others: I will uſe no other Authority to you, than that excellent Proclamation ſet out by the King himſelf in the firſt Year of his Reign, and annexed before the Book of Common-Prayer, which I deſire you to read; and if at any time there ſhall be the leaſt Motion made for Innovation, to put the King in mind to read it himſelf: It is moſt dangerous in a State to give ear to the leaſt Alterations in Government.

4. Take heed, I beſeech you, that you be not an Inſtrument to Countenance the *Romiſh Catholicks*; I cannot flatter, the World believes that ſome near in Bloud to you are too much of that perſuaſion; you muſt uſe them with fit Reſpects, according to the Bonds of Nature; but you are of Kin, and ſo a Friend to their Perſons, not to their Errours.

5. The Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, next under the King, have the Government of the Church and Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; be not you the mean to prefer any to thoſe Places, for any by-reſpects; but only for their Learning, Gravity and Worth; their Lives and Doctrine ought to be exemplary.

6. For Deans, and Canons, or Prebends of Cathedral Churches: In their firſt Inſtitution they were of great uſe in the Church; they were not only to be of Council with the Biſhop for his Revenue, but chiefly for his Government in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; uſe your beſt means to prefer ſuch to thoſe Places who are fit to that purpoſe, Men eminent for their Learning, Piety, and Diſcretion, and put the King often in mind thereof; and let them be reduced again to their firſt Inſtitution.

7. You

7. You will be often follicited. and perhaps importuned to prefer Scholars to Church-Livings; you may further your Friends in that way, *ceteris paribus*; otherwiſe, remember I pray, that theſe are not Places merely of Favour, the Charge of Souls lies upon them; the greateſt Account whereof will be required at their own hands; but they will ſhare deeply in their Faults who are the Inſtruments of their Preferment.

8. Beſides the Romiſh Catholicks, there is a Generation of Sectaries, the Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and others, of their kinds; they have been ſeveral times very buſie in this Kingdom, under the colour of Zeal for Reformation of Religion: The King your Maſter knows their Diſpoſition very well; a ſmall touch will put him in mind of them; he had experience of them in *Scotland*, I hope he will beware of them in *England*; a little Countenance or Connivency ſets them on fire.

9. Order and decent Ceremonies in the Church, are not onely comely but commendable, but there muſt be great Care, not to introduce Innovations, they will quickly prove ſcandalous, Men are naturally over-prone to Suſpition; the true Proteſtant Religion is ſeated in the golden Mean; the Enemies unto her are the Extremes on either hand.

10. The Perſons of Church-men are to be had in due reſpect, for their Work's ſake, and protected from ſcorn; but if a Clergy-man be looſe and ſcandalous, he muſt not be patronized nor wink't at; the example of a few ſuch corrupt many.

11. Great care muſt be taken, that the Patrimony of the Church be not ſacrilegiouſly diverted to lay uſes: his Majeſty in his time hath religiouſly ſtopped a Leak that did much harm, and would elſe have done more. But ſure, as much as in you lies, ſtop the like upon all occaſions.

12. Colleges and Schools of Learning are to be cheriſhed and encouraged, there to breed up a new Stock to furniſh the Church and Common-wealth, when the old Store are tranſplanted. This Kingdom hath in latter Ages been famous for good Literature; and if Preferment ſhall attend the Deſervers, there will not want ſupplies.

Next to Religion, let your care be to promote Juſtice. By Juſtice and Mercy is the King's Throne eſtabliſhed.

1. Let the Rule of Juſtice be the Laws of the Land, an impartial Arbiter between the King and his People, and between one Subject and another: I ſhall not ſpeak ſuperlatively of them, leſt I be ſuſpected of partiality, in regard of my own Profeſſion; but this I may truly ſay, they are ſecond to none in the Chriſtian World.

2. And, as far as it may lie in you, let no Arbitrary Power be intruded; the People of this Kingdom love the Laws thereof, and nothing will oblige them more, than a confidence of a free enjoying of them; What the Nobles, upon an Occaſion, once ſaid in Parliament, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, is imprinted in the Hearts of all the People.

3. But becauſe the Life of the Laws lies in the due Execution and Adminiſtration of them, let your Eye be, in the firſt place, upon the choice of good Judges; Theſe properties had they need to be furniſhed with; To be learned in their Profeſſion, patient in Hearing, prudent in Governing, powerfull in their Elocution to perſuade and ſatisfie both the Parties and Hearers; juſt in their Judgment: and, to ſum up all, they muſt have theſe three Attributes; They muſt be Men of Courage, fearing God, and hating Covetouſneſs: An ignorant Man cannot, a Coward dares not, be a good Judge.

4. By no means be you perſuaded to interpoſe your ſelf, either by Word or Letter, in any Cauſe depending, or like to be depending in any Court of Juſtice, nor ſuffer any other great Man to doe it where you can hinder it, and by all means diſſuade the King himſelf from it, upon the importunity of any for themſelves or their Friends; If it ſhould prevail, it pervets Juſtice; but if the Judge be ſo juſt, and of ſuch Courage (as he ought to be) as not to be inclined thereby, yet it always leaves a taint of Suſpition behind it; Judges muſt be as chaſte as *Ceſar*'s Wife, neither to be, nor to be ſuſpected to be unjuſt; and Sir, the Honour of the Judges in their Judicature, is the King's Honour, whoſe Perſon they repreſent.

5. There is a great uſe of the Service of the Judges in their Circuits, which are twice in the year held throughout the Kingdom; the triall of a few Cauſes between Party and Party, or delivering of the Gaols in the ſeveral Counties, are of great uſe for the expedition of Juſtice; yet they are of much more uſe for the Government of the Counties through which they paſs, if that were well thought upon.

6. For if they had Inſtructions to that purpoſe, they might be the beſt Intelligencers to the King of the true State of his whole Kingdom, of the Diſpoſition of the People, of their Inclinations, of their Intentions and Motions, which are neceſſary to be truly underſtood.

7. To this end, I could wiſh, that againſt every Circuit all the Judges ſhould, ſometimes by the King himſelf, and ſometimes by the Lord Chancellour or Lord Keeper, in the King's Name, receive a charge of thoſe things which the preſent Times did much require; and at their return ſhould deliver a faithfull Account thereof, and how they found and left the Counties through which they paſſed, and in which they kept their Aſſiſes.

8. And that they might the better perform this Work, which might be of great Importance, it will not be amiſs that ſometimes this Charge be publick, as it uſeth to be in the Star-Chamber, at the end of the Terms next before the Circuit begins, where the King's care of Juſtice, and the good of his People, may be publiſhed; and that ſometimes alſo it may be private, to communicate to the Judges ſome things not ſo fit to be publickly delivered.

9. I could wish also that the Judges were directed to make a little longer stay in a Place than usually they do; a day more in a County would be a very good Addition, (although their Wages for their Circuits were increased in proportion;) it would stand better with the gravity of their Imployment; whereas now they are sometimes enforced to rise over-early, and to sit over-late, for the dispatch of their Business, to the extraordinary trouble of themselves and of the People, their times indeed not being *horæ juridicæ*; And, which is the main, they would have the more leisure to inform themselves (*quasi aliud agentes*) of the true Estate of the Country.

10. The attendance of the Sheriffs of the Counties, accompanied with the principal Gentlemen, in a comely, not a costly Equipage, upon the Judges of Assize at their coming to the Place of their sitting, and at their going out, is not only a Civility, but of Use also: It raiseth a Reverence to the Persons and Place of the Judges, who coming from the King himself on so great an Errand, should not be neglected.

11. If any Sue to be made a Judge, for my own part, I should suspect him; but if either directly or indirectly he should bargain for a Place of Judicature, let him be rejected with shame; *vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.*

12. When the Place of a Chief Judge of a Court becomes vacant, a Puisne Judge of that Court, or of another Court who hath approved himself Fit and Deserving, would be sometimes preferred, it would be a good Encouragement for him, and for others, by his example.

13. Next to the Judge, there would be care used in the Choice of such as are called to the Degree of Serjeants at Law, (for such they must be first, before they be made Judges,) none should be made Serjeants but such as probably might be held fit to be Judges afterwards, when the Experience at the Barr hath fitted them for the Bench: Therefore by all means cry down that unworthy Course of late Times used, that they should pay Moneys for it: It may satisfie some Courtiers, but it is no Honour to the Person so preferred, nor to the King, who thus preferrs them.

14. For the King's Council at the Law, especially his Attorney and Sollicitor General, I need say nothing; their continual use for the King's Service, not only for his Revenue, but for all the Parts of his Government, will put the King, and those who love his Service, in Mind to make choice of Men every way fit and able for that Imployment; they had need to be learned in their Profession, and not ignorant in other things; and to be dexterous in those Affairs whereof the dispatch is committed to them.

15. The King's Attorney of the Court of Wards is in the true Quality of the Judges; therefore what hath been observed already of Judges, which are intended principally of the three great Courts of Law *Westminster*, may be applied to the choice of the Attorney of this Court.

16. The like for the Attorney of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, who partakes of both Qualities, partly of a Judge in that Court, and partly of an Attorney General; for so much as concerns the proper Revenue of the Dutchy.

17. I must not forget the Judge of the 4 Circuits in the 12 Shires of *Wales*, who although they are not of the first Magnitude, nor need be of the Degree of the Coife, (only the Chief Justice of *Chester*, who is one of their number, is so,) yet are they considerable in the Choice of them, by the same Rules as the other Judges are; and they sometimes are, and fitly may be, transplanted into the higher Courts.

18. There are many Courts, (as you see,) some Superiour, some Provincial, and some of a lower Orb; It were to be wished, and is fit to be so Ordered, that every of them keep themselves within their proper Spheres. The Harmony of Justice is then the sweetest, when there is no jarring about the Jurisdiction of the Courts; which methinks Wisdom cannot much differ upon, their true Bounds being for the most part so clearly known.

19. Having said thus much of the Judges, somewhat will be fit to put you in mind concerning the Principal Ministers of Justice: and in the first, of the high Sheriffs of the Counties, which have been very ancient in this Kingdom, I am sure before the Conquest; The Choice of them I commend to your care, and that at fit times you put the King in Mind thereof; That as near as may be they be such as are fit for those Places; for they are of great Trust and Power; the *posse Comitatus*, the Power of the whole County, being legally committed unto them.

20. Therefore it is agreeable with the intention of the Law, that the choice of them should be by the Commendation of the Great Officers of the Kingdom, and by the Advice of the Judges, who are presumed to be well read in the Condition of the Gentry of the whole Kingdom: And although the King may do it of himself, yet the old Way is the good way.

21. But I utterly condemn the Practice of the latter Times, which hath lately crept into the Court, (at the back Stairs,) That some who are prick'd for Sheriffs, and were fit, should get out of the Bill, and others who were neither thought upon, nor worthy to be, should be nominated, and both for Money.

22. I must not omit to put you in mind of the Lords Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants of the Counties: their proper use is for ordering the Millitary Affairs, in order to an Invasion from Abroad, or a Rebellion or Sedition at Home; good Choice should be made of them, and prudent Instructions given to them, and as little of the Arbitrary Power as may be left unto them; and that the Muster-Masters, and other Officers under them, incroach not upon the Subject; that will detract much from the King's Service.

23. The

23. The Justices of Peace are of great Use, antiently there were Conservators of the Peace, these are the same, saving that several Acts of Parliament have altered their denomination, and inlarged their jurisdiction in many particulars: The fitter they are for the peace of the Kingdom, the more heed ought to be taken in the choice of them.

24. But negatively, this I shall be bold to say, that none should be put into either of those Commissions with an Eye of Favour to their Persons, to give them Countenance or Reputation in the places where they live, but for the King's Service Sake; nor any put out for the disfavour of any great Man: It hath been too often used, and hath been no good Service to the King.

25. A word more, if you please to give me leave, for the true Rules of the moderation of Justice on the King's part. The execution of Justice is committed to his Judges, which seemeth to be the severer part; but the milder part, which is Mercy, is wholly left in the King's immediate Hand: And Justice and Mercy are the true Supporters of his Royal Throne.

26. If the King shall be wholly intent upon Justice, it may appear with an over-rigid aspect; but if he shall be over remiss and easie, it draweth upon him Contempt. Examples of Justice must be made sometimes for Terrour to some; Examples of Mercy, sometimes for Comfort to others; the one procures Fear, and the other Love. A King must be both feared and loved, else he is lost.

27. The ordinary Courts of Justice I have spoken of, and of their Judges and Judicature, I shall put you in mind of some things, touching the High Court of Parliament in *England*, which is superlative; and therefore it will behove me to speak the more warily thereof.

28. For the Institution of it, it is very antient in this Kingdom; it consisteth of the two Houses, of Peers and Commons, as the Members, and of the King's Majesty, as the Head of that great Body; by the King's Authority alone, and by his Writs, they are Assembled, and by him alone they are Prorogued and Dissolved, but each House may adjourn it self.

29. They being thus Assembled, are more properly a Council to the King, the great Council of the Kingdom, to advise his Majesty in those things of weight and difficulty, which concern both the King and People, than a Court.

30. No new Laws can be made, nor old Laws abrogated or altered, but by common Consent in Parliament, where Bills are prepared and presented to the two Houses, and then delivered, but nothing is concluded but by the King's Royal Assent; they are but Embryos, 'tis he giveth Life unto them.

31. Yet the House of Peers hath a Power of Judicature in some Cases; properly to examine, and then to affirm, or if there be cause to reverse the Judgments which have been given in the Court of King's-Bench, (which is the Court of highest Jurisdiction in the Kingdom, for ordinary Judicature,) but in these Cases it must be done by Writ of Error *in Parliamento*: And thus the rule of their proceedings is not *absoluta potestas*, as in making new Laws, (in that conjuncture as before,) but *limitata potestas*, according to the known Laws of the Land.

32. But the House of Commons have only Power to censure the Members of their own House, in point of Election or Misdemeanors, in or towards that House, and have not, nor ever had Power, so much as to administer an Oath to prepare a Judgment.

33. The true use of Parliaments in this Kingdom is very excellent, and they would be often called, as the Affairs of the Kingdom shall require; and continued as long as is necessary, and no longer; for then they be but burthens to the People, by reason of the Privileges justly due to the Members of the two Houses and their Attendents; which their just Rights and Priviledges are religiously to be observed and maintained; but if they should be unjustly enlarged beyond their true Bounds, they might lessen the just Power of the Crown, it borders so near upon Popularity.

34. All this while I have spoken concerning the Common Laws of *England*, generally, and properly so called, because it is most general and common to almost all Cases and Causes, both Civil and Criminal: But there is also another Law, which is called the Civil or Ecclesiastical Law, which is confined to some few Heads; and that is not to be neglected, and although I am a Professor of the Common-Law, yet I am so much a lover of Truth and of Learning, and of my Native Country, that I do heartily persuade, that the Professors of that Law, called Civilians, (because the Civil Law is their guide,) should not be discountenanced nor discouraged, else whensoever we shall have ought to do with any Foreign King or State, we shall be at a miserable loss, for want of Learned Men in that Profession.

III. I come now to the consideration of those things which concern Counsellours of State, the Council-Table, and the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdom, which are those who for the most part furnish out that Honourable Board.

1. Of Counsellours, here are two sorts: The first *Consiliarii nati*, (as I may term them,) such are the Prince of *Wales*, and others of the King's Sons (when he hath more;) of these I speak not, for they are naturally born to be Counsellours to the King, to learn the Art of Governing betimes.

2. But the ordinary sort of Counsellours are such as the King, out of a due consideration of their Worth and Abilities, and withall, of their Fidelities to his Person and to his Crown, calleth to be of Council with him, in his ordinary Government. And the Council Table is so called from the place where they ordinarily assemble and sit together; and their Oath is the only Ceremony used, to make

them such, which is solemnly given unto them, at their first admission: These Honourable Persons are from thenceforth of that Board and Body: They cannot come untill they be thus called, and the King at his Pleasure may spare their Attendence, and he may dispense with their Presence there, which at their own Pleasure they may not do.

3. This being the quality of their Service, you will easily judge what care the King should use, in his choice of them; it behoveth that they be Persons of great Trust and Fidelity, and also of Wisdom and Judgment, who shall thus assist in bearing up the King's Throne; and of known Experience in publick Affairs.

4. Yet it may not be unfit to call some of young Years, to train them up in that Trade, and so fit them for those weighty Affairs, against the time of greater maturity; and some also for the Honour of their Persons; but these two sorts not to be tyed to so strict attendence, as the others from whom the present dispatch of business is expected.

5. I could wish that their Number might not be so over-great, the Persons of the Counsellours would be the more venerable. And I know that Queen *Elizabeth*, in whose time I had the happiness to be born, and to live many years, was not so much observed, for having a numerous, as a wise Council.

6. The Duty of a Privy Counsellor to a King, I conceive, is not onely to attend the Council Board, at the times appointed, and there to consult of what shall be propounded; but also to study those things which may advance the King's Honour and Safety, and the Good of the Kingdom, and to communicate the same to the King, or to his fellow Counsellors, as there shall be occasion. And this, Sir, will concern you more than others, by how much you have a large share in his Affections.

7. And one thing I shall be bold to desire you to recommend to his Majesty; That when any new thing shall be propounded to be taken into consideration, that no Counsellor should suddenly deliver any positive opinion thereof; it is not so easie with all men to retract their opinions, although there shall be cause for it: But onely to hear it, and at the most but to break it, at first, that it may be the better understood against the next meeting.

8. When any matter of Weight hath been debated, and seemeth to be ready for a Resolution; I wish it may not be at that sitting concluded, (unless the necessity of the time press it,) lest upon second cogitations there should be cause to alter, which is not for the Gravity and Honour of that Board.

9. I wish also that the King would be pleased sometimes to be present at that Board, it adds a Majesty to it: And yet not to be too frequently there, that would render it less esteemed when it is become common; Besides, it may sometimes make the Counsellors not to be so free in their debates, in his presence, as they would be in his absence.

10. Besides the giving of Counsel, the Counsellours are bound by their Duties *ex ipso termino*, as well as by their Oaths, to keep Counsel, therefore are they called *de Privato Consilio Regis*, & *à secretioribus consiliis Regis*.

11. One thing I add, in the negative, which is not fit for that Board, the entertaining of private Causes of *meum & tuum*; those should be left to the ordinary course and Courts of Justice.

12. As there is a great care to be used, for the Counsellours themselves to be chosen, so there is of the Clerks of the Council also, for the secretting of their Consultations, and methinks, it were fit that his Majesty be speedily moved, to give a strict charge, and to bind it with a Solemn Order, (if it be not already so done,) that no Copies of the Orders of that Table be delivered out by the Clerks of the Council, but by the Order of the Board; nor any not being a Counsellor, or a Clerk of the Council, or his Clerk, to have access to the Council Books; and to that purpose, that the Servants attending the Clerks of the Council be bound to Secrecy, as well as their Masters.

13. For the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdom, I shall say little, for the most of them are such, as cannot well be severed from the Counsellourship; and therefore the same Rule is to be observed for both, in the choice of them; in the general, only, I advise this, let them be set in those places for which they are probably the most fit.

14. But in the quality of the Persons, I conceive it will be most convenient, to have some of every sort, (as in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* it was,) one Bishop at the least, in respect of questions touching Religion, or Church Government; one or more skilled in the Laws, (some for Martial Affairs; and some for Foreign Affairs; by this mixture, one will help another, in all things that may there happen to be moved; but if that should fail, it will be a safe way, to consult with some other able Persons, well versed in that Point which is the Subject of their Consultation, which yet may be done so warily, as may not discover the main End therein.

IV. In the next place, I shall put you in Mind of Foreign Negotiations and Embassies, to or with Foreign Princes or States, where I shall be little able to serve you.

1. Only, I will tell you what was the course in the happy days of Queen *Elizabeth*, whom it will be no disreputation to follow; she did vary, according to the Nature of the Employment, the Quality of the Persons she imployed; which is a good Rule to go by.

2. If it were an Embaſſay of Gratulation, or Ceremony, (which muſt not be neglected,) choice was made of ſome Noble Perſon, eminent in Place, and able in Purſe, and he would take it as a mark of Favour, and diſcharge it without any great burthen to the Queen's Coffers, for his own Honour's ſake.

3. But if it were an Embaſſy of Weight, concerning Affairs of State, choice was made of ſome ſad Perſon of known Judgment, Wiſdom and Experience, and not of a young Man, nor wayed in State Matters: nor of a mere formal Man, whatſoever his Title or Outſide were.

4. Yet in company of ſuch, ſome young towardly Noblemen or Gentlemen were uſually ſent alſo, as Aſſiſtants or Attendants, according to the Quality of the Perſons; who might be thereby prepared and fitted for the like Imployment, by this means, at another turn

5. In their company were always ſent ſome grave and ſad Men, skilfull in the Civil Laws, and ſome in the Languages, and ſome who had been formerly converſant in the Courts of thoſe Princes, and knew their ways; theſe were Aſſiſtants in Private, but not truſted to manage the Affairs in Publick; that would detract from the Honour of the Principal Embaſſadour.

6. If the Negotiation were about Merchants Affairs, then were the Perſons imployed for the moſt part Doctors of the Civil Law, aſſiſted with ſome other diſcreet Men; and in ſuch the Charge was ordinarily defrayed, by the Company or Society of Merchants, whom the Negotiation concerned.

7. If Legier Embaſſadours or Agents were ſent to remain in or near the Courts of thoſe Princes or States (as it was ever held fit, to obſerve the Motions, and to hold Correſpondency with them, upon all Occaſions) ſuch were made choice of, as were preſumed to be Vigilant, Induſtrious, and diſcreet Men, and had the Language of the Place whither they were ſent; and with theſe were ſent ſuch as were hopefull to be worthy of the like Imployment at another time.

8. Their care was, to give true and timely Intelligence of all Occurrences, either to the Queen her ſelf, or the Secretaries of State, unto whom they had their immediate Relation.

9. Their Charge was always born by the Queen, duely paid out of the Exchequer, in ſuch proportion, as, according to their Qualities and Places, might give them an honourable Subſiſtence there: But for the Reward of their Service, they were to expect it upon their return, by ſome Preferment as might be worthy of them, and yet be little burthen to the Queen's Coffers or Revenues.

10. At their going forth, they had their general Inſtructions in writing, which might be communicated to the Miniſters of that State, whither they were ſent; and they had alſo private Inſtructions, upon particular Occaſions; and at their return, they did always render an Account of ſome things to the Queen her ſelf, of ſome things to the Body of the Council, and of ſome others to the Secretaries of State; who made uſe of them, or communicated them, as there was Cauſe.

11. In thoſe days there was a conſtant Courſe held, that by the advice of the Secretaries, or ſome principal Counſellours, there were always ſent forth, into ſeveral Parts beyond the Seas ſome young Men, of whom good hopes were conceived of their towardlineſs, to be trained up, and made fit for ſuch publick Imployments, and to learn the Languages. This was at the Charge of the Queen, which was not much, for they travelled but as private Gentlemen; and as by their Induſtry their Deſerts did appear, ſo were they farther imployed or rewarded. This Courſe I ſhall recommend unto you, to breed up a Nurſery of ſuch publick Plants.

V. For Peace and War, and thoſe things which appertain to either; I in my own Diſpoſition and Profeſſion am wholly for Peace, if pleaſe God to bleſs the Kingdom therewith, as for many years paſt he hath done: and,

1. I preſume I ſhall not need to perſuade you to the advancing of it; nor ſhall you need to perſuade the King your Maſter therein, for that he hath hitherto been another *Solomon*, in this our *Iſrael*; and the Motto which he hath choſen (*Beati Pacifici*) ſhews his own Judgment: But he muſt uſe the means to preſerve it; elſe ſuch a Jewel may be loſt.

2. God is the God of Peace (it is one of his Attributes) therefore by him alone we muſt pray, and hope to continue it: there is the foundation.

3. And the King muſt not neglect the juſt ways for it; Juſtice is the beſt Protector of it at home, and Providence for War is the beſt prevention of it from abroad.

4. Wars are either Forreign or Civil; for the Forreign War by the King upon ſome Neighbour Nation, I hope we are ſecure; the King, in his pious and juſt Diſpoſition, is not inclinable thereunto, his Empire is long enough; bounded with the Ocean, as if the very Situation thereof had taught the King and People to ſet up their reſts, and ſay, *Ne plus ultra*.

5. And for a War of Invaſion from abroad; only we muſt not be over-ſecure, that's the way to invite it.

6. But if we be always prepared to receive an Enemy, if the Ambition or Malice of any ſhould incite him, we may be very confident we ſhall long live in Peace and Quietneſs, without any Attempts upon us.

7. To make the Preparations hereunto t ne more aſſured: In the firſt place, I will recommend unto you the care of our Out-work, the Navy Royal and Shipping of our Kingdom, which are the Walls thereof; and every great Ship is as an impregnable Fort; and our many ſafe and commodious Ports and Havens, in every of theſe Kingdoms, are as the Redoubts to ſecure them.

8. For the body of the Ships, no Nation of the World doth equal *England*, for the Oaken Timber wherewith to build them; and we need not borrow of any other, Iron for Spikes, or Nails to faſten them together; but there muſt be a great deal of Providence uſed, that our Ship-Timber be not unneceſſarily waſted.

9. But for Tackling, as Sails and Cordage, we are beholden to our Neighbours for them, and do buy them for our Money; that muſt be forſeen and layed up in Store againſt a time of need, and not ſought for when we are to uſe them: But we are much to blame, that we make them not at home, only Pitch and Tar we have not of our own.

10. For the true Art of Building of Ships, for Burthen and Service both, no Nation in the World exceeds us: Ship-wrights and all other Artiſans belonging to that Trade muſt be cheriſhed and encouraged.

11. Powder and Ammunition of all Sorts we can have at home, and in exchange for other home Commodities we may be plentifully ſupplied from our Neighbours, which muſt not be neglected.

12. With Mariners and Seamen this Kingdom is plentifully furniſhed, the conſtant Trade of Merchandizing will furniſh us, at a need; and navigable Rivers will repair the ſtore, both to the Navy Royal, and to the Merchants, if they be ſet on work, and well payed for their labour.

13. Sea-Captains, and Commanders, and other Officers, muſt be encouraged, and riſe by degrees, as their Fidelity and Induſtry deſerve it.

14. Our ſtrict League of Amity and Alliance with our near Neighbours the Hollanders is a mutual ſtrength to both; the Shipping both, in conjuncture, being ſo powerfull, by God's bleſſing, as no Forreigners will venture upon; This League and Friendſhip muſt inviolably be obſerved.

15. From *Scotland* we have had in former Times ſome Allarms, and Inrodes, into the Northern Parts of this Kingdom; but that happy Union of both Kingdoms under one Sovereign, our gracious King, I hope, hath taken away all Occaſions of Breach between the two Nations; let not the Cauſe ariſe from *England*, and I hope the *Scots* will not adventure it; or if they do, I hope they will find, that although to our King they were his firſt-born Subjects; yet to *England* belongs the Birth-right: But this ſhould not be any Cauſe to offer any Injury to them, nor to ſuffer any from them.

16. There remains then no danger, by the bleſſing of God, but a Civil War, from which God of his mercy defend us, as that which is moſt deſperate of all others. The King's Wiſdom and Juſtice muſt prevent it, if it may be; or if it ſhould happen, *quod abſit*, he muſt quench that wild-fire, with all the diligence that poſſibly can be.

17. Competition to the Crown, there is none, nor can be, therefore it muſt be a fire within the Bowels, or nothing, the Cures whereof are theſe, *Remedium prævians*, which is the beſt Phyſick, either to a natural Body, or to a State, by juſt and equal Government to take away the occaſion, and *Remedium puniens*, if the other prevail not: The Service and Vigilancy of the Deputy-Lieutenants in every County, and of the High Sheriff, will contribute much herein to our ſecurity.

18. But if that ſhould not prevail, by a wiſe and timous Inquiſition, the peccant Humors and Humoriſts muſt be diſcovered, and purged, or cut off; Mercy, in ſuch a caſe, in a King, is true Cruelty.

19. Yet if the Heads of the Tribes can be taken off, and the miſled Multitude will ſee their Errour, and return to their Obedience, ſuch an extent of Mercy is both honourable and profitable.

20. A King, againſt a Storm, muſt fore-ſee, to have a convenient ſtock of Treaſure; and neither be without Money, which is the Sinews of War, nor to depend upon the Courteſie of others, which may fail at a pinch.

21. He muſt alſo have a Magazine of all Sorts, which muſt be had from foreign Parts, or provided at home, and to commit them to ſeveral Places, under the Cuſtody of truſty and faithfull Miniſters and Officers, if it be poſſible.

22. He muſt make choice of expert and able Commanders to conduct and manage the War, either againſt a forreign Invaſion, or a home Rebellion; which muſt not be young and giddy, which dare not onely to Fight, but to Swear, and Drink, and Curſe, neither fit to govern others, nor able to govern themſelves.

23. Let not ſuch be diſcouraged, if they deſerve well, by miſ-information, or for the ſatisfying the Humours or Ambition of others, perhaps, out of Envy, perhaps, out of Treachery, or other ſiniſter ends: A ſteddy hand, in governing of Military Affairs, is more requiſite than in times of Peace, becauſe an Errour committed in War, may, perhaps, prove irremediable.

24. If God ſhall bleſs theſe Endeavours, and the King return to his own Houſe in peace, when a Civil War ſhall be at an end, thoſe who have been found faithfull in the Land muſt be regarded, yea, and rewarded alſo; the traiterous, or treacherous, who have miſ-led others, ſeverely puniſh'd; and the Neutrals, and falſe-hearted Friends and Followers, who have ſtarted aſide like a broken Bow, be noted, *Carbone nigro*; and ſo I ſhall leave them, and this part of the Work.

VI. I come to the ſixth part, which is Trade; and that is either at home or abroad. And I begin with that which is at home, which enableth the Subjects of the Kingdom to live, and layeth a Foundation to a Foreign Trade by Traffick with others, which enableth them to live plentifully and happily.

1. For the home-trade, I firſt commend unto your conſideration the encouragement of Tillage, which will enable the Kingdom for Corn for the Natives, and to ſpare for Exportation: And I my ſelf have known, more than once, when, in times of Dearth, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s days, it drained much Coin of the Kingdom, to furniſh us with Corn from Foreign Parts.

2. Good Husbands will find the means, by good Husbandry, to improve their Lands, by Lime, Chalk, Marl, or Sea-ſand, where it can be had: But it will not be amiſs, that they be put in mind thereof, and encouraged in their Induſtries.

3. Planting of Orchards, in a Soil and Air fit for them, is very profitable, as well as pleaſurable; Sider and Perry are notable Beverage in Sea-voyages.

4. Gardens are alſo very profitable, if planted with Artichokes, Roots, and ſuch other things as are fit for food; whence they be called Kitchin-Gardens, and that very properly.

5. The planting of Hop-Yards, ſowing of Woad, and Rape-ſeed, are found very profitable for the Planters, in places apt for them, and conſequently profitable for the Kingdom, which for divers years was furniſhed with them from beyond the Seas.

6. The planting and preſerving of Woods, eſpecially of Timber, is not only profitable but commendable therewith to furniſh Poſterity, both for Building and Shipping.

7. The Kingdom would be much improved, by draining of drowned Lands, and gaining that in from the over-flowing of Salt-waters and the Sea, and from freſh Waters alſo.

8. And many of thoſe Grounds would be exceeding fit for Dairies, which, being well Houſwived, are exceeding commodious.

9. Much good Land might be gained from Foreſts and Chaſes, more remote from the King's acceſs, and from other commonable places, ſo as always there be a due care taken, that the poor Commoners have no Injury by ſuch Improvement.

10. The making of navigable Rivers would be very profitable; they would be as ſo many indraughts of Wealth, by conveying of Commodities with eaſe from place to place.

11. The planting of Hemp and Flax would be an unknown advantage to the Kingdom, many places therein being as apt for it, as any Foreign Parts.

12. But add hereunto, that it being converted into Linen-Cloth, or Cordage, the Commodity thereof will be multiplyed.

13. So it is of the Wools and Leather of the Kingdom, if they be converted into Manufactures.

14. Our *Engliſh* Dames are much given to the wearing of coſtly Laces; and, if they be brought from *Italy*, or *France*, or *Flanders*, they are in great eſteem; whereas, if the like Laces were made by the *Engliſh*, ſo much Thread as would make a yard of Lace, being put into that Manufacture, would be five times, or perhaps, ten or twenty times the value.

15. The breeding of Cattel is of much Profit, eſpecially the breed of Horſes, in many Places, not only for Travel, but for the great Saddle; the *Engliſh* Horſe for Strength and Courage, and ſwiftneſs together, not being inferiour to the Horſes of any other Kingdom.

16. The Minerals of the Kingdom, of Lead, Iron, Copper, and Tin eſpecially, are of great value, and ſet many able bodied Subjects on work, it were great pity they ſhould not be induſtriouſly followed.

17. But of all Minerals, there is none like to that of Fiſhing, upon the Coaſts of theſe Kingdoms, and the Seas belonging to them: our Neighbours, within half a days ſail of us, with a good Wind, can ſhew us the Uſe and Value thereof; and, doubtleſs, there is Sea-room enough for both Nations, without offending one another; and it would exceedingly ſupport the Navy.

18. This Realm is much enriched of late years, by the Trade of Merchandize which the *Engliſh* drive in Foreign Parts; and, if it be wiſely managed, it muſt of neceſſity very much increaſe the wealth thereof, care being taken, that the Exportation exceed in value the Importation, for then the Balance of Trade muſt of neceſſity be returned into Coyn, or Bullion.

19. This would eaſily be effected, if the Merchants were perſuaded, or compelled, to make their returns in ſolid Commodities, and not too much thereof in Vanity, tending to exceſs.

20. But eſpecially care muſt be taken, that Monopolies, which are the Cankers of all trading, be not admitted, under ſpecious colours of publick good.

21. To put all theſe into a regulation, if a conſtant Commiſſion, to Men of honeſty and underſtanding, were granted, and well purſued, to give order for the managing of theſe things, both at home and abroad, to the beſt advantage; and that this Commiſſion were ſubordinate to the Council-board; it is conceived, it would produce notable effects.

VII. The next thing is that of Colonies and Foreign Plantations, which are very neceſſary, as out lets, to a populous Nation, and may be profitable alſo, if they be managed in a diſcreet way.

1. In the choice of the place, which requireth many Circumſtances, as the Situation, near the Sea, for the commodiouſneſs of an intercourſe with *England*, the temper of the Air and Climate, as may beſt agree with the Bodies of the *Engliſh*, rather inclining to cold, than heat; that it be ſtored with Woods, Mines, and Fruits, which are naturally in the Place; that the Soil be ſuch as will probably be fruitfull for Corn, and other Conveniencies, and for breeding of Cattel; that it hath Rivers, both for paſſage between place and place, and for fiſhing alſo, if it may be; that the Natives be not ſo many, but that there may be Elbow-room enough for them, and for the Adventives alſo: All which are likely to be found in the *Weſt-Indies*.

2. It would be alſo ſuch as is not already planted by the Subjects of any Chriſtian Prince, or State, nor over-nearly neighbouring to their Plantation. And it would be more convenient, to be choſen by ſome of thoſe Gentlemen or Merchants which move firſt in the work, then to be deſigned unto them from the King; for it muſt proceed from the option of the People, elſe it ſounds like an exile; ſo the Colonies muſt be raiſed by the leave of the King, and not by his Command.

3. After the place is made choice of, the firſt ſtep muſt be, to make choice of a fit Governor, who although he have not the Name, yet he muſt have the power of a *Vice-Roy*, and if the Perſon who principally moved in the work be not fit for that truſt, yet he muſt not be excluded from command; but then his defect in the governing part muſt be ſupplied by ſuch Aſſiſtants as ſhall be joined with him, or as he ſhall very well approve of.

4. As at their ſetting out they muſt have their Commiſſion, or Letters Patents from the King, that ſo they may acknowledge their dependency upon the Crown of *England*, and under his Protection; ſo they muſt receive ſome general inſtructions, how to diſpoſe of themſelves, when they are come there; which muſt be in nature of Laws unto them.

5. But the general Law, by which they muſt be guided and governed, muſt be the Common Law of *England*, and to that end, it will be fit, that ſome Man, reaſonably ſtudied in the Law, and otherwiſe qualified for ſuch a purpoſe, be perſuaded (if not thereunto inclined of himſelf, which were the beſt,) to go thither as a Chancellour amongſt them, at firſt; and when the Plantation were more ſetled, then to have Courts of Juſtice there, as in *England*.

6. At the firſt planting, or as ſoon after as they can, they muſt make themſelves defenſible both againſt the Natives, and againſt Strangers; and to that purpoſe, they muſt have the aſſiſtance of ſome able military Man, and convenient Arms and Ammunition for their defence.

7. For the Diſcipline of the Church in thoſe parts, it will be neceſſary, that it agree with that which is ſetled in *England*; elſe it will make a Schiſm, and a Rent in Chriſt's Coat, which muſt be ſeamleſs; and to that purpoſe, it will be fit, that by the King's Supream Power in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, within all his Dominions, they be ſubordinate under ſome Biſhop and Biſhoprick of this Realm.

8. For the better defence againſt a common Enemy, I think it would be beſt, that Foreign Plantations ſhould be placed in one Continent, and near together; whereas if they be too remote the one from the the other, they will be diſ-united, and ſo the weaker.

9. They muſt provide themſelves of Houſes, ſuch as, for the preſent, they can, and at more leiſure, ſuch as may be better; and they firſt muſt plant for Corn and Cattel, &c. for Food, and neceſſary ſuſtenance; and after, they may enlarge themſelves for thoſe things which may be for Profit and Pleaſure, and to traffick withall alſo.

10. Woods for Shipping, in the firſt, may doubtleſs be there had, and Minerals there found, perhaps of the richeſt; howſoever, the Mines out of the Fruits of the Earth, and Seas, and Waters adjoyning, may be found in abundance.

11. In a ſhort time they may build Veſſels and Ships alſo, for traffick with the parts near adjoyning, and with *England* alſo, from whence they may be furniſhed with ſuch things as they may want, and, in exchange or barter, ſend from thence other things, with which quickly, either by Nature, or Art, they may abound.

12. But theſe things would, by all means, be prevented; That no known Bankrupt, for ſhelter, nor known Murderer, or other wicked Perſon, to avoid the Law, nor known Heretick, or Schiſmatick, be ſuffered to go into thoſe Countreys; or if they do creep in there, not to be harboured, or continued; elſe, the place would receive them naught, and return them into *England*, upon all occaſions, worſe.

13. That no Merchant, under color of driving a Trade thither, or from thence, be ſuffered to work upon their neceſſities.

14. And that to regulate all theſe incoveniencies, which will inſenſibly grow upon them, that the King be pleaſed to erect a ſubordinate Council in *England*, whoſe care and charge ſhall be, to adviſe, and put in Execution, all things which ſhall be found fit for the good of thoſe new Plantations; who, upon all occaſions, ſhall give an account of their Proceedings to the King, or to the Council-board, and from them receive ſuch directions as may beſt agree with the Government of that place.

15. That the King's reaſonable Profit be not neglected, partly upon reſervation of moderate Rents and Services; and partly upon Cuſtomes, and partly upon Importation and Exportation of Merchandiſes; which, for a convenient time after the Plantation begin, would be very eaſie to encourage the work; but after it is well ſetled, may be raiſed to a conſiderable proportion, worthy the acceptation.

VIII. I come to the laſt of thoſe things which I propounded, which is, the Court, and Curiality.

The other did properly concern the King, in his Royal Capacity, as *Pater patriæ*; this more properly, as *Pater familiæ*: And herein,

1. I ſhall, in a word, and but in a word onely, put you in mind, That the King in his own Perſon, both in reſpect of his Houſhold, or Court, and in reſpect of his whole Kingdom, (for a little Kingdom is but as a great Houſhold, and a great Houſhold as a little Kingdom,) muſt be exemplary, *Regis ad exemplum, &c.* But for this, God be praiſed, our Charge is eaſie; for your gracious Maſter, for his Learning and Piety, Juſtice and Bounty, may be, and is, not onely a Precedent to his own Subjects, but to foreign Princes alſo; yet he is ſtill but a Man, and ſeaſonable *Memento's* may be uſefull; and, being diſcreetly uſed, cannot but take well with him.

2. But your greateſt care muſt be, that the great Men of his Court, (for you muſt give me leave to be plain with you, for ſo is your injunction laid upon me,) your ſelf in the firſt place, who is firſt in the Eye of all Men, give no juſt Cauſe of Scandal, either by light, or vain, or by oppreſſive Carriage.

3. The great Officers of the King's Houſhold had need be both diſcreet and provident Perſons, both for his Honour, and for his Thrift; they muſt look both ways, elſe they are but half-ſighted: Yet in the choice of them, there is more latitude left to Affection, than in the choice of Counſellors, and of the great Officers of State, before touched, which muſt always be made choice of merely out of Judgment, for in them the Publick hath a great Intereſt.

4. For the other Miniſterial Officers in Court, (as, for diſtinction ſake, they may be termed,) there muſt be alſo an Eye unto them, and upon them; they have uſually riſen in the Houſhold by degrees, and it is a noble way, to encourage faithfull Service: But the King muſt not bind himſelf to a neceſſity herein, for then it will be held *ex debito*; neither muſt he alter it, without an apparent Cauſe for it: but to diſplace any who are in, upon diſpleaſure, which for the moſt part happeneth upon the Information of ſome great Man, is, by all means, to be avoided, unleſs there be a manifeſt Cauſe for it.

5. In theſe things you may ſometimes interpoſe, to do juſt and good Offices; but for the general, I ſhould rather adviſe, meddle little, but leave the ordering of thoſe Houſhold Affairs to the White Staves, which are thoſe honourable Perſons, to whom it properly belongeth, to be anſwerable to the King for it; and to thoſe other Officers of the Green-Cloth, who are ſubordinate to them, as a kind of Council, and a Court of Juſtice alſo.

6. Yet for the Green-Cloth Law, (take it in the largeſt ſenſe,) I have no Opinion of it, farther than it is regulated by the juſt Rules of the Common-Laws of *England*.

7. Towards the Support of his Majeſty's own Table, and of the Princes, and of his neceſſary Officers, his Majeſty hath a good help by Purveyance, which juſtly is due unto him; and, if juſtly uſed, is no great burthen to the Subject; but by the Purveyors, and other under Officers, is many times abuſed. In many Parts of the Kingdom, I think, it is already reduced to a certainty in Money; and if it be indifferently and diſcreetly managed, it would be no hard matter to ſettle it ſo throughout the whole Kingdom; yet to be renewed from time to time, for that will be the beſt, and ſafeſt, both for the King, and People.

8. The King muſt be put in mind, to preſerve the Revenues of his Crown, both certain, and caſual, without diminution, and to lay up treaſure in ſtore againſt a time of extremity; empty Coffers give an ill ſound, and make the People many times forget their Duty, thinking that the King muſt be beholden to them for his Supplies.

9. I ſhall by no means think it fit, that he reward any of his Servants with the benefit of Forfeitures, either by Fines in the Court of Star-Chamber, or High Commiſſion Courts, or other Courts of Juſtice, or that they ſhould be farmed out, or beſtowed upon any, ſo much as by Promiſe, before Judgment given; it would neither be profitable, nor honourable.

10. Beſides Matters of ſerious conſideration, in the Courts of Princes, there muſt be times for Paſtimes and Diſports: When there is a Queen, and Ladies of Honour attending her, there muſt ſometimes be Maſques, and Revels, and Enterludes; and when there is no Queen, or Princeſs, as now, yet at Feſtivals, and for Entertainment of Strangers, or upon ſuch Occaſions, they may be fit alſo: Yet care would be taken, that, in ſuch caſes, they be ſet off more with Wit and Activity, than with coſtly and waſteful Expences.

11. But for the King and Prince, and the Lords and Chivalry of the Court, I rather commend, in their Turns and Seaſons, the Riding of the great Horſe, the Tilts, the Barriers, Tennis, and Hunting, which are more for the Health and Strength of thoſe who Exerciſe them, than in an effeminate way to pleaſe themſelves and others.

And now the Prince groweth up faſt to be a Man, and is of a ſweet and excellent Diſpoſition; it would be an irreparable Stain and Diſhonour upon you, having that acceſs unto him, if you ſhould miſlead him, or ſuffer him to be miſled by any looſe or flattering Paraſites: The whole Kingdom hath a deep Intereſt in his vertuous Education; and if you, keeping that diſtance which is fit, do humbly interpoſe your ſelf, in ſuch a caſe, he will one day give you thanks for it.

12. Yet Dice and Cards may ſometimes be uſed for recreation, when Field-ſports cannot be had; but not to uſe it as a means to ſpend the Time, much leſs to miſ-ſpend the Thrift of the Gameſters.

SIR,

SIR, I ſhall trouble you no longer; I have run over theſe things as I firſt propounded them; pleaſe you to make uſe of them, or any of them, as you ſhall ſee occaſion; or to lay them by, as you think beſt, and to add to them, as you daily may, out of your Experience.

I muſt be bold, again, to put you in mind of your preſent Condition; you are in the quality of a Sentinel; if you ſleep, or neglect your Charge, you are an undone Man, and you may fall much faſter than you have riſen.

I have but one thing more to mind you of, which nearly concerns your ſelf; you ſerve a great and gracious Maſter, and there is a moſt hopefull young Prince, whom you muſt not deſert; it behoves you to carry your ſelf wiſely and evenly between them both: adore not ſo the riſing Son, that you forget the Father who raiſed you to this height; nor be you ſo obſequious to the Father, that you give juſt Cauſe to the Son, to ſuſpect that you neglect him: But carry your ſelf with that Judgment, as, if it be poſſible, you may pleaſe and content them both, which, truly, I believe, will be no hard Matter for you to do; ſo may you live long beloved of both, which is the hearty Prayer of

Your moſt obliged and devoted Servant.

Sir Francis Bacon's *Conſiderations, touching the Queen's Service in* Ireland.

THE Reduction of the Countrey as well to Civility and Juſtice, as to Obedience and Peace, (which things as the Affairs now ſtand I hold to be inſeparable,) conſiſteth in four Points.

1. The Extinguiſhing of the Reliques of War.
2. The Recovery of the Hearts of the People.
3. The Removing of the Root and Occaſions of new Troubles.
4. Plantation and Buildings.

For the firſt, concerning the Places, Times and Particularities of farther proſecution in Fact, I leave it to the Opinion of Men of War, onely the difficulty is to diſtinguiſh and diſcern the Propoſitions which ſhall be according to the Ends of the State here, that is, final and ſummary towards the extirpation of the Troubles from thoſe, which though they pretend the Publick ends, yet may refer indeed to the more private and compendious ends of the Council there, or other particular Governours or Captains. But ſtill, as I touched in my Letter, I do not think much letting Bloud, in *declinatione morbi*, is againſt the Method of Cure, and that it will but exaſperate Neceſſity and Deſpair, and perchance diſcover the hollowneſs of that which is done already, which none blazeth to the beſt ſhew: For *Taxtes* and Proſcription of two or three of the principal Rebels, they are, no doubt *jure Gentium* lawful, in *Italy* uſually practiſed upon the *Banditti*, beſt in Seaſon when a ſide goeth down, and may do good in two kinds; the one, if it take effect; the other, in the diſtruſt which followeth amongſt the Rebels themſelves. But of all other Points (to my underſtanding) the moſt effectual is, the well expreſſing or impreſſing of the Deſign of this State upon that miſerable and deſolate Kingdom, containing the ſame between theſe two Liſts or Boundaries, the one, that the Queen ſeeketh not an Extirpation of the People, but a Reduction; and now that ſhe hath chaſtiſeth them by Royal Power and Arms, according to the neceſſity of the Occaſion; her Majeſty taketh no pleaſure in effuſion of Bloud, or diſplanting of ancient Generations; the other, that her Majeſty's Princely care is principally intentionally bent upon that Action of *Ireland*; and that ſhe ſeeketh not ſo much the eaſe of Charge, as the Royal Performance of her Office or Protection, and Reclaim of thoſe her Subjects: And in a word, that the Caſe is allowed as far as may ſtand with the Honour of the Time paſt, which it is eaſie to reconcile, and in my laſt Note I ſhewed. And again I do repeat, that if her Majeſty's Deſign be, *ex profeſſo*, to reduce Wild and Barbarous People to Civility and Juſtice, as well as to reduce Rebels to Obedience, it maketh weakneſs in true Chriſtianity, and Conditions turn Graces, and ſo hath a fineneſs in turning Utility upon point of Honour of theſe Times. And beſides, if her Majeſty ſhall ſuddenly abate the Liſts of her Forces, and ſhall do nothing to countervail it in the point of Reputation of a publick Proceeding, I doubt things may too ſoon fall back into the ſtate they were in. Next to this, adding Reputation to the Cauſe, by imprinting an Opinion of her Majeſty's Care and Intention upon this Action, is the taking away the reputation from the contrary ſide, by cutting off the Opinion and Expectation of foreign Succours: to which purpoſe, this Enterprize of *Algiers*, if it hold according to the Advertiſement, and if it be not wrapped up in the period of this Summer, ſeemeth to be an opportunity *Cœlitus demiſſa*. And to the ſame purpoſe, nothing can be more fit than a Treaty, or a ſhadow of a Treaty of a Peace with *Spain*; which, methinks, ſhould be in our Power to faſten, at leaſt *rumore tenus*, to the deluding of as wiſe a People as the *Iriſh*. Laſtly, for this Point, that the Ancients called *poteſtas facta redeundi ad ſanitatem*, and which is but a mockery, when the Enemy is ſtrong or proud, but effectual in his declination; that is, a liberal Proclamation of Grace and Pardon to ſuch as ſhall ſubmit and come in within a time prefixed, and of ſome farther Reward to ſuch as ſhall bring others in, that ones Sword may be ſharpned againſt anothers, as a Matter of good Experience, and now

I think, will come in time. And perchance, though I wish the exclusions of such a Pardon exceeding few, yet it will not be safe to continue some of them in their strength, but to translate them and their Generation into *England*, and give them Recompence and Satisfaction here, for their Possessions there, as the King of *Spain* did by divers Families of *Portugal*. The effecting of all the which fall within the Points aforesaid, and likewise those which fall within the Divisions following: Nothing can be, in priority, either of Time, or Matter, precedent to the sending of some Commission of the continuance *ad res inspiciendas & componendas*. For it must be a very significant demonstration of her Majesty's care of that Kingdom, a Credence to any that shall come in and submit, a bridle to any that have their Fortunes there, and shall apply their Propositions to private Ends; and an Evidence of her Majesty's politick Courses without neglect or respiration; and it hath been the Wisdom of the best Examples of Government. Towards the recovery of the Hearts of the People, there be but three things *in natura rerum*.

1. Religion. 2. Justice and Protection. 3. Obligation and Reward. For Religion, to speak first of Piety, and then of Policy. All Divines do agree, that if Consciences be to be inforced at all wherein they differ, yet two things must precede their inforcement; th'one, means of Information; th'other, time of Operation: Neither of which they have yet had. Besides, till they be more like reasonable Men than they yet are, their Society were rather scandalous to true Religion than otherwise, as Pearl cast before Swine: For till they be cleansed from their Bloud, Incontinency, and Theft, and which are now not the Lapses of particular Persons, but the very Laws of the Nation, they are incompatible with Religion formed with Policy. There is no doubt but to wrestle with them now is indirectly opposite to their reclaim, and cannot but continue their alienation of mind from this Government. Besides, one of the principal Pretences whereby the Heads of the Rebellion have prevailed both with the People and the Foreigner, hath been the defence of the Catholick Religion; and it is that likewise hath made the Foreigner reciprocally more plausible with the Rebel. Therefore a Toleration of Religion for a time not definite, except it be in some Principal Towns and Precincts, after the manner of some French Edicts, seemeth to me to be a matter warrantable by Religion, and in Policy of absolute Necessity; and the hesitation of this, I think, hath been a great casting back of the Affairs there. Neither if any English Papist or Recusant shall for liberty of his Conscience transfer his Person, Family and Fortunes thither, do I hold it a matter of danger, but expedient to draw on undertaking, and to farther population. Neither if *Rome* will cozen it self by conceiving it may be some degree to the like Toleration in *England*, do I hold it a Matter of any moment, but rather a good mean to take off the fierceness and eagerness of the Humour of *Rome*, and to stay farther Excommunications and Interjections of *Ireland*. But there would go hand in hand with this some course of Advantage. Religion indeed, where the People is capable of it, is the sending over of some good Preachers, especially of that sort which are vehement and zealous Persuaders, and not Scholastical, to be resident in the Principal Towns, endowing them with some stipend out of her Majesty's Revenues, as her Majesty hath most Religiously and Graciously done in *Lancashire*; and the recontinuing and replenishing the College begun at *Dublin*, the placing of good Men Bishops in the See there; the taking care of the Versions of Bibles, Cathechisms, and other Books of Instruction, into the Irish Language, and the like religious Courses, both for the Honour of God, and for the avoiding of Scandal and Insatisfaction here, by a toleration of Religion there. For instance, the Barbarism and Desolation of the Country considered, it is not possible they should find any sweetness at all of it, (which hath been the Errour of Times past) formal and fetched far off from the State, because it will require running up and down for process of polling and exactions by Fees, and many other Delays and Charges: And therefore there must be an interim in which the Justice must be only summary, the rather because it is fit and safe for a time the Country do participate of Martial Government. And therefore I do wish in every Principal Town or Place of Habitation there were a Captain or a Governour, and a Judge, such as Recorders and learned Stewards are here in Corporations, who may have a Prerogative-Commission to hear and determine *secundum sanam discretionem*, and as near as may be to the Laws and Customs of *England*, and that by Bill or Plaint without Original Writ, reserving from their Sentence matter of Freehold and Inheritance to be determined before a superiour Judge itinerant, to be reversed if cause be, before the Council of the Province to be established with fit Informations.

For Obligation and Reward, it is true, no doubt, which was anciently said, That a State is contained in two words, *Præmium & Pœna*: And I am persuaded, if a Penny in the Pound, which hath been spent *in pœna*, a Chastisement of Rebels, without other fruit or emolument of this State, had been spent *in præmio*, that in rewarding, things had never grown to this extremity. But to speak forwards. The keeping of the principal Irish Persons in terms of Contentment, and without particular Complaint, as generally the carrying of an eaven Course between the English and the Irish, whether it be in Competition, or whether it be in Controversie, as if they were one Nation, without the same partial Course which hath been held by the Governours and Counsellors, that some have favoured the Irish, and some contrary, is one of the best Medicines for that State. And as for other Points of governing, their Nobility, as well in this Court as there, of Knighthood, of Education of their Children, and the like points of Comfort and Allurement, they are things which fall into every Man's consideration.

For the extirpating of the Seedes of Troubles, I ſuppoſe the main Roots are but three: The firſt, the Ambition and Abſoluteneſs of the Chief of the Families and Sects; the ſecond, the licentious Idleneſs of their Kerns and Soldiers that lie upon their Countrey by Seſſes andſuch Oppreſſions; the third, the barbarous Cuſtoms in habits of Apparel, in theſe Poets or Heralds, that enchant them in ſavage Manners, and ſundry other ſuch Dreggs of Barbariſm and Rebellion, which by a number of politick Statutes of *Ireland*, meet to put in execution, are already forbidden; unto which ſuch additions may be made, as the preſent time requireth. But the reducing of this Branch requireth a more particular Notice of the State and Manners there than falls within my compaſs.

For Plantations and Buildings, I do find it ſtrange, that in the laſt Plot for the Population of *Munſter*, there were limitations how much in Demeſnes, and how much in Farm and Tenantry, how many Buildings ſhould be erected, how many *Iriſh* in mixture ſhould be admitted; but there was no reſtraint that they might not build *ſparſim* at their pleaſure, much leſs any Condition that they ſhould make Places fortified and defenſible, the which was too much ſecureneſs, to my underſtanding. So as for this laſt point of Plantations and Buildings, there be two Conſiderations which I hold moſt material; the one of quickning, the other for aſſuring: The firſt is, that choice be made of ſuch Perſons for the Government of Towns and Places, and ſuch Undertakers be procured as be Men gracious and well-beloved, and are like to be well followed; wherein for *Munſter* it may be, becauſe it is not *Res integra*, but that the former Undertakers ſtand intereſſed there, will be ſome difficulty; but ſurely (in mine Opinion) either with agreeing with them, or by over-ruling them by a Parliament in *Ireland* (which in this courſe of a politick Proceeding, infinite Occaſions will require ſpeedily to be held) it will be fit to ſupply fit qualified Perſons for Undertakers. The other, that it be not left, as heretofore, to the pleaſure of the Undertakers and Adventurers; where and how to Build and Plant, but that they do it according to a Preſcript or Formality. For firſt, the Places both Maritime and Inland, which are fitteſt for Colonies or Garriſon, as well for doubt of Forreigners, as for keeping the Countrey in bridle, would be found ſurveyed and reſolved upon; and then that the Patentees be tied to build thoſe Places only, and to fortifie as ſhall be thought convenient. And laſtly, it followeth of courſe of Countreys of new Populations, to invite and provoke Inhabitants by ample Liberties and Charters.

FR. BACON.

The Reader is to take notice, That theſe Conſiderations referr to the Letter written by Sir Francis Bacon *to* Sir Robert Cecil, *after the defeat of the* Spaniards *in* Ireland, *in fol.* 26. *of this* Cabala.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the Earl of* Northumberland.

It may pleaſe your Lordſhip,

I would not have loſt this Journey; and yet I have not that I went for: For I have had no private Conference to purpoſe with the King, no more hath almoſt any other *Engliſh*; for the Speech of his Majeſty admitteth with ſome Noblemen, is rather matter of Grace, than matter of Buſineſs: with the Attorney he ſpake, urged by the Treaſurer of *Scotland*, but no more than needs muſt. After I had received his Majeſty's firſt Welcome, and was promiſed private Acceſs, yet not knowing what matter of Service your Lordſhip's Letter carried, for I ſaw it not, and knowing that Primeneſs in Advertiſement is much, I choſe rather to deliver it to Sir *Thomas Hoskins*, than to let it cool in my hands, upon expectation of acceſs. Your Lordſhip ſhall find a Prince the fartheſt from vain-glory that may be, and rather like a Prince of the ancient Form than of the latter Time; his Speeches ſwift and curſory, and in the full Dialect of his Nation, and in Speeche of Buſineſs ſhort, in Speech of Diſcourſe large: he affecteth popularity by gracing them that are Popular, and not by any Faſhions of his own; he is thought ſomewhat general in his Favours; and his virtue of Acceſs is rather becauſe he is much abroad, and in preſs, then he giveth eaſie Audience: he haſteneth to a mixture of both Kingdoms and Nations, faſter perhaps than Policy will well bear. I told your Lordſhip once before my Opinion, that methought his Majeſty rather asked Council of the time paſt, than of the time to come. But it is yet early to ground any ſetled Opinion. For other particularitys I refer to conference, having in theſe Generals gone farther in theſe tender Arguments than I would have done, were not the Bearer hereof ſo aſſured. So I continue your, *&c.*

FR. BACON.

A Diſcourſe touching Helps for the Intellectual Powers, by Francis Bacon.

I Did ever hold it for an inſolent and unlucky Saying, *Faber quiſque fortunæ ſuæ*; except it be uttered only as an Hortative, or Spur, to correct Sloth: For otherwiſe, if it be believed as it ſoundeth, and that a Man entreth into an high imagination that he can compaſs and fathom all Accidents, and aſcribeth all Succeſſes to his Drifts and Reaches, and the contrary to his Errours and Sleepings; it is commonly ſeen, that the evening Fortune of that Man is not ſo proſperous, as of him that, without ſlacking of his Induſtry, attributeth much to felicity and Providence above him. But if the Sentence were turned to this, *Faber quiſque ingenii ſui*, it were ſomewhat more true, and much more profitable: Becauſe it would teach Men to bend themſelves to reform thoſe Imperfections in themſelves which now they ſeek but to cover, and to attain thoſe Vertues and good Parts which now they ſeek but to have onely in ſhew and demonſtration. Yet notwithſtanding, every Man attempteth to be of the firſt Trade of Carpenters, and few bind themſelves to the ſecond: whereas, nevertheleſs, the riſing in Fortune ſeldom amendeth the Mind; but, on the other ſide, the removing of the Stones and Impediments of the Mind, doth often clear the Paſſage and Current to a Mon's Fortune. But certain it is, whether it be believed or no, that as the moſt excellent of Metals, Gold, is of all others the moſt pliant, and moſt enduring to be wrought; ſo of all living and breathing Subſtances, the perfecteſt Man, is moſt ſuſceptible of Help, Improvement, Impreſſion, and Alteration; and not onely in his Body, but in his Mind and Spirit; and there again, not onely in his Appetite and Affection, but in his Powers of Wit and Reaſon.

For, as to the Body of Man, we find many and ſtrange Experiences, how Nature is over-wrought by Cuſtome, even in Actions that ſeem of moſt difficulty, and leaſt poſſible. As firſt, in voluntary Motion, which, though it be termed voluntary, yet the higheſt degrees of it are not voluntary; for it is in my Power and Will to run, but to run faſter than according to my lightneſs, or diſpoſition of Body, is not in my Power nor Will. We ſee the Induſtry and Practice of Tumblers and *Funambulo's*, what Effects of great wonder it bringeth the Body of Man unto. So for ſuffering of pain, and dolour, which is thought ſo contrary to the Nature of Man, there is much example of Penances, in ſtrict Orders of Superſtition, what they do endure; ſuch as may well verifie the report of the *Spartan* Boys, which were wont to be ſcourged upon the Altar ſo bitterly, as ſometimes they died of it, and yet were never heard to complain. And to paſs to thoſe Faculties which are reckoned more involuntary, as long faſting and abſtinency, and the contrary extreme, voracity; the leaving and forbearing the uſe of Drink for altogether, the enduring vehement Cold, and the like; there have not wanted, neither do want, divers examples of ſtrange Victories over the Body, in every of theſe. Nay, in reſpiration, the proof hath been of ſome, who by continual uſe of diving and working under the Water, have brought themſelves to be able to hold their Breath an incredible time; and others, that have been able, without ſuffocation, to endure the ſtifling breath of an Oven or Fornace, ſo heated, as though it did not ſcald nor burn, yet it was many degrees too hot for any Man, not made to it, to breath or take in: And ſome Impoſtours Counterfeits, likewiſe, have been able to wreath and caſt their Bodies into ſtrange Forms and and Motions; yea, and others to bring themſelves into Trances and Aſtoniſhments. All which Examples do demonſtrate, how variouſly, and to how high Points and Degrees the Body of Man may be (as it were) molded and wrought, And if any Man conceive, that it is ſome ſecret propriety of Nature that hath been in thoſe Perſons which have attained to thoſe Points, and that it is not open for every Man to do the like, though he had been put to it; for which cauſe ſuch things come but very rarely to paſs: It is true, no doubt, that ſome Perſons are apter than others; but ſo, as the more aptneſs cauſeth perfection, but the leſs aptneſs doth not diſable: So that, for example, the more apt Child that is taken to be made a *Funambulo* will prove more excellent in his Feats; but the leſs apt will be *Gregarius Funambulo* alſo. And there is ſmall queſtion, but that theſe Abilities would have been more common; and others of like ſort, not attempted, would likewiſe have been brought upon the Stage, but for two Reaſons: The one, becauſe of Men's diffidence, in prejudging them as impoſſibilities; for it holdeth, in theſe things, which the Poet ſaith, *Poſſunt, quia poſſe videntur*; for no Man ſhall know how much may be done, except he believe much may be done: The other Reaſon is, Becauſe they be but Practices baſe and inglorious, and of no great uſe, and therefore ſequeſtred from Reward of Value; and, on the other ſide, painfull, ſo as the Recompence balanceth not with the Travel and Suffering.

And as to the will of Man, it is that which is moſt manageable and obedient, as that which admitteth moſt Medicines to cure and alter it. The moſt Sovereign of all is Religion, which is able to change and transform it in the deepeſt and moſt inward Inclinations and Motions. And next to this, Opinion and Apprehenſion, whether it be infuſed by Tradition and Inſtitution, or wrought in by Diſputation and Perſuation. And the third is Example, which transforms the will of Man into the ſimilitude of that which is moſt converſant and familiar towards it. And the fourth is, when one Affection is healed and corrected

by another: As when Cowardiſe is remedied by Shame and Diſhonour, or Sluggiſhneſs and Backwardneſs by Indignation and Emulation; and ſo of the like. And laſtly, when all theſe means, or any of them, have new framed or formed humane Will, then doth Cuſtome and Habit corroborate and confirm all the reſt, therefore it is no marvel, though this faculty of the Mind, (of Will and Election) which inclineth Affection and Appetite, being but the inceptions and rudiments of Will, may be ſo well governed and managed, becauſe it admitteth acceſs to ſo divers Remedies to be applied to it, and to work upon it. The effects whereof are ſo many, and ſo known, as require no enumeration. But generally, they do iſſue, as Medicines do, into kinds of Cures; whereof the one is a juſt or true Cure, and the other is called Palliation: For either the labour and intention is, to reform the Affections really and truly, reſtraining them, if they be too violent, and raiſing them, if they be too ſoft and weak; or elſe it is to cover them; or, if occaſion be, to pretend them, and repreſent them. Of the former ſort whereof the Examples are plentifull in the Schools of Philoſophers, and in all other Inſtitutions of Moral Vertue: And of the other ſort, the Examples are more plentifull in the Courts of Princes, and in all Politick Traffick; where it is ordinary to find, ot only profound Diſſimulations, and ſuffocating the Affections, that no note or mark appear of them outwardly, but alſo lively Simulations, and Affectations, carrying the tokens of Paſſions which are not as *Riſus juſſus*, and *Lachryme coactæ*, and the like.

Of Helps of the Intellectual Powers.

The Intellectual Powers have fewer means to work upon them, than the Will, or Body of Man: But the one that prevaileth, that is exerciſe, worketh more forcibly in them than in the reſt.

Theſe that follow, are but indigeſted Notes.

The ancient habit of the Philoſophers; *Si quis quærat, in utramque partem, de omni Scibili.*

The Exerciſe of Scholars, making Verſes *ex tempore*;

Stans pede in uno.

The Exerciſe of Lawyers, in Memory Narrative.

The Exerciſe of Sophiſts, and *Jo. ad oppoſitum*, with manifeſt effect.

Artificial Memory greatly holpen by Exerciſe.

The Exerciſe of Buffoons, to draw all things to conceits ridiculous.

The Means that help the Underſtanding, and Faculties thereof, are not Example, (as in the Will, by Converſation; and here the conceit of Imitation, already digeſted; with the confutation, *Obiter, ſi videbitur*, of *Tully*'s Opinion, adviſing a Man to take ſome one to imitate. Similitude of Faces analyſed.)

Arts, Logick, Rhetorick; the Ancients, *Ariſtotle, Plato, Theæteus, Gorgias, Litigioſus, vel Sophiſta, Protagoras, Ariſtotle, Schola ſua.* Topicks, *Elenchs.* Rhetoricks, *Organon, Cicero, Hermogenes.*

The Neotericks, *Ramus, Agricola, Nil ſacri Lullius.* His *Typocoſmia*, Studying *Cooper*'s Dictionary; *Matthews* Collections of proper Words for Metaphors; *Agrippa, de vanitate*, &c.

Quer. If not here, of Imitation.

Collections preparative. *Ariſtotle*'s ſimilitude of a Shoe-maker's Shop, full of Shoes of all ſorts: *Demoſthenes Exordia Conciones*: *Tully*'s Precept of Theſes of all ſorts preparative.

The relying upon Exerciſe, with the difference of uſing and tempering the Inſtrument: And the ſimilitude of preſcribing againſt the Laws of Nature, and of Eſtate.

Five Points.

I. That Exerciſes are to be framed to the Life, that is to ſay, to work Ability in that kind, whereof a Man, in the courſe of Action, ſhall have moſt uſe.

II. The indirect and oblique Exerciſes which do, *per partes*, and *per conſequentiam*, enable theſe Faculties, which perhaps direct Exerciſe, at firſt, would but diſtort: And theſe have chiefly place where the faculty is weak, not *per ſe*, but *per accidens*. As if want of Memory grow through lightneſs of Wit, and want of ſtayed Attention; then the Mathematicks or the Law helpeth, becauſe they are things, wherein if the Mind once roam, it cannot recover.

III. Of the advantages of Exerciſe; as, to dance with heavy Shoes, to march with heavy Armour and Carriage; and the contrary advantage, (in natures very dull and unapt) of working alacrity, by framing an Exerciſe with ſome delight or Affection;

——Velut pueris dant cruſtula blandi
Doctores, elementa velint ut diſcere prima.

IV. Of the Cautions of Exerciſe; as to beware, leſt by evil doing (as all beginners doe weakly) a Man grow not, and be inveterate, in an ill Habit, and ſo take not the advantage of Cuſtome in Perfection, but in confirming ill. Slubbering on the Lute.

V. The

V. The Marſhalling and ſequel of Sciences and Practices: Logick, and Rhetorick, ſhould be uſed to be read after Poeſie, Hiſtory, and Philoſophy: Firſt, Exerciſe to do things well and clean; after promptly and readily.

The Exerciſes in the Univerſities and Schools, are of Memory and Invention; either to ſpeak by Heart that which is ſet down *verbatim*, or to ſpeak *ex tempore*; whereas there is little uſe, in Action, of either of both. But moſt things which we utter, are neither verbally premeditate, nor meerly extemporal; therefore exerciſe would be framed to take a little breathing, and to conſider of Heads, and then to fit and form the Speech *ex tempore*. This would be done in two manners; both with writing in Tables, and without: For in moſt Actions, it is permitted, and paſſable, to uſe the Note; whereunto if a Man be not accuſtomed, it will put him out.

There is no uſe of a Narrative Memory in Academies, *viz.* with Circumſtances of Times, Perſons, and Places, and with Names; and it is one Art to Diſcourſe, and another to relate and Deſcribe; and herein Uſe and Action is moſt converſant.

Alſo, to Summ up, and Contract, is a thing in Action of very general Uſe.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King.*

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

IN the midſt of my Miſery, which is rather aſſuaged by Remembrance, than by Hope, my chiefeſt worldly Comfort is, to think, that ſince the time I had the firſt Vote of the lower Houſe of Parliament for Commiſſioner of the Union; untill the time that I was this Parliament choſen by both Houſes, for their Meſſenger to your Majeſty in the Petition of Religion, (which two, were my firſt and laſt Services,) I was evermore ſo happy, as to have my poor Services graciouſly accepted by your Majeſty, and likewiſe not to have had any of them miſcarry in my Hands. Neither of which Points I can any ways take to my ſelf, but aſcribe the former to your Majeſty's Goodneſs, and the latter to your prudent Directions, which I was ever carefull to have, and keep. For, as I have often ſaid to your Majeſty, I was towards you but as a Bucket, and a Ciſtern to draw forth, and conſerve, and your ſelf was the Fountain. Unto this Comfort of Nineteen Years Proſperity, there ſucceeded a Comfort even in my greateſt Adverſity, ſomewhat of the ſame Nature, which is, that in thoſe Offences wherewith I was Charged, there was not any one that had ſpecial Relation to your Majeſty, or any your particular Commandments. For as towards Almighty God, there are Offences againſt the Firſt and Second Table, and yet all againſt God; ſo with the Servants of Kings, there are Offences more immediate againſt the Sovereign, although all Offences againſt Law are alſo againſt the King. Unto which Comfort there is added this Circumſtance, that as my Faults were not againſt your Majeſty, otherwiſe than as all Faults are, ſo my fall is not your Majeſty's Act, otherwiſe than as all Acts of Juſtice are yours. This I write not to inſinuate with your Majeſty, but as a moſt Humble Appeal to your Majeſty's gracious Remembrance, how honeſt and direct you have ever found me in your Service, whereby I have an aſſured Belief, that there is in your Majeſty's Princely thoughts, a great deal of Serenity and Clearneſs to me, your Majeſty's now proſtrate, and caſt-down Servant.

Neither (my moſt Gracious Sovereign,) do I by this mentioning of my Services, lay claim to your Princely Grace and Bounty, though the priviledge of Calamity do bear that form of Petition. I know well, had they been much more, they had been but my bounded Duty; nay, I muſt alſo confeſs, that they were, from time to time, far above my Merit, ſuper-rewarded by your Majeſty's Benefits, which you heaped upon me. Your Majeſty was, and is, that Man to me, that raiſed and advanced me nine times, thrice in Dignity, and ſix times in Office. The Places indeed were the painfulleſt of all your Service, but then they had both Honour and Profit, and the then Profits might have maintained my now Honour, if I had been wiſe. Neither was your Majeſty's immediate liberality wanting towards me, in ſome Gifts, if I may hold them. All this I do moſt thankfully acknowledg, and do herewith conclude, that for any thing ariſing from my ſelf, to move your Eye of pity towards me, there is much more in my preſent Miſery than in my paſt Services; ſave that the ſame your Majeſty's Goodneſs, that may give relief to the one, may give value to the other.

And indeed if it may pleaſe your Majeſty, this Theme of my Miſery is ſo plentifull, as it need not be coupled with any thing elſe. I have been ſome Body, by your Majeſty's ſingular and undeſerved favour, even the prime Officer of your Kingdom. Your Majeſty's Arm hath been often over mine in Council, when you preſided at the Table, ſo near I was. I have born your Majeſty's Image in Metal, much more in Heart. I was never, in nineteen years Service, chidden by your Majeſty, but contrariwiſe, often over-joyed, when your Majeſty would ſometimes ſay; *I was a good Husband for you, though none for my ſelf*; ſometimes, *That I had a way to deal in Buſineſs*, ſuavibus modis, *which was the way which was moſt according to your own Heart*; and other moſt gracious Speeches of Affection and Truſt, which I feed on, till this day. But why ſhould I ſpeak of theſe things, which are now vaniſhed, but only the better to expreſs my down-fall.

For

For now it is thus with me; I am a year and a half old in Misery, though (I must ever acknowledge) not without some Mixture of Your Majesty's Grace and Mercy. For I doe not think it possible, that any You once Loved should be totally Miserable. My own means, through mine own improvidence, are poor and and weak, little better than my Father left me. The poor things which I have had from Your Majesty, are either in Question, or at Courtesie: My Dignities remain Marks of your past Favour, but yet Burdens withall of my present Fortune. The poor Remnants which I had of my former Fortunes, in Plate or Jewels, I have spread upon poor Men, unto whom I owed, scarce leaving my self Bread. So as to conclude, I must pour out my Misery before Your Majesty, so far as to say, *Si deseris tu, perimus.*

But as I can offer to Your Majesty's Compassion, little arising from my self to move You, except it be my extream Misery, which I have truly laid open; so looking up to Your Majesty your self, I should think I committed *Cain*'s Fault, if I should despair: Your Majesty is a King, whose heart is as unscrutable, for secret Motions of Goodness, as for depth of Wisdom. You are Creator like, Active, and not Destructive; You are a Prince in whom I have ever Noted an Aversion against any thing that savoured of a hard heart; as on the other side, your Princely Eye was wont to meet with any Motion that was made on the relieving part. Therefore, as one that hath had Happiness to know Your Majesty near hand, I have (most Gracious Sovereign) Faith enough for a Miracle, much more for a Grace: That Your Majesty will not suffer your poor Creature to be utterly Defaced, nor blot that Name quite out of your Book, upon which Your Sacred Hand hath been so oft for new Ornaments and Additions. Unto this degree of compassion, I hope God above (of whose Mercy towards me, both in my Prosperity, and Adversity, I have had great Testimonies and Pledges, though mine own manifold and wretched unthankfulness might have averted them) will dispose Your Princely heart, already prepared to all Piety. And why should I not think, but that thrice Noble Prince, who would have pulled me out of the Fire of a Sentence, will help to pull me (if I may use that homely Phrase) out of the Mire of an Abject and Sordid Condition in my last days? And that excellent Favourite of yours (the goodness of whose Nature contendeth with the greatness of his Fortune, and who counteth it a Prize, a second Prize to be a good Friend, after that Prize which he carrieth to be a good Servant) will kiss your hands with Joy, for any work of Piety you shall doe for me? And as all commiserating Persons (specially such as find their Hearts void of Malice) are apt to think, that all Men pity them; I assure my self, that the Lords of the Council (who out of their Wisdom and Nobleness cannot but be sensible of Humane events) will, in this way which I go for the relief of my Estate, further and advance Your Majesty's Goodness towards me. For there is a kind of Fraternity between great Men that are, and those that have been, being but the several Tenses of one *Verb*: Nay, I do farther presume, that both Houses of Parliament will love their Justice the better, if it end not in my Ruine. For I have been often told by many of my Lords, (as it were, in excusing the severity of the Sentence,) that they knew they left me in good hands. And Your Majesty knoweth well, I have been all my life long acceptable to those Assemblies, not by Flattery, but by Moderation, and by honest expressing of a desire to have all things go fairly and well.

But (if it may please Your Majesty) for Saints, I shall give them Reverence, but no Adoration. My address is to Your Majesty, the Fountain of Goodness: Your Majesty shall, by the Grace of God, not feel that in Gift, which I shall extreamly feel in Help; for my desires are Moderate, and my Courses measured to a life orderly and reserved; hoping still to doe Your Majesty Honour in my way. Onely I most humbly beseech Your Majesty, to give me leave to conclude with those Words which necessity speaketh; help me, Dear Sovereign Lord and Master, and pitty me so far, as I, that have born a Bag be not now in my Age, forced in effect, to bear a Wallet; nor I, that desire to live to Study, may not be driven to study to Live. I most humbly crave Pardon of a long Letter, after a long Silence God of Heaven ever bless, preserve, and prosper Your Majesty.

Your Majesty's poor Ancient Servant and Beadsman,

Fr. St. Alban.

Sir Francis Bacon, *the King's Attorney, returned with Postils, of the King's own hand.*

It may please your most Excellent Majesty.

YOur Majesty hath put upon me a work of Providence in this great Cause, which is to break and distinguish future events into present Cases, and so to present them to Your Royal Judgement, that in this Action which hath been carried with so great Prudence, Justice, and Clemency, there may be (for that which remaineth) as little surprize as is possible, but that things duly foreseen may have their remedies and directions in readiness; wherein I cannot forget what the *Poet Martial* saith; *O quantum est subitis casibus ingenium!* signifying, that Accident is many times more subtil than Foresight, and over reacheth Expectation; and besides, I know very well the meanness of my own Judgement, in comprehending or forecasting what may follow. It

It was your Majesty's pleasure also, that I should couple the suppositions with my opinion in every of them, which is a harder task; but yet your Majesty's Commandment requireth my Obedience, and your Trust giveth me Assurance.

I will put the case which I wish; That *Somerset* should make a clear Confession of his offences, before he be produced to Tryal.

REX. *I say with* Apollo, Media tutius itur, *if it may stand with Law; and if it cannot, when I shall hear thathe confesseth, I am to make choice of the first, or the last.*

In this case, it seemeth your Majesty will have a new consult. The points whereof will be. (1) Whether your Majesty will stay the Tryal, and so save them both from the Stage, and that publick Ignominy. Or (2) Whether you will (or may fitly by law) have the Tryal proceed, and stay or reprieve the Judgement, which saveth the Lands from forfeiture, and the blood from corruption. Or (3) Whether you will have both Tryal and Judgment proceed, and save the blood only, not from corrupting, but from spilling.

These be the depths of your Majesties mercy which I may not enter into; but for honour and reputation, they have these grounds.

That the Blood of *Overbury* is already revenged by divers Executions.

That Confession and Penitency are the foot-stools of Mercy, adding this circumstance likewise, that the former offenders did none of them make a clear Confession.

That the great downfall of so great persons carrieth, in it self, a heavy punishment, and a kind of civil Death, although their Lives should not be taken.

All which may satisfie Honour, for sparing their Lives.

But if your Majesty's Mercy should extend to the first degree, which is the highest, of sparing the Stage and the Tryal; Then three things are to be considered.

REX. *This Article cannot be mended in points thereof.*

First, that they make such a Submission or Deprecation, as they prostrate themselves, and all that they have, at your Majesty's feet, imploring your Mercy.

Secondly, that your Majesty, in your own wisdom, do advise what course you will take, for the utter extinguishing of all hope of resuscitating of their Fortunes and Favour; whereof if there should be the least conceit, it will leave in men a great deal of Envy and Discontent.

And lastly, whether your Majesty will not suffer it to be thought abroad, that there is a cause of farther examination of *Somerset*, concerning matters of Estate, after he shall begin once to be a Confessant; and so make as well a politick ground, as a ground of Clemency, for farther stay.

And for the second degree of proceeding to Tryal, and staying Judgement, I must better inform my self, by Precedents, and advise with my Lord Chancellor.

The second Case is, if that fall out which is likest (as things stand, and which we expect) which is, that the Lady Confess: and that *Somerset* himself plead not guilty, and be found guilty.

REX. *If stay of Judgement can stand with the Law, I would even wish it in this Case; In all the rest this Article cannot be mended.*

In this Case, first, I suppose your Majesty will not think of any stay of Judgment, but that the publick Process of Justice pass on.

Secondly, for your Mercy to be extended to both, for pardon of their Execution, I have partly touched, in the considerations applyed to the former Case; whereunto may be added, that as there is ground of Mercy for her, upon her Penitency and free Confession, and will be much more upon his finding guilty, because the Malice on his part will be thought the deeper source of the Offence; so there will be ground for Mercy, on his part, upon the nature of the Proof, because it rests chiefly upon Presumptions. For certainly, there may be an Evidence so balanced, as it may have sufficient matter for

for the Conſcience of the Peers to convict him, and yet leave ſufficient matter in the Conſcience of a King, upon the ſame Evidence, to pardon his life; becauſe the Peers are aſtringed by neceſſity, either to acquit or condemn; but Grace is free. And for my part, I think the Evidence in this preſent Caſe will be of ſuch a nature.

Thirdly, It ſhall be my care ſo to moderate the manner of charging him, as it might make him not odious beyond the extent of Mercy.

REX. *That danger is well to be foreſeen, leſt he upon the one part commit impardonable Errors, and I on the other part ſeem to puniſh him in the ſpirit of Revenge.*

Laſtly, all theſe points of Mercy and favour are to be underſtood with this limitation, if he do not, by his contemptuous and inſolent carriage at the Bar, make himſelf uncapable and unworthy of them.

The third Caſe is, if he ſhould ſtand mute, and will not plead, whereof your Majeſty knoweth there hath been ſome ſecret queſtion.

In this caſe, I ſhould think fit, that, as in publick, both my ſelf, and chiefly my Lord Chancellor (ſitting then as Lord Steward of *England*) ſhould dehort and deter him from that deſperation; ſo nevertheleſs, that as much ſhould be done for him, as was done for *Weſton*, which was to adjourn the Court for ſome days, upon a Chriſtian ground, that he may have time to turn from that mind of deſtroying himſelf; during which time your Majeſties farther pleaſure may be known.

REX. *This Article cannot be amended.*

The fourth Caſe is that, which I ſhould be very ſorry ſhould happen; but it is a future contingent, that is, if the Peers ſhould acquit him, and find him not guilty.

In this Caſe, the Lord Steward muſt be provided what to do. For as it hath been never ſeen, (as I conceive it) that there ſhould be any rejecting of the Verdict, or any reſpiting of the Judgement of the acquittal; ſo on the other ſide, this Caſe requireth, that becauſe there be many high and heinous offences (though not Capital) for which he may be queſtioned in the Star-Chamber, or otherwiſe, that there be ſome touch of that in general, at the concluſion, by my Lord Steward of *England*. And that therefore he be remanded to the *Tower*, as Cloſe Priſoner.

REX. *This is ſo alſo.*

For matter of Examination, or other Proceedings, my Lord Chancellor, with my advice, hath ſet down,

To morrow, being *Monday*, for the Re-examination of the Lady.

Wedneſday next, for the meeting of the Judges, concerning the Evidence.

Thurſday, for the Examination of *Somerſet* himſelf, according to your Majeſty's Inſtructions.

Which three parts, when they ſhall be performed, I will give your Majeſty advertiſement with ſpeed, and in the mean time be glad to receive from your Majeſty (whom it is my part to inform truly) ſuch directions, or ſignifications of your pleaſure, as this Advertiſement may induce, and that with ſpeed, becauſe the time cometh on. Well remembring who is the perſon, whom your Majeſty admitted to this ſecret; I have ſent this Letter open unto him, that he may take your Majeſty's times to report it, or ſhew it unto you, aſſuring my ſelf that nothing is more firm than his Truſt, tied to your Majeſty's Commandments;

April 28. 1616.

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble and moſt bounden Subject and Servant.

Sir Francis Bacon, *the King's Attorney General, to the Maſter of the Horſe, upon the ſending of his Bill for Viſcount*, &c.

SIR,

I Send you the Bill for his Majeſty's Signature, reformed according to his Majeſty's amendments, both in the two places (which I aſſure you, were altered with great judgement) and in the third place, which his Majeſty termed a queſtion onely. But he is an idle body, that thinketh his Majeſty asketh an idle queſtion; and therefore his Majeſty's queſtions are to be anſwered, by taking away the cauſe of the queſtion, and not by replying.

For

For the Name, His Majeſty's Will is a Law in thoſe things; and to ſpeak the Truth, it is a well-ſounding, and noble Name, both here and abroad: And being your proper Name, I will take it for a good ſign, that you ſhall give Honour to your Dignity, and not your Dignity to you. Therefore I have made it Viſcount *Villiers*, and for your Barony, I will keep it for an Earldom: For though the other had been more orderly, yet that is as uſual, and both alike good in Law.

For *Roper*'s Place, I would have it by all means diſpatched; and therefore I marvel it lingreth. It were no good Manners, to take the Buſineſs out of my Lord Treaſurer's hands, and therefore I purpoſe to Write to his Lordſhip, if I hear not from him firſt, by Mr. *Derkome*; but if I hear of any delay, you will give me leave (eſpecially ſince the King named Me) to deal with Sir *Joſeph Roper* my Self; for neither I, nor my Lord Treaſurers can deſerve any great thanks in this Buſineſs of yours, conſidering the King hath ſpoken to Sir *Joſeph Roper*, and he hath promiſed; and beſides, the thing it ſelf is ſo reaſonable, as it ought to be as ſoon done, as ſaid. I am now gotten into the Country to my Houſe, where I have ſome little Liberty, to think of that I would think of, and not of that which other Men hourly break their Head withall, as it was at *London*. Upon this you may conclude, that moſt of my Thoughts are to His Majeſty, and then you cannot be far off. God ever keep you, and proſper you: I reſt always,

The 5th. *of Auguſt, one of the happieſt days,* *Your true and moſt Dutifull Servant.*

Sir Francis Bacon *to Sir* George Villiers, *upon the ſending his Patent for Viſcount* Villiers *to be ſigned.*

SIR,

*I have ſent you now your Patent, of Creation of Lord *Bletchly* of *Bletchly*, and of Viſcount *Villiers*. *Bletchly* is your own, and I liked the ſound of the Name better then *Whaddon*; but the Name will be hid, for you will be called Viſcount *Villiers*. I have put them in a Patent, after the manner of the Patent for Earls, where Baronies are joined; but the chief Reaſon was, becauſe I would avoid double Prefaces, which had not been fit; nevertheleſs the Ceremony of Robing, and otherwiſe, muſt be double.

And now, becauſe I am in the Country, I will ſend you ſome of my Country Fruits, which with me are good Meditations; which, when I am in the City, are choaked with Buſineſs.

After that the King ſhall have Watered your new Dignities, with the Bounty of the Lands which he intends you, and that ſome other things concerning your Means, which are now likewiſe in intention, ſhall be ſettled upon you; I do not ſee, but you may think your private fortunes Eſtabliſhed; and therefore it is now time, that you ſhould referr your Actions to the good of your Sovereign, and your Country. It is the life of an Ox, or Beaſt, always to Eat, and never Exerciſe; but Men are born (and ſpecially Chriſtian Men) not to cramb in their Fortunes, but to exerciſe their Vertues; and yet the other hath been unworthy, and (thanks be to God) ſometimes the unlucky Humour of great Perſons in our Times. Neither will your future Fortune be the farther off; for aſſure your ſelf, that Fortune is of a Woman's Nature, and will ſooner follow by Slighting, than by too much Wooing. And in this Dedication of your Self to the Publick, I recommend unto you Principally, that which I think was never done ſince I was Born; and which, becauſe it is not done, hath bred almoſt a Wilderneſs and Solitude in the King's Service; which is, That you countenance and encourage, and advance able Men, in all Kinds, Degrees, and Profeſſions. For in the time of the *Cecils*, the Father and the Son, able Men were by deſign and of purpoſe ſuppreſſed: And though of late, choice goeth better, both in Church and Common-wealth, yet Money, and Turn-ſerving, and cunning Canvaſſes, and Importunity, prevaileth too much. And in places of Moment, rather make able and honeſt Men yours, than advance thoſe that are otherwiſe, becauſe they are Yours. As for cunning and corrupt Men, you muſt (I know) ſometimes uſe them, but keep them at a Diſtance; and let it appear rather, that you make uſe of them, than that they lead you. Above all, depend wholly (next unto God) upon the King, and be ruled (as hitherto you have been) by his Inſtructions, for that is beſt for your ſelf. For the King's Care and Thoughts for you are according to the Thoughts of a great King; whereas your Thoughts concerning your ſelf, are, and ought to be, according to the Thoughts of a modeſt Man. But let me not weary you, the ſumm is, that you think Goodneſs the beſt part of Greatneſs, and that you remember whence your riſing comes, and make return accordingly. God keep you.

Aug. 12. 1616.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King about a Certificate of my Lord* Coke's.

It may please your excellent Majesty.

*I send your Majesty inclosed, my Lord *Coke*'s Answers, I will not call them Rescripts, much less Oracles. They are of his own Hand, and offered to me (as they are) in writing, not required by me to have them set down in writing, though I am glad of it, for my own discharge. I thought it my Duty, as soon as I received them, instantly to send them to your Majesty, and forbear, for the present, to speak farther of them. I, for my part, (though this *Moscovia*-weather be a little too hard for my Constitution,) was ready to have waited upon your Majesty this day, all respects set aside; but my Lord Treasurer, in respect of the Season, and much other business, was willing to save me. I will only conclude, touching these Papers, with a Text divided; I cannot say, *Oportuit hæc fieri*, but I may say, *Finis autem nondum*. God preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble, and devoted Subject and Servant.

Feb. 14. *at* 12 *a Clock.*

I humbly pray your Majesty, to keep the Papers safe.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Mr.* Toby Matthews.

Mr. *Matthews.*

DO not think me forgetfull, or altered towards you: But if I should say, I could doe you any good, I should make my Power more than it is. I do fear that which I am right sorry for, that you grow more impatient and busie than at first, which makes me exceedingly fear the issue of that which seemeth not to stand at a stay. I my self am out of doubt, that you have been miserably abused, when you were first seduced; and that which I take in Compassion, others may take in severity. I pray God, that understands us all better than we understand one another, continue you, as I hope he will, at least, within the bounds of Loyalty to his Majesty, and natural piety to your Countrey. And I intreat you much, to meditate sometimes upon the effect of Superstition in this last *Powder-Treason*, fit to be tabled and pictured in the Chambers of *Meditation*, as another Hell above the Ground; and well justifying the censure of the Heathen, that *Superstition is far worse than Atheism*, by how much it is less Evil to have no good Opinion of God at all, than such as are impious towards his Divine Majesty and Goodness. Good Mr. *Matthews*, receive your Self back from these courses of Perdition. Willing to have written a great deal more, I continue

Your &c.
FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Earl of* Salisbury.

It may please your good Lordship;

I Am not ignorant how mean a thing I stand for, in desiring to come into the Sollicitor's place: For I know well, it is not the thing it hath been, time having wrought an alteration, both in the Profession, and in that special place. Yet because I think it will increase my Practice, and that it may satisfie my Friends, and because I have been voiced to it, I would be glad it were done. Wherein I may say to your Lordship, in the Confidence of your poor Kinsman, and a Man by you advanced, *in idem fer opem qui spem dedisti*: For I am sure, it was not possible for a Man living to have received from another more significant and comfortable words of Hope: your Lordship being pleased to tell me, during the course of my last Service, that you would raise me, and, that when you are resolved to raise a Man, you were more carefull of him, than himself, and that what you had done for me in my Marriage, was a benefit for me, but of no use to your Lordship; and therefore I might assure my self, you would not leave me there, with many like Speeches; which I know too well my Duty to take any other hold of, than the hold of a thankfull remembrance: And I know, and all the World knoweth, that your Lordship is no dealer of Holy-water, but Noble and Real; and on my part, on sure Ground, that I have committed nothing that may deserve any alteration; and if I cannot observe you as I would, your Lordship will impute it to my want of experience, which I shall gather better, when I am once setled.

And

And therefore my hope is, your Lordſhip will finiſh a good work, and conſider, that Time groweth precious, and that I am now *vergentibus annis*; and although I know your Fortune is not to want an Hundred ſuch as I am, yet I ſhall be ever ready to give you my beſt and firſt Fruits, and to ſupply, as much as in me lyeth, a worthineſs by thankfulneſs.

FR. BACON.

Lord Chancellour Bacon *to the King.*

It may pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Dare not preſume any more to reply upon your Majeſty, but reſerve my Defence till I attend your Majeſty at your happy return, when I hope verily to approve my ſelf not only a true Servant to your Majeſty, but a true Friend to my Lord of *Buckingham*; and for the times alſo, I hope to give your Majeſty a good Account, though diſtance of place may obſcure them. But there is one part of your Majeſty's Letter, that I could be ſorry to take time to anſwer; which is, that your Majeſty conceives, that whereas I wrote, that the heighth of my Lord's Fortune might make him ſecure, I mean, that he was turned proud, or unknowing of himſelf. Surely, the opinion I have ever had of my Lord (whereof your Majeſty is beſt Witneſs) is far from that. But my meaning was plain and ſimple, that his Lordſhip might, through his great Fortune, be the leſs apt to caſt and fore-ſee the unfaithfulneſs of Friends, and the malignity of Enemies, and accidents of Times. Which is a judgment (your Majeſty knoweth better than I) that the beſt Authors make of the beſt, and beſt tempered Spirits *ut ſunt res humanæ*; inſomuch as *Guicciardine* maketh the ſame Judgment (not of a particular Perſon, but) of the wiſeſt State of *Europe*, the Senate of *Venice*, when he ſaith, their proſperity had made them ſecure, and under-weighers of Perils. Therefore I beſeech your Majeſty, to deliver me in this, from any the leaſt imputation to my Dear and Noble Lord and Friend. And ſo expecting, that that Sun which when it went from us, left us cold weather, and now it is returned towards us hath brought with it a bleſſed Harveſt, will, when it cometh to us, diſpel and diſperſe all Miſts and Miſtakings.

July 31. 1617. *I am*, &c.

The Lord Chancellour Bacon *to the King.*

It may pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Do many times, with gladneſs, and for a Remedy of my other labours, revolve in my Mind the great happineſs which God (of his ſingular goodneſs) hath accumulated upon your Majeſty every way, and how compleat the ſame would be, if the State of your means were once rectified, and well ordered; your People Military and Obedient, fit for War, uſed to Peace; your Church illightened with good Preachers, as an Heaven of Stars; your Judges Learned, and learning from you, juſt, and juſt by your Example; your Nobility in a right diſtance between Crown and People, no oppreſſors of the People, no over-ſhadowers of the Crown; your Council full of Tributes of Care, Faith, and Freedom; your Gentlemen, and Juſtices, of Peace, willing to apply your Royal Mundates to the Nature of their ſeveral Counties, but ready to obey; your Servants in awe of your Wiſdome, in hope of your goodneſs; the Fields growing every Day, by the improvement and recovery of Grounds, from the Deſert to the Garden; the City grown from Wood to Brick, your Sea-walls, or *Pomerium* of your Iſland, ſurveyed, and in edifying; your Merchants embracing the whole compaſs of the World, Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South; the Times give you Peace, and yet offer you opportunities of Action abroad; and laſtly, your excellent Royal Iſſue entaileth theſe Bleſſings and Favours of God to deſcend to all poſterity. It reſteth therefore, that God having done ſo great things for your Majeſty, and you for others, you would doe ſo much for your ſelf, as to go through (according to your good beginnings) with the rectifying and ſetling of your Eſtate and Means, which only is wanting. *Hoc rebus deſuit unum.* I therefore, whom only Love and Duty to your Majeſty, and your Royal Line, hath made a *Financier*, do intend to preſent unto your Majeſty a perfect Book of your Eſtate, like a Perſpective-Glaſs, to draw your Eſtate nearer to your ſight; beſeeching your Majeſty to conceive, that if I have not attained to doe that I would doe, in this, which is not proper for me, nor in my Element, I ſhall make your Majeſty amends in ſome other thing, in which I am better bred.

Jan. 2. 1618. *God ever preſerve*, &c.

The Lord Chancellour Bacon *to the King.*

It may pleaſe Your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

TIme hath been, when I have brought unto you *Gemitum Columbæ* from others, now I bring it from my ſelf. I flie unto Your Majeſty with the Wings of a Dove, which, once within theſe ſeven days, I thought would have carried me a higher Flight. When I enter into my ſelf, I find not the materials of ſuch a Tempeſt as is come upon me. I have been, (as Your Majeſty knoweth beſt) never Author of any immoderate Counſel, but always deſired to have things carried *ſuavibus modis*. I have been no avaricious oppreſſor of the People. I have been no Haughty, or Intolerable, or hateful Man, in my Converſation, or Carriage: I have inherited no Hatred from my Father, but am a good Patriot born. Whence ſhould this be? for theſe are the things that uſe to raiſe diſlikes abroad.

For the Houſe of Commons, I began my Credit there, and now it muſt be the place of the Sepulture thereof. And yet this Parliament, upon the Meſſage touching Religion, the old Love revived, and they ſaid, I was the ſame Man ſtill, onely Honeſty was turned into Honour.

For the Upper-Houſe, even within theſe Days, before theſe Troubles, they ſeemed as to take me into their Arms, finding in me Ingenuity, which they took to be the true ſtreight line of Nobleneſs, without Crooks or Angles.

And for the Briberies and Gifts wherewith I am charged, when the Books of Hearts ſhall be opened, I hope, I ſhall not be found to have the troubled Fountain of a corrupt Heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert Juſtice; howſoever, I may be frail, and partake of the abuſes of the Times.

And therefore I am reſolved, when I come to my Anſwer, not to trick my Innocency, (as I writ to the Lords) by Cavillations, or Voidances; but to ſpeak to them the Language that my heart ſpeaketh to me, in excuſing, extenuating, or ingenuous confeſſing; Praying God, to give me the Grace to ſee to the bottom of my Faults, and that no hardneſs of heart do ſteal upon me, under ſhew of more neatneſs of Conſcience, than is Cauſe.

But not to trouble your Majeſty any longer, craving Pardon for this long mourning Letter; that which I thirſt after, as the Heart after the Streams, is, that I may know, by my matchleſs Friend that preſenteth to you this Letter; Your Majeſties heart (which is an *Abyſſus* of Goodneſs, as I am an *Abyſſus* of Miſery) towards me. I have been ever your Man, and counted my ſelf but an uſufructuary of my ſelf, the property being yours. And now making my ſelf an Oblation, to doe with me as may beſt conduce to the Honour of your Juſtice, the Honour of your Mercy, and the Uſe of your Service, reſting as

Mar. 25. 1620.

Clay in Your Majeſty's gracious Hands,

Fr. St. Alban. Can.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King, upon the ſending unto him a beginning of a Hiſtory of His Majeſty's Time.*

It may pleaſe Your Majeſty,

HEaring that you are at Leiſure to peruſe Story, a deſire took me to make an Experiment what I could doe in Your Majeſty's Times; which, being but a Leaf, or two, I pray your Pardon, if I ſend it for your Recreation, conſidering, that Love muſt creep, where it cannot goe. But to this I add theſe Petitions: Firſt, that if Your Majeſty do diſlike any thing, you would conceive I can amend it upon your leaſt Beck. Next, that if I have not ſpoken of Your Majeſty Encomiaſtically, Your Majeſty will be pleaſed onely to aſcribe it to the Law of an Hiſtory, which doth not clutter together Praiſes, upon the firſt mention of a Name, but rather diſperſeth them, and weaveth them throughout the whole Narration. And as for the proper place of Commemoration, (which is in the Period of Life,) I pray God I may never live to Write it. Thirdly, that the Reaſon why I preſumed to think of this Oblation, was, becauſe whatſoever my Diſability be, yet I ſhall have that Advantage which almoſt no Writer of Hiſtory hath had, in that I ſhall write the Times, not onely ſince I could Remember, but ſince I could Obſerve. And laſtly, that it is onely for Your Majeſty's Reading.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Lord Chancellour, touching the Hiſtory of* Britain.

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

SOme late Act of His Majeſty, referred to ſome former Speech which I have heard from your Lordſhip, bred in me a great deſire, and by ſtrength of deſire a Boldneſs, to make an humble Propoſition to your Lordſhip, ſuch as in me can be no better than a Wiſh; but if your Lordſhip ſhould apprehend it, it may take ſome good and worthy Effect. The Act I ſpeak of, is the order given by His Majeſty for the Erection of a Tomb or Monument for our late Soverign Queen *Elizabeth*; wherein I may Note much, but this at this time, That as Her Majeſty did always Right to His Majeſty's Hopes, ſo his Highneſs doth, in all things, Right to her Memory; a very juſt and Princely Retribution. But from this Occaſion, by a very eaſie aſcent, I paſſed farther, being put in mind, by this repreſentative of her Perſon, of the more true and more perfect Repreſentative, which is, of her Life and Government. For as Statues and Pictures are dumb Hiſtories, ſo Hiſtories are ſpeaking Pictures; wherein (if my Affection be not too great, or my Reading too ſmall,) I am of this Opinion, that if *Plutarch* were alive to write Lives by Parallels, it would trouble him, for Vertue and Fortune both, to find for her a Parallel amongſt Women. And though ſhe was of the Paſſive Sex, yet her Government was ſo Active, as, in my ſimple Opinion, it made more impreſſion upon the ſeveral States of *Europe*, than it received from thence. But I confeſs unto your Lordſhip, I could not ſtay here, but went a little farther into the conſideration of the Times which have paſſed ſince King *Henry* the Eighth; wherein I find the ſtrangeſt Variety, that in ſo little number of Succeſſions of any hereditary Monarchy, hath ever been known; the Reign of a Child, the Offer of an Uſurpation, though it were but as a diary Ague; the Reign of a Lady married to a Foreigner, and the Reign of a Lady, Solitary and Unmarried: So that as it cometh to paſs, in maſſive Bodys, that they have certain Trepidations, and Waverings, before they fix and ſettle; ſo it ſeemeth, that by the Providence of God, this Monarchy (before it was to ſettle in His Majeſty and his Generations, in which I hope it is now Eſtabliſhed for ever,) hath had theſe precluſive changes in theſe barren Princes. Neither could I contain my ſelf here, (as it is eaſier for a Man to Multiply, than to ſtay a Wiſh,) but calling to remembrance the unworthineſs of the Hiſtory of *England*, in the main continuance thereof, and the Partiality and Obliquity of that of *Scotland*, in the lateſt and largeſt Author that I have ſeen; I conceived, it would be Honour for His Majeſty, and a Work very Memorable, if this Iſland of Great *Britain*, as it is now joined in Monarchy for the Ages to come, ſo it were joined in Hiſtory for the Times paſt; and that one juſt and compleat Hiſtory were compiled of both Nations. And if any Man think, it may refreſh the Memory of former Diſcord, he may ſatisfie himſelf with the Verſe, *Olim hæc meminiſſe juvabit*. For the caſe being now altered, it is matter of comfort and gratulation, to remember former Troubles. Thus much, if it may pleaſe your Lordſhip, was in the Optative Mood, and it was time that I ſhould look a little into the Potential; wherein the hope that I received was grounded upon three Obſervations. The firſt, of theſe Times, which flouriſh in Learning, both of Art, and Language; which giveth hope, not onely that it may be done, but that it may be well done. Secondly, I do ſee that which all the World ſees in His Majeſty, a wonderfull Judgment in Learning, and a ſingular Affection towards Learning, and Works which are of the Mind, and not of the Hand. For there cannot be the like Honnour ſought in building of Galleries, and planting of Elms along High-ways, and the outward Ornaments wherein *France* now is buſie, (things rather of Magnificence than of Magnanimity,) as there is in the uniting of States, pacifying of Controverſies, nouriſhing and augmenting of Learning and Arts, and the particular action appertaining unto theſe; of which kind *Cicero* judged truly, when he ſaid to *Cæſar*, *Quantum operibus tuis detrahet vetuſtas, tantum addet laudibus.* And laſtly, I called to mind, that your Lordſhip, at ſome times, hath been pleaſed to expreſs unto me a great deſire, that ſomething of this matter ſhould be done, anſwerable indeed to your other Noble and worthy Courſes and Actions; joining, and adding unto the great Services towards His Majeſty (which have in ſmall compaſs of time been performed by your Lordſhip) other great Deſervings, both of the Church, and Common-wealth, and Particulars: So as the Opinion of ſo Great and Wiſe a Man doth ſeem to me a good Warrant, both of the poſſibility, and worth of the matter. But all this while, I aſſure my ſelf, I cannot be miſtaken by your Lordſhip, as if I ſought an Office or Imployment for my ſelf; for no Man knows better than your Lordſhip, that if there were in me any Faculty thereunto, yet neither my courſe of Life, nor Profeſſion would permit it. But becauſe there be ſo many good Painters, both for Hand and Colours, it needeth but Encouragement and Inſtructions to give Life unto it. So in all humbleneſs, I conclude my preſenting unto your Lordſhip this Wiſh, which if it periſh, it is but a loſs of that which is not. And ſo craving Pardon, that I have taken ſo much time from your Lordſhip, I remain, &c.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King, about the Pardon of the Parliaments Sentence.*

Moſt Gracious and dread Sovereign.

BEfore I make my Petition to your Majeſty, I make my Prayers to God above, *pectore ab imo*, that if I have held any thing ſo dear as your Majeſty's Service, (nay) your Heart's eaſe, and your Honour, I may be repulſed with a denial. But if that hath been the principal with me, that God, who knoweth my Heart, would move your Majeſty's Royal Heart to take Compaſſion of me, and to grant my deſire.

I proſtrate my ſelf at your Majeſty's feet; I, your ancient Servant, now ſixty four years old in age, and three years and five moneths old in Miſery. I deſire not from your Majeſty Means, nor Place, nor Imployment; but onely, after ſo long a time of Expiation, a compleat and total remiſſion of the Sentence of the Upper-Houſe, to the end that Blot of Ignominy may be removed from me, and from my Memory with poſterity, that I dye not a condemned Man, but may be to your Majeſty, as I am to God, *Nova creatura*. Your Majeſty hath pardoned the like to Sir *John Bennet*, between whoſe Caſe and mine (not being partial to my ſelf, but ſpeaking out of the general opinion) there was as much difference, I will not ſay, as between black and white, but as between black and gray, or aſh-coloured; look therefore down (dear Sovereign) upon me alſo in pity. I know your Majeſty's Heart is inſcrutable for Goodneſs; and my Lord of *Buckingham* was wont to tell me, you were the beſt natured Man in the World; and it is God's Property, that thoſe he hath loved, he loveth to the end. Let your Majeſty's Grace, in this my deſire, ſtream down upon me, and let it be out of the Fountain and Spring-head, and *ex mero motu*, that living or dying, the print of the goodneſs of King *James* may be in my Heart, and his praiſes in my Mouth. This my moſt humble Requeſt granted, may make me live a year or two happily; and denied, will kill me quickly. But yet the laſt thing that will dye in me, will be the Heart and Affection of

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble and true devoted Servant,

July 30. 1624. Fr. St. Alban.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King, upon Preſenting his Diſcourſe, touching the Plantation of* Ireland.

It may pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I know no better way how to expreſs my good wiſhes of a New-year to your Majeſty, than by this little Book, which in all humbleneſs I ſend you. The ſtile is a ſtile of Buſineſs, rather than curious or elaborate: And herein I was encouraged by my experience of your Majeſty's former Grace, in accepting of the like poor Field-fruits, touching the Union. And certainly I reckon this Action as a ſecond Brother to the Union. For I aſſure my ſelf, that *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, well united, is ſuch a Trifoil, as no Prince except your ſelf (who are the worthieſt) weareth in his Crown, *Si Potentia reducatur in actum*. I know well, that for me to beat my Brains about theſe things, they be *Majora quam pro fortuna*, but yet they be *Minora quam pro ſtudio & voluntate*. For as I do yet bear an extream zeal to the Memory of my old Miſtriſs, Queen *Elizabeth*, to whom I was rather bound for her Truſt, than for her Favour; ſo I muſt acknowledg my ſelf more bound to your Majeſty, both for Truſt and Favour; whereof I will never deceive the one, as I can never deſerve the other. And ſo in all Humbleneſs kiſſing your Majeſty's Sacred Hands, I remain ——

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Earl of* Salisbury, *upon ſending him one of his Books of advancement of Learning.*

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

I Preſent your Lordſhip with a work of my vacant Time, which if it had been more, the Work had been better. It appertaineth to your Lordſhip (beſides my particular reſpects) in ſome Propriety, in regard you are a great Governour in a Province of Learning, and (that which is more) you have added to your place affection towards Learning, and to your affection Judgment, of which the laſt I could be content were (for the time) leſs, that you might the leſs exquiſitely cenſure that which I offer to you. But ſure I am, the Argument is good, if it had lighted upon a good Author; but I ſhall content my ſelf to awake better Spirits, like a Bell-ringer which is firſt up, to call others to Church. So, with my humble deſire of your Lordſhip's good Acceptation, I remain,

The

The Lord Chancellour Bacon *to the Lords.*

It may pleaſe your Lordſhips,

I ſhall Humbly crave at your Lordſhips Hands a benign Interpretation of that which I ſhall now Write; for Words that come from waſted Spirits, and an oppreſſed Mind, are more ſafe in being depoſited in a noble Conſtruction, than in being Circled with any reſerved Caution. Having made this as a Protection to all which I ſhall ſay, I will go on, but with a very ſtrange Entrance (as may ſeem to your Lordſhips at the firſt;) for in the midſt of a State of as great Affliction as I think a Mortal Man can endure, (Honour being above Life;) I ſhall begin with the profeſſing Gladneſs in ſome things.

The firſt is, That hereafter the greatneſs of a Judge or Magiſtrate ſhall be no Sanctuary, or Protection to him againſt Guiltineſs; which, in few Words, is the beginning of a Golden World.

The next, That after this Example, it is like that Judges will flie from any thing in the likeneſs of Corruption, (though it were at a great diſtance) as from a Serpent; which tendeth to the Purging of the Courts of Juſtice, and reducing them to their true Honour and Splendour. And in theſe two points, God is my Witneſs, (though it be my Fortune to be the Anvile, upon which theſe good Effects are beaten and wrought,) I take no ſmall comfort. But to paſs from the Motions of my heart, whereof God is onely Judge, to the Merits of my Cauſe, whereof your Lordſhips are onely Judges, under God, and his Lieutenant. I do underſtand, there hath been expected from me, heretofore, ſome Juſtification, and therefore I have choſen one onely Juſtification inſtead of all others, out of the Juſtification of *Job*; for after the clear Submiſſion and Confeſſion which I ſhall now make unto your Lordſhips, I hope I may ſay, and Juſtifie with *Job*, in theſe Words. *I have not hid my ſin as did* Adam, *nor concealed my Faults in my Boſome.* This is the onely Juſtification I will uſe: It reſteth therefore, that without Fig-leaves, I do ingenuouſly confeſs and acknowledge, that having underſtood the particulars of the Charge, not formally from the Houſe, but enough to inform my Conſcience and Memory, I find matter both ſufficient and full, to move me to deſert the Defence, and to move your Lordſhips to condemn and cenſure me. Neither will I trouble your Lordſhips by ſingling out Particulars, which I think may fall off: *Quid te exempta juvat ſpinis de millibus una?* Neither will I prompt your Lordſhips to obſerve upon the Proofs, where they come not home, or the Scruples touching the credit of the Witneſſes: Neither will I preſent unto your Lordſhips, how far a defence might in divers things extenuate the Offence, in reſpect of the Time, or manner of the Gift, or the like Circumſtances; but onely leave theſe things to ſpring out of your own noble Thoughts, and Obſervations of the Evidence, and Examinations themſelves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the Charge here and there, as God ſhall put in your Minds and ſo ſubmit my ſelf wholly to your Piety and Grace.

And now that I have ſpoken to your Lordſhips, as Judges, I ſhall ſay a few Words unto you as Peers, and Prelates, humbly commending my Cauſe to your noble Minds, and magnanimous Affections.

Your Lordſhips are not onely Judges, but Parliamentary Judges, you have have a farther extent of Arbitrary Power, than other Courts: And if you be not tyed to the ordinary courſe of Courts, or Precedents, in point of Strictneſs and Severity, much more in points of Mercy and Mitigation. And yet if any thing I ſhould move might be contrary to your Honourable and Worthy ends to introduce a Reformation, I ſhould not ſeek it, but herein I beſeech your Lordſhips to give me leave to tell you a Story. *Titus Manlius* took his Son's Life for giving Battail againſt the Prohibition of his General. Not many Years after, the like ſeverity was purſued by *Papirius Curſor* the Dictator, againſt *Quintus Maximus*, who being upon the point to be Sentenced, was by the Interceſſion of ſome principal Perſons of the Senate ſpared; whereupon *Livie* maketh this Grave and gracious Obſervation. *Neque minus firmata eſt diſciplina militaris periculo Quinti Maximi, quam miſerabili ſupplicio Titi Manlii.* The diſcipline of War was no leſs eſtabliſhed by the Queſtioning onely of *Quintus Maximus*, than by the puniſhment of *Titus Manlius*. And the ſame Reaſon is of the reformation of Juſtice, for the queſtioning of Men of Eminent place hath the ſame Terror, though not the ſame Rigor with the Puniſhment. But my Caſe ſtayeth not there; for my humble deſire is, that His Majeſty would take the Seal into his Hands, which is a great downfall, and may ſerve, I hope, in it ſelf for an expiation of my Faults.

Therefore if Mercy and Mitigation be in your Lordſhips Power, and do no ways croſs your ends, why ſhould I not hope of your Favours and Commiſerations? Your Lordſhips may be pleaſed to behold your chief Pattern, the King our Sovereign, a King of incomparable Clemency, and whoſe heart is inſcrutable for Wiſdom and Goodneſs. You well remember, that there ſate not theſe hundred Years before in your Houſe a Prince (and never ſuch a Prince) whoſe preſence deſerveth to be made memorable by Records, and Acts, mixt of Mercy and Juſtice. Your ſelves are either Nobles, (and Compaſſion ever beateth in the veins of noble Blood,) or reverend Prelates, who are the Servants of him that would *not break the bruiſed Reed, nor quench ſmoaking Flax.*

You all ſit upon a high Stage, and therefore cannot but be more ſenſible of the changes of humane Condition, and of the fall of any from high Places. Neither will your Lordſhips forget that there

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are *vitia temporis*, as well as *vitia hominis*, and that the beginning of Reformation hath a contrary power to the pool of *Bethesda*, for that had ſtrength only to cure him that firſt caſt in, and this hath ſtrength to hurt him only that is firſt caſt in; and for my part, I wiſh it may ſtay there, and go no farther.

Laſtly, I aſſure my ſelf, your Lordſhip's have a noble feeling of me, as a member of your own Body; and one, that in this very Seſſion had ſome taſte of your loving Affections, which I hope was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather a ſpark of that Grace which now in the Concluſion will more appear. And therefore, my Humble ſuit to your Lordſhips is, that my voluntary Confeſſion may be my Sentence, and the loſs of the Seal my Puniſhment, and that your Lordſhip's will ſpare any farther Sentence, but recommend me to his Majeſty's Grace and Pardon for all that is paſt. And ſo, &c.

Your Lordſhips, &c.
Francis St. Alban. Can.

The Lord Chancellour Bacon *to the Duke.*

My very good Lord.

MY Lord of *Suffolk's* Cauſe is this day ſentenced. My Lord, and his Lady, fined at 30000 *l.* with Impriſonment in the Tower at their own charges. *Bingley* at 2000 *l.* and committed to the Fleet, Sir *Edward Cook* did his part, I have not heard him doe better; and begain with a Fine of an 100000 *l.* But the Judges firſt, and moſt of the reſt, reduced it as before. I do not diſlike that things paſs moderately, and all things conſidered it is not amiſs, and might eaſily have been worſe. There was much ſpeaking of Interceding for the King's Mercy, which (in my opinion) was not ſo proper for a Sentence: I ſaid, in Concluſion, that Marcy was to come *ex merò motu*, and ſo left it. I took ſome other occaſion pertinent to doe the King Honour, by ſhewing how happy he was in all other parts of his Government, ſave only in the manage of his Treaſure by theſe Officers.

I have ſent the King a new Bill for *Suſſex*, for my Lord of *Nottingham's* Certificate was true, and I told the Judges of it before, but they neglected it. I conceive the firſt Man (which is newly ſet down) is the fitteſt. God ever preſerve and keep you, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Lord Treaſurer* Buckhurſt, *upon the ſame occaſion, of ſending his Book of Advancement of Learning.*

May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

*I have finiſhed a work touching the advancement or ſetting forward of Learning, which I have dedicated to His Majeſty, the moſt Learned of a Sovereign, or Temporal Prince, that time hath known. And upon reaſon not unlike, I humbly preſent one of the Books to your Lordſhip, not only as a Chancellour of an Univerſity, but as one that was excellently bred in all Learning, which I have ever noted to ſhine in all your Speeches and behaviours. And therefore your Lordſhip will yield a gracious aſpect to your firſt Love, and take pleaſure in the adorning of that wherewith your ſelf are ſo much adorned. And ſo humbly deſiring your favourable acceptation thereof, with ſignification of my humble Duty, I remain.

A Letter of the like Argument to the Lord Chancellour.

May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

*I Humbly preſent your Lordſhip with a work, wherein as you have much Commandment over the Author, ſo your Lordſhip hath alſo great intereſt in the Argument. For to ſpeak without flattery, few have like uſe of Learning, or like Judgment in Learning, as I have obſerved in your Lordſhip. And again, your Lordſhip hath been a great Planter of Learning, not only in thoſe places in the Church which have been in your own Gift, but alſo in your Commendatory Vote, no Man hath more conſtantly held, *detur digniori*, (and therefore both your Lordſhip is beholden to Learning, and Learning beholden to you. Which maketh me preſume, with good Aſſurance, that your Lordſhip will accept well of theſe my Labours, the rather becauſe your Lordſhip in private Speech hath often begun to me, in expreſſing your admiration of his Majeſty's Learning, to whom I have dedicated this work; and whoſe vertue and perfection in that kind did chiefly move me to a work of this Nature. And ſo with ſignification of my moſt humbly Duty and Affection towards your Lordſhip, I remain, &c.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon, *of like argument, to the Earl of* Northampton, *with request to present the Book to His Majesty.*

It may please your good Lordship,

HAving finished a Work touching the Advancement of Learning, and dedicated the same to His sacred Majesty, whom I dare avouch (if the Records of Time err not) to be the learnedst King that hath Reigned; I was desirous in a kind of Congruity, to present it by the learnedst Counsellor in this Kingdom, to the end, that so good an Argument, lighting upon so bad an Author, might receive some Reparation, by the hands into which, and by which, it should be delivered. And therefore I make it my humble suit to your Lordship to present this mean, but well meant Writing to His Majesty; and with it my humble and zealous Duty; and also my like humble request of Pardon, if I have too often taken his Name in Vain, not onely in the Dedication, but in the Voucher of the Authority of his Speeches, and Writings. And so I remain, *&c.*

Sir Francis Bacon *his Letter of request to* Doctor Plafer, *to translate the Book of Advancement of Learning into Latine.*

Mr. Doctor Plafer,

A Great desire will take a small occasion to hope, and put in Tryal that which is desired. It pleased you a good while since, to express unto me, the good liking which you conceive of my Book, of the Advancement of Learning, and that more significantly (as it seemed to me) than out of Courtesie, or civil Respect. My self, as I then took contentment in your approbation thereof, so I should esteem and acknowledge, not onely my Contentment increased, but my Labours advanced, if I might obtain your help in that nature which I desire. Wherein before I set down in plain Terms my request unto you, I will open my self, what it was which I chiefly sought, and propounded to my self, in that Work, that you may perceive that which I now desire to be pursuant thereupon, if I do not err. (For any Judgment that a Man maketh of his own doings, had need be spoken with a *Si nunquam fallit Imago,*) I have this Opinion, that if I had sought my own Commendation, it had been a much fitter course for me, to have done as Gardners use to doe, by taking their Seeds and Slips, and rearing them first into Plants, and so uttering them in Pots, when they are in Flower, and in their best State. But for as much as my end was merit of the State of Learning, to my Power, and not Glory; and because my purpose was rather to excite others Mens Wits, than to magnifie my own, I was desirous to prevent the incertainnes of my own Life and Times, by uttering rather Seeds than Plants; nay and farther, as the Proverb is, by sowing with the Basket, than with the Hand. Wherefore since I have onely taken upon me to ring a Bell, to call other Wits together, (which is the meanest Office,) it cannot but be consonant to my desire, to have that Bell heard, as far as can be. And since that they are but Sparks, which can work but upon matter prepared, I have the more reason to wish, that those Sparks may flie abroad, that they may the better find, and light upon those Minds, and Spirits, which are apt to be kindled. And therefore the privateness of the Language considered, wherein it is Written, excluding so many Readers, (as on the other side, the obscurity of the Argument, in many parts of it, excludeth many others,) I must account it a second Birth of that Work, if it might be translated into Latine, without manifest loss of the Sense and Matter. For this purpose, I could not represent to my self any Man, into whose hands I do more earnestly desire that Work should fall, than your self; for by that I have Heard and Read, I know no Man a greater Master in commanding Words to serve matter. Nevertheless I am not ignorant of the Worth of your Labours, whether such as your Place and Profession imposeth on you, or such as your own vertue may, upon your voluntary Election take in hand. But I can lay before you no other persuasions, than either the Work it self may affect you with, or the Honour of His Majesty, to whom it is Dedicated, or your particular Inclination to my self; who as I never took so much comfort in any Labours of my own, so I shall never acknowledge my self more obliged in any thing to the Labour of another, than in that which shall assist this. Which your Labour if I can, by my Place, Profession, Means, Friends, Travel, Word, Deed, requite unto you, I shall esteem my self so straitly bound thereunto, as I shall be ever most ready, both to take and seek occasions of thankfulnes. And so leaving it, nevertheless, *Salva amicitia* (as reason is) to your own good liking, I remain, *&c.*

Sir Francis Bacon *to Sir* Thomas Bodley, *upon ſending him his Book of the Advancement of Learning.*

SIR,

I Think no Man may more truly ſay with the Pſalm, *multum incola fuit anima mea.* For I do confeſs, ſince I was of any underſtanding, my mind hath in effect, been abſent from that I have done, and in abſence Errours are committed, which I do willingly acknowledge; and amongſt the reſt, this great one that led the reſt; that knowing my Self by inward calling to be fitter to hold a Book, than to play a Part, I have led my Life in civil Cauſes; for which I was not very fit by Nature, and more unfit by the pre-occupation of my Mind. Therefore, calling my ſelf home, I have now for a time enjoyed my ſelf, where likewiſe I deſire to make the World partaker; my labours (if ſo I may term that which was the comfort of my other labours) I have dedicated to the King, deſirous if there be any good in them, it may be as fat of a Sacrifice, incenſed to his Honour; and the ſecond Copy have ſent unto you, not only in good Affection, but in a kind of Congruity, in regard of your Great and rare deſert of Learning: For Books are the Shrines where the Saint is, or is believed to be. And you having built an Ark, to ſave Learning from Deluge, deſerve, in Propriety, any new Inſtrument or Engine, whereby Learning ſhould be Improved or Advanced. So, *&c.*

Sir Thomas Bodley *to Sir* Francis Bacon, *upon his new Philoſophy.*

SIR,

AS ſoon as the Term was ended, ſuppoſing your leiſure was more than before, I was coming to thank you two or three times, rather chuſing to doe it by Word than Letter; but I was ſtill diſappointed of my purpoſe, as I am at this preſent upon an urgent Occaſion, which doth tie me faſt to *Fulham*, and hath now made me determine to impart my Mind in Writing. I think you know I have read your *Cogitata & viſa*; which I proteſt, I have done with great deſire, reputing it a token of your ſingular Love, that you joined me with thoſe your Friends, to whom you would commend the firſt peruſal of your Draught; for which I pray give me leave to ſay but this unto you. Firſt, that if the depth of my Affection to your Perſon and Spirit, to your Works and your Words, and to all your Ability, were as highly to be valued as your Affection is to me, it might walk with yours arm in arm, and claim your Love by juſt Deſert; but there can be no compariſon, where our States are ſo uneven, and our means to demonſtrate our Affections, ſo indifferent; inſomuch as for mine own, I muſt leave it to be prized in the nature that it is; and you ſhall evermore find it moſt addicted to your worth. As touching the ſubject of your Book, you have ſet afoot ſo many noble Speculations, as I cannot chuſe but wonder, and I ſhall wonder at it ever, that your expence of time conſidered in your publick Profeſſion, which hath in a manner no acquaintance with Scholarſhip or Learning, you ſhould have culled forth the quinteſſence, and ſucked up the ſap of the chiefeſt kind of Learning. For howſoever, in ſome Points, you do vary altogether from that which is and hath been ever the received Doctrine of our Schools, and was always by the wiſeſt (as ſtill they have been deemed) of all Nations and Ages, adjudged the trueſt; yet it is apparent, in thoſe very Points, in all your Propoſals and Plots in that Book, you ſhew your ſelf a Maſter-workman. For my ſelf, I muſt confeſs, and I ſpeak it *ingenue*, that for the matter of Learning, I am not worthy to be reckoned in the number of Smatterers; and yet, becauſe it may ſeem that being willing to communicate your Treatiſe with your Friends, you are likewiſe willing to liſten to whatſoever I or others can except againſt it; I muſt deliver unto you, for my private Opinion, that I am one of the crew, that ſay there is, and we profeſs a greater holdfaſt of certainty in your Sciences, than you by your Diſcourſe will ſeem to acknowledg: For where, at firſt, you do object the ill Succeſs and Errours of Practitioners of Phyſick, you know as well, they do proceed of the Patient's unrulineſs, for not one of an hundred doth obey his Phyſician in their own Indiſpoſition; for few are able in that kind to explicate themſelves; or by reaſon their Diſeaſes are by Nature incurable, which is incident, you know, to many ſort of Maladies; or for ſome other hidden Cauſe, which cannot de diſcovered by courſe of Conjecture: Howbeit, I am full of this belief, that as Phyſick is miniſtred now adays by Phyſicians, it is much aſcribed to their Negligence or Ignorance, or other touch of Imperfection, that they ſpeed no better in their Practice: for few are found, of that Profeſſion, ſo well inſtructed in their Art, as they might by the Precepts which their Art doth afford; which though it be defective in regard of ſuch Perfection, yet for certain it doth flouriſh with admirable Remedies, ſuch as tract of time hath taught by experimental Effects, and are the open high-way to that knowledge that you recommend. As for Alchimie, and Magick, ſome concluſions they have that are worthy the preſerving: but all their Skill is ſo accompanied with Subtilties and Guiles, as both the Crafts and the Crafts-maſters are not onely deſpiſed, but named with

deriſion

Derision. Whereupon to make good your principal Assertion, methinks you should have drawn the most of your Examples from that which is taught in the liberal Sciences, not by picking out Cases that happen very seldom, and may by all Confession be subject to Reproof, but by controlling the Generals, and Grounds, and eminent Positions and Aphorisms, which the greatest Artists and Philosophers have from time to time Defended; for it goeth for current among all Men of Learning, that those kinds of Arts which Clerks in Times past did term *Quadrivials*, confirm their Propositions by infallible Demonstrations. And likewise in *Trivials*, such Lessons and Directions are delivered unto us, as will effect very near, or as much altogether, as every faculty doth promise. Now in case we should concurr to doe as you advise, which is, to renounce our common Notions, and cancel all our Theorems, Axioms, Rules, and Tenents, and so to come Babes *ad regnum naturæ*, as we are willed by Scriptures to come *ad regnum cœlorum*. There is nothing more certain, in my understanding, than that it would instantly bring us to Barbarism, and after many thousand Years, leave us more unprovided of Theorical Furniture, than we are at this present: For that were indeed to become *Tabula rasa*, when we shall leave no Impression of any former Principles, but be driven to begin the World again, to Travel by Trials of Actions and Sense, (which are your Proofs by particulars) what to place in *intellectu* for our general Conceptions, it being a Maxim of all Mens approving; *in intellectu nihil esse quod non prius fuit in Sensu*. And so in appearance it would befall us, that till *Plato*'s year be come about, our insight in Learning would be of less reckoning than now it is Accounted. As for that which you inculcate, of a knowledge more excellent than now is among us, which experience might produce, if we would but Essay to extract it out of Nature by particular probations, it is no more upon the matter, but to incite us unto that which, without Instigation, by a natural instinct Men will practise of themselves; for it cannot in Reason be otherwise thought, but that there are infinite, in all parts of the World, (for we may not in this Case confine our Cogitations within the bounds of *Europe*) which embrace the course which you purpose, with all diligence and care, that any Ability can perform. For every Man is Born with an Appetite of Knowledge, wherewith he cannot be glutted, but itill as in a Dropsie, thirst after more. But yet, why Men should so hearken to any such Persuasions, as wholly to abolish those setled Opinions, and general Theorems, to which they have attained by their own and their Ancestors experience, I see nothing alledged to induce me to think it. Moreover, I may speak, as I suppose, with good Probability, that if we should make a mental Survey, what is like to be effected all the World over; those five or six Inventions which you have selected, and imagined to be but of Modern standing, would make but a slender shew among so many hundreds of all kinds of Natures, which are daily brought to Light by the enforcement of Wit or casual Events, and may be compared, or partly preferred, above those that you have named. But were it so here, that all were admitted that you can require, for the Augmentation of our Knowledge, and that all our Theorems and general Positions were utterly extinguished with a new Substitution of others in their places, what hope may we have of any benefit of Learning by this Alteration? Assuredly, as soon as the new are brought *ad ἀκμὴν* by the Inventors and their Followers, by an interchangeable course of Natural things, they will fall by degrees in Oblivion to be Buried, and so in continuance to Perish outright; and that perchance upon the like to your present Pretences, by proposal of some means to advance all our knowledge to a higher pitch of perfectness; for still the same defects that Antiquity found, will reside in Mankind, and therefore other Issues of their Actions, Devices, and Studies, are not to be expected than is apparent by Records, were in former Times observed. I remember here a Note which *Paterculus* made of the incomparable Wits of the *Grecians* and *Romans*, in their flourishing State; that there might be this Reason of their notable downfall, in their Issue that came after, because by nature, *Quod summo studio petitum est, ascendis in summum, difficilisque in perfecto mora est*; insomuch that Men perceiving that they could not go farther, being come to the stop, they turned back again of their own accord, forsaking those Studies that are most in request, and betaking themselves to new endeavours, as if the thing they sought had been by Prevention fore-prized by others. So it fared in particular with the Eloquence of that Age, that when their Successors found that hardly they could equal, by no means excell their Predecessors, they began to neglect the Study thereof, and speak for many hundred Year in a rustical manner, till this later Resolution brought the Wheel about again, by inflaming gallant Spirits to give the On-set a fresh, with straining and striving to climb unto the top and height of Perfection, not in that Gift alone, but in every other skill in any part of Learning. For I do not hold it any Erroneous conceit to think of every Science, that as now they are Professed, so they have been before in all precedent Ages, though not alike in all places, nor at all times alike in one and the same; but according to the changes and turning of Times with a more exact and plain, or with a more rude and obscure kind of Teaching.

And if the Question should be asked, what Proof I have of it; I have the Doctrine of *Aristole*, and of the deepest learned Clerks, of whom we have any means to take any Notice; that as there is of other things, so there is of Sciences, *ortus & interitus*: which is also the meaning (if I should expound it) of *nihil novum sub sole*, and is as well to be applied *ad facta* as *addicta*; *ut nihil neque dictum neque factum, quod non est dictum aut factum prius*. I have farther for my Warrant, that famous complaint of *Solomon* to his Son, against the infinite making of Books in his time, of which, in all Congruity, great part were of Observations and Instructions in all kind of Literature, and of those there is not

now ſo much as one Pamphlet (only ſome Parcels of the Bible excepted) remaining to Poſterity. As then there was not in like manner to be found any footing of Millions of Authors that were long before *Solomon*, and yet we muſt give credit to that which he affirmed; that whatſoever was then or before, it could never be truly pronounced of it, *Behold, this is new*. Whereupon I muſt for my final concluſion infer, Seeing all the Endeavours, Study and Knowledge of Mankind, in whatſoever Art or Science, have ever been the ſame as they are at this preſent, though full of mutabilities, according to the Changes and accidental Occaſions of Ages, and Countreys, and Clerks diſpoſitions; which can never but be ſubject to Intention and Remiſſion, both in their Devices and Practices of their knowledge. If now we ſhould accord in Opinion with you; Firſt, to condemn our preſent knowledge of Doubt and Incertitude (which you confer but by averment) without other force of Argument, and then to diſclaim all our Axioms and Maxims, and general aſſertions that are left by Tradition from our Elders to us; which (for ſo it is to be pretended) have paſſed all probations of the ſharpeſt Wits that ever were *Abecedarii*, by the frequent ſpelling of Particulars, to come to the notice of new generals, and ſo afreſh to create new Principles of Sciences, the end of all would be, that when we ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of the learning which we have, all our conſequent travel will but help us in a Circle, to conduct us to the Place from whence we ſet forwards, and bring us to the happineſs to be reſtored *in integrum*, which will require as many Ages as have marched before us, to be perfectly atchieved. And this I write, with no diſlike of increaſing our knowledge with new-found Devices (which is undoubtedly a Practice of high commendation) in regard of the benefit they will yield for the preſent, that the World hath ever been, and will for ever continue, very full of ſuch Deviſers; whoſe Induſtry that way hath been very obſtinate and eminent, and hath produced ſtrange Effects, above the reach and the hope of Men's common Capacities; and yet our Notions and Theorems have always kept in Grace both with them, and with the rareſt that ever were named among the learned.

By this you ſee to what boldneſs I am brought by your kindneſs; That (if I ſeem to be too ſawcy in this contradiction) it is the Opinion that I hold of your noble Diſpoſition, and of the freedom in theſe Caſes, that you will afford your ſpecial friend, that hath induced me to it. And although I my ſelf, like a Carrier's horſe, cannot balk the beaten Way, in which I have been trained; yet ſince it is my cenſure of your *Cogitata* that I muſt tell you, to be plain, you have very much wronged your ſelf and the World, to ſmother ſuch a Treaſure ſo long in your Coffer: For though I ſtand well aſſured (for the Tenor and Subject of your main Diſcourſe) you are not able to impanel a Jury in any Univerſity that will give up a Verdict to acquit you of Errour; yet it cannot be gain-ſaid, that all your Treatiſe over doth abound with choice Conceipt of the preſent ſtate of Learning, and with ſo worthy Contemplations of the means to procure it, as may perſuade with any Student to look more narrowly to his Buſineſs, not only by aſpiring to the greateſt perfection, of that which is now adays divulged in the Sciences, but by diving yet deeper, as it were, into the bowels and ſecrets of Nature, and by inforcing of the Powers of his Judgment and Wit to learn of St. *Paul*, *Conſectari meliora dona*: which courſe, would to God (to whiſper ſo much into your ear) you had followed at the firſt, when you fell to the ſtudy of ſuch a Study as was not worthy ſuch a Student. Nevertheleſs, being ſo as it is, that you are therein ſetled, and your Country ſoundly ſerved; I cannot but wiſh with all my heart, as I do very often, that you may gain a fit Reward, to the full of your Deſerts. Which I hope will come with heaps of Happineſs and Honour.

From *Fulham*, *Febr.* 19. 1607.

Yours to be uſed, and commanded,
THO. BODLEY.

Sir, One kind of boldneſs doth draw on another; inſomuch as me-thinsk I ſhould offend to ſignifie, that before the tranſcript of your Book be fitted for the Preſs, it will be requiſite for you to caſt a Cenſor's eye upon the Stile and the Elocution; which, in the framing of ſome Periods, and in divers Words and Phraſes, will hardly go for current, if the Copy brought to me be juſt the ſame that you would publiſh.

THO. BODLEY.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Biſhop of* Ely, *upon ſending his Writing intituled*, Cogitata & Viſa.

My very good Lord,

NOW your Lordſhip hath been ſo long in the Church and the Palace, diſputing between Kings and Popes, methinks you ſhould take pleaſure to look into the Field, and refreſh your Mind with ſome Matter of Philoſophy; though that Science be now, through Age, waxed a Child again, and left to Boys and young Men. And becauſe you are wont to make me believe you took liking to my Writings, I ſend you ſome of this Vacation fruits, and thus much more for my Mind and Purpoſe. *I haſten*

not

not to publish, perishing I would prevent. And I am forced to respect as well my Times, as the Matter; For with me it is thus, and I think with all Men, in my Case: If I bind my self to an Argument, it loadeth my Mind; but if I rid my Mind of the present Cogitation, it is rather a Recreation: This hath put me into these Miscellanies, which I purpose to suppress, if God give me leave to write a just and perfect Volumn of Philosophy, which I go on with, though slowly. I send not your Lordship too much, lest it may glut you. Now, let me tell you what my desire is. If your Lordship be so good now, as when you were the good Dean of *Westminster*, my request to you is, that not by Pricks, but by Notes, you would mark unto me whatsoever shall seem unto you, either not currant in the Stile, or harsh to Credit and Opinion, or inconvenient for the Person of the Writer. For no Man can be Judge and Party; and when our Minds judge by reflexion on our selves, they are more subject to Error. And though, for the matter it self, my Judgment be in some things fixed, and not accessible by any Man's Judgment that goeth not my way, yet even in those things the admonition of a Friend may make me express my self diversly. I would have come to your Lordship, but that I am hastning to my House in the Country. And so I commend your Lordship to God's goodness.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Sir* Thomas Bodely, *after he had imparted to him a Writing intituled,* Cogitata & visa.

SIR,

IN respect of my going down to my house, in the Country, I shall have miss of my Papers, which I pray you therefore return unto me. You are, I bear you witness, slothfull, and you help me nothing; so as I am half in conceipt, that you affect not the Argument; For my self, I know well you Love and Affect. I can say no more to you, but, *non canimus surdis, respondent omnia silvæ.* If you be not of the Lodgings chalked up (whereof I speak in my Preface) I am but to pass by your door. But if I had you but a fornight at *Gorambury*, I would make you tell me another Tale, or else I would add a Cogitation against Libraries, and be revenged on you that way: I pray you send me some good news of Sir *Thomas Smith*, and commend me very kindly to him. So I rest.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Mr.* Matthew, *upon sending him part of* Instauratio Magna.

Mr. Matthew,

I Plainly perceive by your affectionate Writing touching my Work, that one and the same thing affecteth us both, which is the good end to which it is dedicated: For as to any ability of mine, it cannot merit that degree of Approbation: For your Caution for Church-men, and Church-matters; (as for any Impediment it might be to the applause and celebrity of my Work, it moveth me not; but as it may hinder the Fruit and good which may come of a quiet and calme Passage to the good Port to which it is bound, I hold it a just respect, so as to fetch a fair Wind I go not too far about: But troth is, I shall have no occasion to meet them in my way, except it be, as they will needs confederate themselves with *Aristotle*, who, you know is intemperately magnified with the School-men, and is also allyed (as I take it) to the Jesuits by *Faber*, who was a Companion of *Loyola*, and a great *Aristotelian*. I send you at this time, the only part which hath any harshness, and yet I framed to my self an Opinion, that whosoever allowed well of that Preface, which you so much commend, will not dislike, or at least ought not dislike, this other Speech of Preparation; For it is written out of the same Spirit, and out of the same necessity. Nay, it doth more fully lay open, that the Question between me and the Ancients is not of the Vertue of the Race, but of the rightness of the way. And to speak truth, it is to the other, but as *Palma* to *Pugnus*, part of the same thing, more large. You conceive aright, that in this, and the other, you have Commission to impart and communicate them to others, according to your discretion; other Matters I write not of: My self am like the Miller of *Huntington*, that was wont to pray for Peace among the Willows; for while the Winds blew the Wind-mills wrought, and the Water-mill was less customed. So I see that Controversies of Religion must hinder the advancement of Sciences. Let me conclude with my perpetual wish towards your self, that the approbation of your self by your own discreet and temperate Carriage, may restore you to your Country, and your Friends to your Society. And so I commend you to God's Goodness.

Grays-Inn, this 10th
of *October*. 1609.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon *to Mr.* Matthew, *touching* Inſtauratio Magna.

MR. *Matthew*, I heartily thank you for your Letter of the 10th of *February*, and I am glad to receive from you matter both of encouragement and advertiſement, touching my writings. For my part, I do wiſh that ſince there is almoſt no *Lumen Siccum* in the World, but all, *Madidum*, *Maceratum*, infuſed in Affections, and Blouds, or Humors, that theſe things of mine had thoſe ſeparations that might make them more acceptable; ſo that they claim not ſo much acquaintance of the preſent times, as they be thereby the leſs like to laſt. And to ſhew you that I have ſome purpoſe to new mould them, I ſend you a leaf or two of the Preface, carrying ſome figure of the whole work. Wherein I purpoſe to take that which is real and effectual of both writings, and chiefly to add pledg, if not payment to my Promiſe. I ſend you alſo a Memorial of Queen *Elizabeth*, to requite your Elogy of the late Duke of *Florence*'s Felicity. Of this, when you were here, I ſhewed you ſome Model, though at that time, me thought you were as willing to hear *Julius Cæſar*, as Queen *Elizabeth* commended. But this which I ſend is more full, and hath more of the Narrative; and farther hath one part that I think will not be diſagreeable, either to you, or that place, being the true tracts of her proceeding towards the Catholicks, which are infinitely miſtaken. And though I do not imagine they will paſs allowance there, yet they will gain upon excuſe. I find Mr. *Lezure* to uſe you well, (I mean his Tongue, of you,) which ſhews you either Honeſt or Wiſe. But this I ſpeak merely; for in good Faith, I conceive hope, that you will ſo govern your ſelf, as we may take you as aſſuredly for a good Subject, and Patriot, as you take your ſelf for a good Chriſtian; and ſo we may enjoy your Company, and you your Conſcience, if it may no otherwiſe be. For my part, aſſure your ſelf, that (as we ſay in the Law) *Mutatis mutandis*, my Love and good Wiſhes to you are diminiſhed. And ſo I remain.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Mr.* Savill.

MR. *Savill*, coming back from your Invitation at *Eaton*, where I had refreſhed my Self with Company which I loved, I fell into a conſideration of that part of Policy whereof Philoſophy ſpeaketh too much, and Laws too little; and that is, of Education of Youth, whereupon fixing my Mind a while, I found ſtreightways, and noted, even in the diſcourſes of Philoſophers, (which are ſo large in this Argument,) a ſtrange ſilence concerning one principal part of that Subject. For as touching the framing and ſeaſoning of youth to moral Vertues, tolerance of Labour, continency from Pleaſures, Obedience, Honour, and the like, they handle it; but touching the improving and helping of the intellectual Powers, as of Conceipt, Memory, and Judgment, they ſay nothing; whether it were that they thought it to be a matter wherein Nature only prevailed; or that they intended it, as referred to the ſeveral and proper Arts which teach the uſe of Reaſon, and Speech. But for the former of theſe two Reaſons, howſoever it pleaſeth them to diſtinguiſh of Habits, and Powers, the experience is manifeſt enough, that the motions and faculties of the Will and Memory may be not only governed and guided, but alſo confirmed and enlarged, by Cuſtom and Exerciſe duly applyed; as, if a Man exerciſe ſhooting, he ſhall not only ſhoot nearer the Mark, but alſo draw a ſtronger Bow. And as for the latter, of comprehending theſe Precepts within the Arts of Logick and Rhetorick, if it be rightly conſidered, their Office is diſtinct altogether from this point; for it is no part of the Doctrine of the uſe or handling of an Inſtrument, to teach how to whet or grind the Inſtrument, to give it a ſharper edge, or how to quench it, or otherwiſe, whereby to give it a ſtronger temper. Wherefore finding this part of knowledge not broken, I have but *tanquam aliud agens*, entred into it, and ſalute you with it, dedicating it after the ancient manner; firſt, as to a dear Friend, and then as to an apt Perſon; foraſmuch as you have both place to practice it, and Judgment, and leiſure to look deeper into it, than I have done, herein you muſt call to mind, ἄειστον μ. ὕδωρ. Though the Argument be not of great Heighth and Dignity, nevertheleſs it is of great and univerſal uſe. And yet I do not ſee, why (to conſider it rightly) that ſhould not be a learning of Heigth, which teacheth to raiſe the higheſt and worthieſt part of the Mind. But howſoever that be, if the World take any light and uſe by this writing, I will, that the Gratulation be to the good Friendſhip and Acquaintance between us two. And ſo I commend you to God's divine Protection.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King, touching the Sollicitor's Place.*

HOw honeſtly ready I have been (moſt gracious Sovereign) to doe your Majeſty humble Service to the beſt of my Power, and in a manner beyond my Power, (as I now ſtand,) I am not ſo unfortunate, but your Majeſty knoweth. For both in the Commiſſion of Union (the labour whereof, for Men of my Profeſſion, reſted moſt upon my hand,) and this laſt Parliament in the Bill of the Subſidie, (both Body, and Preamble,) in the Bill of Attainders of *Treaſon*, and the reſt, in the matter of Purveyance, in the Eccleſiaſtical Petitions, in the Grievances, and the like; as I was ever carefull, (and not without good ſucceſs) ſometimes to put forward that which was good, ſometimes to keep back that which was not ſo good; ſo your Majeſty was pleaſed to accept kindly of my Services, and to ſay to me, ſuch Conflicts were the Wars of Peace, and ſuch Victories, the Victories of Peace; And therefore ſuch Servants that obtained them were by Kings, that reign in Peace, no leſs to be eſteemed than Services of Commanders in the Wars. In all which, nevertheleſs, I can challenge to my ſelf no ſufficiency, but that I was diligent and reaſonably happy to execute thoſe Directions which I received either immediately from your Royal Mouth, or from my Lord of *Salisbury*; At which time it pleaſed your Majeſty to promiſe, and aſſure me, that upon the remove of the then Attorney, I ſhould not be forgotten, but brought into ordinary Place. And this was, after, confirmed to me by many of my Lords, and towards the end of the laſt Term, the manner alſo in particular was ſpoken of; that is, that Mr. Sollicitor ſhould be made your Majeſty's Serjeant, and I Sollicitor; for ſo it was thought beſt, to ſort with both our Gifts and Faculties, for the good of your Service. And of this Reſolution both Court and Country took knowledge. Neither was this any Invention or Project of mine own, but moved from my Lords; and I think, firſt, from my Lord Chancellour. Whereupon reſting, your Majeſty well knoweth, I never opened my Mouth for the greater Place, though I am ſure I had two Circumſtances, that Mr. Attorney that now is, could not alledge. The one, nine years Service of the Crown; The other, being Coſen-German to the Lord of *Salisbury*, whom your Majeſty ſeemeth and truſteth ſo much. But for the leſs Place, I conceived it was meant me. But after that Mr. Attorney *Hubbert* was placed, I heard no more of my Preferment, but it ſeemed to be at a ſtop, to my great diſgrace and diſcouragement. For (gracious Sovereign) if ſtill when the Waters are ſtirred, another ſhall be put before me, your Majeſty had need work a Miracle, or elſe I ſhall be ſtill a lame Man to doe your Majeſty Service. And therefore my moſt humble Suite to your Majeſty is, that this which ſeem'd to me was intended, may ſpeedily be perform'd. And I hope my former Service ſhall be but beginnings to better, when I am better ſtrengthened. For ſure I am, no Man's heart is fuller (I ſay not but many have greater hearts, but I ſay, not fuller) of Love and Duty towards your Majeſty, and your Children, as I hope time will manifeſt againſt Envy and Detraction, if any be. To conclude, I moſt humbly crave pardon for my boldneſs, and reſt.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King, his Suite to ſucceed in the Attorney's Place.*

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

YOur great and Princely Favours towards me in advancing me to Place, and that which is to me of no leſs comfort, your Majeſty's benign and gracious Acceptation from time to time of my poor Services, much above the merit and value of them, hath almoſt brought me to an Opinion, that I may ſooner perchance be wanting to my ſelf in not asking, than find your Majeſty's goodneſs wanting to me, in any my reaſonable and modeſt Deſires. And therefore, perceiving how at this time Preferments of Law fly about my ears, to ſome above me, and to ſome below me, I did conceive your Majeſty may think it rather a kind of dulneſs, or want of Faith, than Modeſty, if I ſhould not come with my Pitcher to *Jacob*'s Well, as others doe. Wherein I ſhall propound to your Majeſty, that which tendeth not ſo much to the raiſing my Fortune, as to the ſetling of my Mind, being ſometimes aſſailed with this Cogitation, that by reaſon of my ſlowneſs to ſue and apprehend ſudden Occaſions, keeping on one plain courſe of painfull Service, I may (*in fine dierum*) be in danger to be neglected and forgotten. And if that ſhould be, then were it much better for me now while I ſtand in your Majeſty's good Opinion, (though unworthy,) and have ſome Reputation in the World, to give over the Courſe I am in, and to make Proof to doe you ſome honour by my Pen; either by Writing ſome faithfull Narrative of your happy (though not untraduced) times, or by recompiling your Laws, which, I perceive, your Majeſty laboureth with, and hath in your head, (as *Jupiter* had *Pallas*,) or ſome other the like Work, (for without ſome Endeavour to doe you Honour I would not live,) than to ſpend my Wits and Time in this laborious Place, wherein now I ſerve, if it ſhall be deprived of thoſe outward Ornaments, and inward Comforts, which it was wont to have in reſpect of an aſſured Succeſſion to ſome Place of more

Dignity

Dignity and Reſt, which ſeemeth now to be a hope altogether caſual, if not wholly intercepted. Wherefore (not to hold your Majeſty long,) my ſuit (than the which I think I cannot well go lower) is, that I may obtain your Royal Promiſe to ſucceed (if I live) into the Attorney's Place, whenſoever it ſhall be void, it being but the natural, and immediate ſtep and riſe, which the place I now hold hath ever (in ſort) made claim to, and almoſt never failed of. In this ſuit I make no friends to your Majeſty, but relye upon no other motive than your Grace, nor any other aſſurance but your Word, whereof I had good experience when I came to the Sollicitor's Place, that they were like to the two great Lights, which in their motions are never Retrograde. So, with my beſt Prayer for your Majeſty's happineſs, I reſt.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Sir* George Cary *in* France, *upon ſending him his Writing*; In felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ.

My very good Lord,

BEing asked the queſtion by this Bearer, an old Servant of my Brother *Anthony Bacon*, whether I would command him any Service into *France*, and being at better leiſure than I would, in regard of Sickneſs, I began to remember, that neither your buſineſs nor mine, (though great and continual,) can be, upon an exact account, any juſt occaſion why ſo much good will as hath paſſed between us ſhould be ſo much diſcontinued as it hath been. And therefore, becauſe one muſt begin, I thought to provoke your remembrance of me, by my Letter. And thinking how to fit it with ſomewhat beſides Salutations, it came to my Mind, that this laſt Summer by occaſion of a factious Book that endeavoured to verifie, *Miſera fœmina* (the addition of the Pope's Bull) upon Queen *Elizabeth*; I did write a few Lines in her Memorial, which I thought you would be well pleaſed to read, both for the argument, and becauſe you were wont to bear affection to my Pen. *Verum, ut aliud ex alio*, if it came handſomly to paſs, I would be glad the Preſident *de Thou* (who hath written a Hiſtory, as you know, of that fame and diligence) ſaw it; chiefly becauſe I know not, whether it may not ſerve him for ſome uſe in his Story; wherein I would be glad he did right to the truth, and to the memory of that Lady, as I perceive by that he hath already written, he is well inclin'd to doe; I would be glad alſo, it were ſome occaſion (ſuch as abſence may permit) of ſome acquaintance or mutual Notice between us. For though he hath many ways the precedence, (chiefly in worth,) yet this is common to them both, that we may ſerve our Sovereigns in places of Law eminent, and not our ſelves only, but that our Fathers did ſo before us; and laſtly, that both of us love Learning, and liberal Sciences, which was ever a bond of Friendſhip, in the greateſt diſtances of places. But of this I make no farther requeſt, than your own occaſions and reſpects (to me unknown) may farther or limit, my principal purpoſe being to ſalute you, and to ſend you this Token, whereunto I will add my very kind Commendations to my Lady. And ſo commit you both to God's holy Protection.

Sir Francis Bacon, *the King's Attorney, to the King, giving ſome Account touching the* Commendams.

It may pleaſe Your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Am not ſwift to deliver any thing to your Majeſty, before it be well weighed. But now that I have informed my ſelf of as much as is neceſſary, touching this proceeding of the Judges, to the Argument of the *Commendams*, (notwithſtanding your Majeſty's Pleaſure ſignified by me upon your Majeſty's Commandment, in Preſence of my Lord Chancellour, and the Biſhop of *Winchester*, to the contrary,) I do think it fit to advertiſe your Majeſty what hath paſſed; the rather, becauſe I ſuppoſe the Judges, ſince they performed not your Commandment, have at leaſt given your Majeſty their reaſons of failing therein; I being to anſwer for the doing of your Majeſty's Commandment, and they for the not doing.

I did conceive, that in a cauſe that concern'd your Majeſty and your Royal Power, the Judges having heard your Attorney General argue the *Saturday* before, would of themſelves have taken farther time to be adviſed.

And (if I fail not in memory) my Lord *Coke* received from your Majeſty's ſelf, as I take it, a precedent Commandment, in *Hillary* Term; that both in the *Regæ inconſulto*, and in the *Commendams*, your Attorney ſhould be heard to ſpeak, and then ſtay to be made of farther proceeding, till my Lord hath ſpoken with your Majeſty.

Nevertheleſs, hearing that the day appointed for the Judges Argument held, contrary to my expectation, I ſent on *Thurſday* in the Evening (having received your Majeſty's Commandment but the day before, in the Afternoon) a Letter to my Lord *Coke*, whereby I let him know, that upon ſome report of my Lord of *Winchester* (who by your Commandment was preſent at my Argument) of that which

which paſſed, it was your Majeſty's expreſs Pleaſure, that no farther proceeding ſhould be, until your Majeſty had conferr'd with your Judges; which your Majeſty thought to have done at your being now laſt in Town; but by reaſon of your many and weighty occaſions, your Princely times would not ſerve, and that it was your Pleaſure he ſhould ſignifie ſo much to the reſt of the Judges, whereof his Lordſhip might not fail. His Anſwer, by word, to my Man was, that it were good the reſt of the Judges underſtood ſo much from my ſelf. Whereupon I (that cannot skill in Scruples, in matter of Service) did write, on *Friday*, three ſeveral Letters of like content, to the Judges of the Common Pleas, and the Barons of the Exchequer, and the other three Judges of the Kings-Bench, mentioning, in that laſt, my particular Letter to my Lord Chief Juſtice.

This was all I did, and thought all had been ſure, inſomuch as the ſame day being appointed in Chancery, for your Majeſty's great Cauſe, (followed by my Lord *Hunſdon*,) I writ two other Letters, to both the Chief-Juſtices, to put them in mind of aſſiſting my Lord Chancellour at the hearing. And when my Lord Chancellour himſelf took ſome notice upon that occaſion, openly in the Chancery, that the *Commendams* could not hold, preſently after, I heard the Judges were gone about the *Commendams*; which I thought, at firſt, had been only to adjourn the Court. But I heard after, that they proceeded to Argument.

In this their doing, I conceive they muſt either except to the Nature of the Commandment, or to the Precedence thereof; both which, I aſſure my ſelf, your Majeſty will maintain.

For if they ſhould ſtand upon the general Ground, *Nulli negabimus, nulli differrimus juſtitiam*, it receiveth two Anſwers. The one, that reaſonable and mature advice may not be confounded with delay; and that they can well alledge, when it pleaſeth them. The other, that there is a great difference between a Caſe meerly between Subject and Subject, and where the King's Intereſt is in queſtion directly, or by Conſequence. As for the Attorney's Place, and Commiſſion, it is as proper for him to ſignifie the King's Pleaſure to the Judges, as for the Secretary to ſignifie the ſame to the Privy Council, and ſo hath it ever been.

Theſe things were a little ſtrange, if there came not ſo many of them together, as the one maketh the other ſeem leſs ſtrange: But your Majeſty hath fair occaſions to remedy all, with ſmall aid. I ſay no more for the Preſent.

I was a little plain with my Lord *Coke* in theſe matters; and when his Anſwer was, that he knew all theſe things, I ſaid, he could never profit too much, in knowing himſelf, and his Duty.

Sir Francis Bacon *his Advertiſement touching an Holy War to the Right Reverend Father in God*, Lancelot Andrews, *Lord Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and Counſellour of Eſtate to His Majeſty.*

My Lord,

★ AMongſt Conſolations, it is not the leaſt, to repreſent to a Mans ſelf like Examples of Calamity in others: For Example gives a quicker Impreſſion than Arguments; and beſides, they certifie us of that which the Scripture alſo tendereth for Satisfaction, *That no new thing is happened unto us.* This they doe the better, by how much the Examples are liker in Circumſtances, to our own Caſe; and more eſpecially, if they fall upon Perſons that are greater and worthier than our ſelves. For as it ſavoureth of vanity, to match our ſelves highly, in our own conceit; ſo, on the other ſide, it is a good ſound Concluſion, that if our betters have ſuſtained the like events, we have the leſs cauſe to be grieved.

In this kind of Conſolation, I have not been wanting to my ſelf, though as a Chriſtian, I have taſted (through God's great Goodneſs) of higher Remedies. Having therefore, through the variety of my Reading, ſet before me many Examples, both of Ancient, and of latter Times, my thoughts I confeſs, have chiefly ſtayed upon three Particulars, as the moſt eminent, and the moſt reſembling; all three Perſons that had held chief place in Authority in their Countreys, all three ruined, not by War, or by any other Diſaſter, but by Juſtice and Sentence, as Delinquents and Criminals; all three famous Writers: Inſomuch as the remembrance of their Calamity is now, as to Poſterity, but as a little Picture of Night-work, remaining amongſt the fair and excellent Tables of their Acts and Works; and all three (if that were any thing to the matter) fit Examples to quench any Man's Ambition of riſing again, for that they were, every one of them, reſtored with great Glory, but to their farther Ruine and Deſtruction, ending in a violent Death. The Men were *Demoſthenes*, *Cicero*, and *Seneca*, Perſons that I durſt not claim affinity with, except the ſimilitude of our Fortunes had contracted it. When I had caſt mine Eyes upon theſe Examples, I was carried on farther to obſerve, how they did employ their Times, being baniſhed, and diſabled for publick Buſineſs; to the end, that I might learn by them, and that they might be as well my Counſellours, as my Comforters. Whereupon I happened to note, how diverſly their Fortunes wrought upon them, eſpecially, in that point which I did moſt aim, which was the employing of their Times and Pens. In *Cicero*, I ſaw, that during his Baniſh-

ment, (which was almoſt two years,) he was ſo ſoftned and dejected, as he wrote nothing but a few Womaniſh Epiſtles: And yet, in mine Opinion, he had leaſt reaſon of the three to be diſcouraged; for that although it was judged, and judged by the higheſt kind of Judgment, in form of a Statute, or Law, That he ſhould be baniſhed, and his whole Eſtate confiſcated and ſeized, and his Houſes pulled down, and that it ſhould be highly penal for any Man to propound his repeal; yet his Caſe, even then, had no great blot of Ignominy, but it was thought but a Tempeſt of Popularity which overthrew him. *Demoſthenes*, contrariwiſe, though his caſe was foul, being condemned for Bribery, and not ſimple Bribery, but Bribery in the nature of Treaſon and Diſloyalty; yet, nevertheleſs, he took ſo little knowledge of his Fortune, as during his Baniſhment, he did much buſie himſelf, and intermeddle with matters of State, and took upon him to Counſel the State, as if he had been ſtill at the Helm, by Letters, as appears by ſome Epiſtles of his which are extant. *Seneca*, indeed, who was condemned for many Corruptions, and Crimes, and baniſhed into a ſolitary Iſland, kept a Mean: for, though his Pen did not freeze, yet he abſtained from intruding into matter of Buſineſs; but ſpent his time in writing Books of excellent Argument and Uſe for all Ages, though he might have made better choice, ſometimes, of his Dedications.

Theſe Examples confirmed me much in a reſolution (whereunto I was otherwiſe inclined) to ſpend my time wholly in writing, and to put forth that poor Talent, or half Talent, or what it is that God hath given me, not, as heretofore, to particular exchanges, but to Tanks or Mounts of perpetuity, which will not break.

Therefore having not long ſince, ſet forth a part of my *Inſtauration*, which is the work that in mine own Judgment (*Si nunquam fallit Imago*) I may moſt eſteem, I think to proceed in ſome few parts thereof: And although I have received from many parts beyond the Seas, Teſtimonies touching that Work, ſuch, as beyond which I could not expect at the firſt, in ſo abſtruſe an Argument; yet, nevertheleſs, I have juſt cauſe to doubt, that it flies too much over Mens Heads: I have a purpoſe, therefore, (though I break the Order of Time) to draw it down to the Senſe, by ſome patterns of a Natural Story, and Inquiſition. And again, for that my Book of *Advancement of Learning* may be ſome preparative, or Key, for the better opening of the *Inſtauration*, becauſe it exhibits a mixture of new conceipts and old; whereas the *Inſtauration* gives the new unmixed, (otherwiſe than with ſome little aſperſion of the old, for taſtes ſake;) I have thought to procure a Tranſlation of that Book into the general Language, not without great and ample Additions, and Enrichment thereof, eſpecially in the ſecond Book, which handleth the Partition of Sciences; in ſuch ſort, as I hold it, may ſerve in lieu of the firſt part of the *Inſtauration*, and acquit my Promiſe in that part. Again, becauſe I cannot altogether deſert the civil Perſon, that I have born, (which, if I ſhould forget, enough would remember,) I have alſo entred into a work touching Laws, propounding a Character of Juſtice in the middle Term, between the ſpeculative and reverend Diſcourſes of Philoſophers, and the writings of Lawyers, which are tied, and obnoxious to their particular Laws. And although it be true, that I had a purpoſe to make a particular Digeſt, or re-compilement, of the Laws of mine own Nation; yet becauſe it is a work of Aſſiſtance, and that I cannot maſter by my own forces and Pen, I have laid it aſide. Now having in the work of my *Inſtauration*, had in contemplation the general good of Men, in their very being, and Dowries of Nature; and in my work of *Laws*, the general good of Men in Society, and the Dowries of Government, I thought in Duty I owed ſomewhat unto mine own Countrey, which I ever loved; inſomuch as although my Place hath been far above my Deſerts, yet my Thoughts and Cares concerning the good thereof were beyond, and over, and above my Place. So now, being, as I am no more able to doe my Country Service, it remained unto me to doe it Honour, which I have endeavoured to doe in my work of the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh. As for my Eſſays, and ſome other particulars of that Nature, I count them but as the Recreations of my other Studies; and in that ſort I purpoſe to continue them, though I am not ignorant, that thoſe kind of writings would, with leſs Pains and Embracement, perhaps, yield more Luſtre and Reputation to my Name, than thoſe other which I have in Hand. But I account the uſe that a Man ſhould ſeek, of the publiſhing of his own Writings before his Death, to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a Man, and not to go along with him.

But revolving with my ſelf my Writings, as well thoſe I have publiſhed, as thoſe which I had in Hand, methought they went all into the City, and none into the Temple; where, becauſe I have found ſo great Conſolation, I deſire likewiſe to make ſome poor Oblation. Therefore I have choſen an Argument, mixt of Religious and Civil Conſiderations, and likewiſe mixt between Contemplative and Active: For who can tell whether there may not be an *Exoriere aliquis*? Great matters (eſpecially, if they be Religious) have (many times) ſmall beginnings, and the Plat-form may draw on the Building. This Work, becauſe I was ever an Enemy to flattering Dedications, I have Dedicated to your Lordſhip, in reſpect of our ancient and private Acquaintance, and becauſe, amongſt the Men of our Times, I hold you in eſpecial Reverence.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon *to King* James, *of a Digeſt to be made of the Laws of* England.

Moſt Excellent Sovereign,

AMongſt the Degrees and Acts of Soveteign, or rather Heroical Honour, the firſt or ſecond is the Perſon and Merit of a Law-giver. Princes that govern well are Fathers of the People: But if a Father breed his Son well, and allow him well, while he liveth, but leave him nothing at his Death; whereby both he, and his Children, and his Childrens Children, may be the better, it is not in him compleat. So Kings, if they make a Portion of an Age happy by their good Government; yet if they do not make Teſtaments (as God Almighty doth) whereby a Perpetuity of good may deſcend to their Countrey, they are but Mortal, and tranſitory Benefactors. *Domitian*, a few days before he died, Dreamed, that a Golden Head did riſe up in the Nape of his Neck; which was truly performed, in the Golden Age that followed his Times, for five Succeſſions. But Kings, by giving their Subjects good Laws, may, if they will, in their own time, join and graff this Golden Head upon their own Necks, after their Death: Nay, they make *Nabuchodonoſor's* Image of Monarchy, Golden from Head to Foot. And if any of the meaner ſort of Politicks, that are ſighted only to ſee the worſt of things, think, that Laws are but Cobwebs, and that good Princes will doe well without them, and bad will not ſtand much upon them; the diſcourſe is neither good, nor wiſe. For, certain it is, that good Laws are good Bridles to bad Princes, and as a very Wall about Government. And if Tyrants ſometimes make a Breach into them, yet they mollifie even Tyranny it ſelf, as *Solon's* Law did the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus*; and then commonly they get up again, upon the firſt advantage of better times. Other means to perpetuate the Memory and Merits of Sovereign Princes, are inferiour to this. Buildings of Temples, Tombs, Palaces, Theatres, and the like, are honourable things, and look big upon Poſterity: But *Conſtantine* the Great gave the Name well to thoſe Works, when he uſed to call *Trajan*, who was a great Builder, *Parietarius*, becauſe his Name was upon ſo many Walls. So that if that be the matter, that the King would turn Wall-Flower, or Pellitory of the Wall, with coſt he may. *Adrian's* vein was better, for his Mind was to wreſtle a fall with Time, and being a great progreſſor over all the *Roman* Empire, whenever he found any decays of Bridges, or High-ways, or cuts of Rivers, and Sewers, or Walls, or Banks, or the like, he gave ſubſtantial Order for their repair. He gave alſo Multitudes of Charters, and Liberties, for the Comfort of Corporations, and Companies in decay, ſo that his bounty did ſtrive with the ruines of Time. But yet this, though it were an excellent diſpoſition, went but, in effect, to the Caſes and Shells of a Common-wealth; it was nothing to Vertue or Vice. A bad Man might indifferently take the benefit and eaſe of his Ways and Bridges, as well as a good; and bad People might purchaſe good Charters. Surely, the better works of perpetuity, in Princes, are they that waſh the in-ſide of the Cup, ſuch as are Foundations of Colleges and Lectures, for Learning, and Education for Youth; likewiſe Foundations and Inſtitutions of Orders and Fraternities, for Nobleneſs, Enterpriſe, and Obedience, and the like: But yet theſe alſo are but like Plantations of Orchards and Gardens in Plats and Spots of Ground, here and there; they do not till over the whole Kingdom, and make it fruitfull, as doth the eſtabliſhing of good Laws and Ordinances, which make a whole Nation to be as a well ordered College or Foundation.

This kind of work, in the memory of times, is rare enough to ſhew it excellent; and yet not ſo rare, as to make it ſuſpected for impoſſible, inconvenient, and unſafe. *Moſes*, that gave Laws to the *Hebrews*, becauſe he was the Scribe of God himſelf, is fitter to be named for Honours ſake to other Law-givers, than to be numbered and ranked amongſt them. *Minos*, *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, are examples for Themes of Grammar-Scholars. For ancient Perſonages, and Characters now a days, uſe to wax Children again. Though that Parable of *Pindarus* be true, *The beſt thing is water*; for common and trivial things are many times the beſt, and rather deſpiſed upon Pride, becauſe they are vulgar, than upon cauſe or uſe. Certain it is, that the Laws of thoſe three Law-givers had great Prerogatives; the firſt, of Fame, becauſe they were the pattern among the *Grecians*; the Second, of Laſting, for they continued longeſt without alteration; the Third, a Spirit of Reviver, to be often expreſſed, and often reſtored.

Amongſt the ſeven Kings of *Rome*, there were four Law-givers: For it is moſt true that a Diſcourſe of *Italy* ſaith, *There was never State ſo well ſwadled in the infancy, as the* Roman *was, by the virtue of their firſt Kings*; which was a principal cauſe of the wonderfull growth of that State in after-times.

The *Decemvirs* Laws, were Laws upon Laws, not the Original; for they graffed Laws of *Græcia* upon the *Roman* Stock of Laws and Cuſtoms: But ſuch was their ſucceſs, as the twelve Tables which they compiled were the main Body of the Laws which framed and welded the great Body of that State. Theſe laſted a long time, with ſome Supplementals, and the *Pretorian* Edicts in *Albo*, which were, in reſpect of Laws, as Writing-tables in reſpect of Braſs, the one to be put in and out, as the other is permanent. *Lutius Cornelius Sylla* reformed the Laws of *Rome*: For that Man had three Singularities, which never Tyrant had but he, that he was a Law giver; that he took part with Nobility; and that he turned private Man, not upon fear, but upon Confidence.

Cæsar, long after, desired to imitate him onely in the first; for otherwise he relyed upon new Men; and for resigning his Power; *Seneca* describeth him right, *Cæsar gladium cito condidit, nunquam posuit*: And himself took it upon him, saying, in scorn, of *Sylla*'s resignation, *Sylla nescivit literas, dictare non potuit*. But, for the part of a Law-giver, *Cicero* giveth him the Attribute, *Cæsar, si ab eo quæreretur quid egisseti n Toga, leges se, respondisset, multas & præclaras tulisse*. His Nephew *Augustus* did tread the same steps, but with deeper Print, because of his long Reign in Peace; whereof one of the Poets of his time saith,

Pace data terris, animum ad Civilia vertit,
Jura suum legesque tulit justissimus Author.

From that time, there was such a race of Wit and Authority, between the Commentaries and Decisions of the Lawyers, and the Edicts of the Emperours, as both Laws and Lawyers were out of Breath; whereupon *Justinian*, in the end, re-compiled both, and made a Body of Laws, such as might be wielded, which himself calleth glorious, and yet not above truth; the Edifice or Structure of a sacred Temple of Justice, built indeed out of the former Ruines of Books, as Materials, and some novel Constitutions of his own.

In *Athens* they had *sex viri*, as *Æschines* observeth, which were standing Commissioners, who did watch to discern what Laws were unproper for the times, and what new Law did, in any branch, cross a former Law, and so, *ex officio*, propounded their Repeal.

King *Edgar* collected the Laws of this Kingdom, and gave them a strength of a Faggot bound, which formerly were dispersed; which was more glory to him, than his sailing about this Island with a great Fleet; for that was, as the Scripture saith, *Via navis in mari*, it vanished; but this lasteth.

Alphonso the Wise, the ninth of that Name, King of *Castile*, compiled the Digest of the Laws of *Spain*, intituled, the six *Partidas*; an excellent work, which he finished in seven years: And, as *Tacitus* noteth well, that the Capitol, though built in the beginnings of *Rome*, yet was fit for the great Monarchy that came after; so that building of Laws sufficeth the greatness of the Empire of *Spain*, which since hath ensued.

Lewis the Eleventh had in his Mind, though he performed it not, to have made one constant Law of *France*, extracted out of the Civil *Roman* Law, and the Customs of Provinces, which are various, and the King's Edicts, which with the *French* are Statutes. Surely he might have done well, if like as he brought the Crown (as he said himself) *hors de page*, so he had brought his People from *Laequay*, not to run up and down for their Laws, to the Civil Law, and the Ordinances of Courts, and Discourses of Philosophers, as they use to doe.

King *Henry* the Eighth, in the 27th year of his Reign, was authorized by Parliament to nominate 32 Commissioners, part Ecclesiastical, part Temporal, to purge the Common Law, and to make it agreeable to the Law of God, and the Law of the Land, but it took not effect; for the Acts of that King were, commonly, rather proffers and fames, than either well grounded, or well pursued. But I doubt I err, in producing so many Examples: For, as *Cicero* said to *Cæsar*, so may I say to your Majesty, *Nil vulgare, te dignum videri possit*; though indeed, this well understood, is far from vulgar; for that the Laws of both Kingdoms and States have been, like Buildings of many pieces, and patched up, from time to time, according to occasions, without Frame or Model.

Now for the Laws of *England*, if I shall speak my opinion of them, without partiality, either to my Profession or Countrey, for the matter and Nature of them, I hold them wise, just, and moderate Laws; they give to God, they give to *Cæsar*, they give to the Subject, what appertaineth. It is true, they are as mixt as our Language, compounded of *British*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Danish*, *Norman* customs; and surely, as our Language is thereby so much the richer; so our Laws are likewise, by that mixture, the more compleat. Neither doth this attribute the less to them, than those that would have them to stand out the same, in all mutations. For no Tree is so good first set, as by transplanting and grafting. I remember what happened to *Calisthenes*, that followed *Alexander*'s Court, and was grown into some displeasure with him, because he could not well brook the *Persian* Adoration: At a Supper (which with the *Grecians* was a great part) he was desired, the King being present, because he was an Eloquent Man, to speak of some Theme, which he did, and chose for his Theme the Praise of the *Macedonian* Nation. Which though it were but a filling thing, to praise Men to their Faces; yet he performed it with such advantage of truth, and avoidance of Flattery, and with such Life, as was applauded by the hearers. The King was the less pleased with it, not loving the Man, and by way of discountenance, said, it was easie to be a good Orator in a pleasing Theme: But, saith he to him, turn your Stile, and tell us now of our Faults, that we may have the profit, and not the praise only. Which he presently did, with such quickness, that *Alexander* said, that Malice made him Eloquent then, as the Theme had done before. I shall not fall into either of these extreames, in this Subject of the Laws of *England*. I have commended them before for the Matter; but surely they ask much amendment for the Form, which to reduce and perfect, I hold to be one of the greatest Dowries that can be conferred upon this Kingdom, which Work for the excellency, as it is worthy your Majesty's Acts and Times, so it hath some circumstance of Propriety agreeable to your Person. God hath blessed your Majesty with Posterity, and I am not of Opinion, that Kings that are

barren

barren are fitteſt to ſupply perpetuity of Generations by perpetuity of Noble Acts, but contrariwiſe, that they that leave Poſterity, are the more intereſſed in the care of future times, that as well their Progeny as their People may participate of their Merit. Your Majeſty is a great Maſter in Juſtice, and Judicature, and it were pity, the fruit of that your Vertue ſhould not be tranſmitted to the Ages to come. Your Majeſty alſo reigneth in learned Times, the more no doubt in regard of your own perfection in Learning, and your Patronage thereof; and it hath been the miſhap of Works, that the leſs learned Time hath ſometimes wrought upon the more learned, which now will not be ſo. As for my ſelf, the Law was my Profeſſion, to which I am a Debtor; ſome little help I have of other Arts, which may give form to matter; and I have now by God's mercifull Chaſtiſement, and by his ſpecial Providence, time and leaſure to put my Talent, or half Talent, or what it is, to ſuch Exchanges, as may perhaps exceed the Intereſt of an active Life. Therefore as in the beginning of my Troubles, I made offer to Your Majeſty to take pains in the Story of *England*, and in compiling a Method and Digeſt of your Law; ſo have I performed the firſt (which reſted but upon my ſelf) in ſome part. And I do in all Humbleneſs renew the offer of this latter, (which will require help and aſſiſtence) to Your Majeſty, if it ſhall ſtand with your good pleaſure to imploy my Service therein.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Right Honourable his very good Lord, the Earl of* Devonſhire, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland.

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

I Cannot be ignorant, and ought to be ſenſible of the wrong which I ſuſtain, common Speech, as if I had been falſe or unthankful, to that Noble, but unfortunate Earl, the Earl of *Eſſex*: and for ſatisfying the vulgar ſort, I do not ſo much regard it, though I love a good Name; but yet as an Hand-maid and Attendent of Honeſty and Vertue. For I am of his Opinion, that ſaid pleaſantly, *That it was a ſhame to him that was a Suitor to the Miſtreſs, to make Love to the waiting Woman.* And therefore to Wooe or Court common Fame, otherwiſe than it followeth upon honeſt Courſes; I, for my part, find not my ſelf fit nor diſpoſed. But on the other ſide, there is no Worldly thing that concerneth my ſelf, which I hold more dear, than the good Opinion of certain Perſons, amongſt which there is none I would more willingly give Satisfaction unto, than to your Lordſhip. Firſt, becauſe you loved my Lord of *Eſſex*, and therefore will not be partial towards me, which is part of that I deſire; next, becauſe it hath ever pleaſed you, to ſhew your ſelf to me an Honourable Friend; and ſo no Baſeneſs in me to ſeek to ſatisfie you: And laſtly, becauſe I know your Lordſhip is excellently grounded in the true Rules and Habits of Duties and Moralities, which muſt be they which ſhall deſide this matter; wherein (my Lord) my defence needeth to be but ſimple and brief; namely, that whatſoever I did concerning that Action and Proceeding, was done in my Duty and Service to the Queen, and her State: In which I would not ſhew my ſelf Falſhearted nor Faint-hearted, for any Man's ſake living. For every honeſt Man, that hath his heart well Planted, will forſake his King, rather than forſake God; and forſake his Friends, rather than forſake his King; and yet will forſake any earthly Commodity, yea and his own Life in ſome Caſes, rather than forſake his Friend. I hope the World hath not forgotten his degrees, elſe the Heathen ſaying, *amicus uſque ad aras*, ſhall judge them; and if any Man ſhall ſay, that I did Officiouſly intrude my ſelf into that Buſineſs, becauſe I had no ordinary Place; the like may be ſaid of all the Buſineſs in effect, that paſſed the hands of the learned Councel either of State or Revenue theſe many Years, wherein I was continually uſed; for as your Lordſhip may remember, the Queen knew her ſtrength ſo well, as ſhe looked her Word ſhould be a Warrant; and after the manner of the choiceſt Princes before her, did not always tie her truſt to place, but did ſometimes divide private favour from Office. And I, for my part, though I was not unſeen in the World, but I knew the condition was ſubject to Envy and Peril; yet becauſe I knew again, ſhe was conſtant in her Favours, and made an end where ſhe began; and eſpecially, becauſe ſhe upheld me with extraordinary Acceſs; and other Demonſtrations, Confidence and Grace, I reſolved to endure it in expectation of better. But my Scope and deſire is, that your Lordſhip would be pleaſed to have the honourable Patience to know the Truth, in ſome particularity of all that paſſed in this Cauſe, wherein I had any part; that you may perceive how honeſt a heart I ever bare to my Sovereign, and to my Country, and to that Noble Man who had ſo well deſerved of me, and ſo well accepted of my deſervings; whoſe Fortune I cannot remember without much Grief: But for any Action of mine towards him, there is nothing that paſſed me in my Life-time that cometh to my remembrance with more clearneſs, and leſs check of Conſcience: For it will appear to your Lordſhip, that I was not onely not oppoſite to my Lord of *Eſſex*, but that I did Occupy the utmoſt of my Wits, and adventured my Fortune with the Queen, to have redintegrated his, and ſo continued faithfully and induſtriouſly, till his laſt fatal impatience, (for ſo I will call it;) after which day, there was not time to work for him, though the ſame my Affection, when it could not work upon the ſubject proper, went to the next, with no ill effect towards ſome others, who (I think) do rather not know it, than not acknowledge it. And this I will aſſure your Lordſhip, I will leave nothing untold that is Truth, for any Enemy that I

have

have to add; and on the other side, I must reserve much which makes for me, upon many respects of Duty, which I esteem above my Credit; and what I have here set down to your Lordship, I protest as I hope to have any part in God's Favour, is true.

It is well known how I did many Years since, dedicate my Travels and Studies to the use, and (as I may term it) service of my Lord of *Essex*; which, I protest before God, I did not, making Election of him as the likeliest mean of mine own Advancement; but out of the humour of a Man that ever from the time I had any use of Reason, (whether it were reading upon good Books, or upon the Example of a good Father, or by Nature,) I loved my Countrey more than was answerable to my Fortune; and I held at that time, my Lord to be the fittest Instrument to doe good to the State; and therefore I applied my self wholly to him, in a manner, which I think happeneth rarely amongst Men. For I did not onely labour carefully and industriously in that he set me about, whether it were matter of Advice, or otherwise; but neglecting the Queen's Service, mine own Fortune, and in a sort, my Vocation, I did nothing but devise and ruminate with my self, to the best of my understanding, Propositions and Memorials of any thing that might concern his Lordship's Honour, Fortune, or Service. And when, not long after I entred into this course, my Btother, Mr. *Anthony Bacon*, came from beyond the Seas, being a Gentleman whose Abilities the World taketh knowledge of, for matter of State, specially Foreign, I did likewise knit his Service to be at my Lord's disposing. And on the other side, I must and will ever acknowledge my Lord's Love, Trust, and Favour towards me; and last of all, his Liberality having enfeoffed me of Land, which I sold for 1800*li.* to Mr. *Reynold Nicholas*, and I think was more worth, and that at such a time, and with so kind and noble Circumstances, as the manner was as much as the matter; which, though it be but an idle digression, yet because I will not be short in Commemoration of his Benefits, I will presume to trouble your Lordship with the relating to you the manner of it.

And after the Queen had denied me the Sollicitor's Place, for the which his Lordship had been a long and earnest Suitor on my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from *Richmond* to *Twitknam*-Park, and brake with me, and said; Mr. *Bacon*, the Queen hath denied me the place for you, and hath placed another: I know you are the least part of your own matter, but you fare ill, because you have chosen me for your mean and dependence; you have spent your time and thoughts in my matters; I die, (these were the very Words) if I doe not somewhat towards your Fortune; you shall not deny to accept a piece of Land which I will bestow upon you. My answer, I remember was, That for my Fortune, it was no great matter; but that his Lordship's Offer made me call to mind what was wont to be said, when I was in *France*, of the Duke of *Guise*, that he was the greatest Usurer in *France*, because he had turned all his Estate into Obligations; meaning, that he had left himself nothing, but onely had bound numbers of Persons to him. Now my Lord, (said I) I would not have you imitate this Course, nor turn your State thus by greatest Gifts into Obligations, for you will find many bad Debtors. He bad me take no care for that, and pressed it; whereupon I said, I see, my Lord, that I must be your Homager, and hold Land of your Gift; but do you know the manner of doing Homage in Law? always it is with a saving of his Faith to the King, and his other Lords; and therefore, my Lord (said I) I can be no more yours than I was, and it must be with the ancient savings; and if I grow to be a rich Man, you will give me leave to give it back again to some of your unrewarded Followers.

But to return, sure I am, (though I can arrogate nothing to my self, but that I was a faithfull remembrancer to your Lordship,) that while I had most Credit with him, his Fortune went on best; and yet in too many points we always directly, and contradictorily differed, which I will mention to your Lordship, because it giveth Light to all that followed. The one was, I always set this down, that the onely course to be held with the Queen, was by Obsequiousness and Observance; and I remember, I would usually gage confidently, that if he would take that course constantly, and with choice of good particulars to express it, the Queen would be brought in time to *Ahasuerus*'s Question, to ask, what should be done to the Man that the King would Honour; meaning that her goodness was without limit where there was a true Concurrence, which I knew in her Nature to be true. My Lord, on the other side, had a setled Opinion that the Queen should be brought to nothing but by a kind of Necessity and Authority; and I well remember, when by violent Courses at any time he had got his will, he would ask me, now Sir, whose Principles be true? and I would again say to him, my Lord, these Courses be like to hot Waters, they will help at a Pang, but if you use them, you shall spoil the Stomach, and you shall be fain still to make them stronger and stronger, and yet in the end, they will lose their Operation; with much other variety wherewith I used to touch that String. Another point was, that I always vehemently perswaded him from seeking greatness by a Military dependence, or by a Popular dependence, as that which would breed in the Queen Jealousie, in himself Presumption, and in the State Perturbation; and I did usually compare them to *Icarus*'s two Wings, which were joined on with Wax, and would make him venture to Soar too high, and then fail him at the Height. And I would farther say unto him, my Lord, stand upon two Feet, and flye not upon two Wings: The two Feet are the two kinds of *Justice*, Commutative and Distributive; use your Greatness, for advancing of Merit and Vertue, and relieving Wrongs and Burthens, you shall need no other art of Fineness; but he would tell me that Opinion came not from my Mind, but from my Robe. But it is very true, that I that never meant to enthrall my self to my Lord of *Essex*, nor any other Man, more than stood with the publick good, did (though I could

little

little prevail) divert him by all means possible from courses of the Wars and Popularity; for I saw plainly, the Queen must either live or die, if she lived, then the times would be, as in the Declination of an old Prince; if she died, the times would be, as in the beginning of an new; and that if his Lordship did rise too fast in these courses, the times might be dangerous for him, and he for them. Nay, I remember, I was thus plain with him, upon his Voyage to the *Islands*, when I saw every Spring put forth such Actions of Charge and Provocation, that I said to him, my Lord, when I came first to you, I took you for a Physician, that desired to cure the Diseases of the State; but now I doubt you will be like to those Physicians which can be content to keep their Patients long, because they would always be in request, which plainness he nevertheless took very well, as he had an excellent care, and was *patientissimus veri*, and assured me the ease of the Realm required it; and I think this Speech of mine, and the like renewed afterwards, pricked him to Write that Apology which is in many Mens hands.

But this difference in two Points, so main and material, bred, in process of time, a discontinuance of privateness (as it is the manner of Men seldom to Communicate where they think their Courses not approved) between his Lordship and my self, so as I was not called, nor advised with, for some year and a half before his Lordship's going into *Ireland*, as in former time; yet nevertheless touching his going into *Ireland*, it pleased him expressly, and in a set manner, to desire mine Opinion, and Counsel; at which time I did not only dissuade, but protest against his going, telling him, with as much vehemency and asseveration as I could, that absence in that kind would exulcerate the Queen's Mind, whereby it would not be possible for him to carry himself so, as to give her sufficient contentment, nor for her to carry her self so, as to give him sufficient countenance, which would be ill for her, ill for him, and ill for the State. And because I would omit no Argument, I remember, I stood also upon the difficulty of the Action, setting before him out of Histories, that the Irish was such an Enemy, as the Ancient *Galls*, or *Britains*, or *Germans* were, and that we saw how the *Romans* who had such Discipline, to govern their Soldiers, and such Donatives to encourage them, and the whole World in a manner to levy them; yet when they came to deal with Enemies which placed their Felicities onely in Liberty, and the sharpness of their Sword, and had the natural and elemental advantages of Woods and Boggs, and hardness of Bodies, they ever found they had their hands full of them, and therefore concluded, that going over with such expectation as he did, and through the churlishness of the Enterprise, not like to answer it, would mightily diminish his Reputation and Name; other reasons I used, so as I am sure I never in any thing, in my life time, dealt with him in like earnestness by Speech, by Writing, and by all the means I could devise: For I did as plainly see his Overthrow, chained as it were by Destiny to that Journey, as it is possible for any Man to ground a Judgment upon future Contingents. But my Lord, howsoever his Ear was open, yet his Heart and Resolution was shut against that Advice, whereby his Ruine might have been prevented.

After my Lord's going I saw how true a Prophet I was, in regard of the evident Alteration which naturally succeeded in the Queen's Mind, and thereupon I was still in watch to find the best occasion, that in the weakness of my Power, I could either take, or minister, to pull him out of the fire, if it had been possible; and not long after me thought I saw some overture thereof, which I apprehended readily; a particularity which I think to be known to very few, and the which I do the rather relate to your Lordship, because I hear it should be talked, that while my Lord was in *Ireland*, I revealed some matter against him, or I cannot tell what; which if it were not a mere Slander, as the rest is, but had any, though never so little colour, was surely upon this occasion. The Queen one day being at *Non-such*, a little (as I remember) before *Cuffe*'s coming over, where I attended Her, shewed a passionate distaste of my Lords proceedings in *Ireland*, as if they were unfortunate, without Judgement, Contemptuous, and not without some private end of his own, and all that might be, and was pleased as she spake of it to many that she trusted less, so to fall into the like Speech with me; whereupon I that was still awake, and true to my grounds which I thought surest for my Lord's good, said to this effect: Madam, I know not the particulars of Estate, and I know this, that Princes occasions must have no abrupt Periods or Conclusions, but otherwise, I would think that if you had my Lord of *Essex* here with a white Staff in his Hand, as my Lord of *Leicester* had, and continued him still about you, for Society to your self, and for an Honour and Ornament to your Attendence and Court, in the Eyes of your People, and in the Eyes of Foreign Embassadors, then were he in his right Element; for to discontent him as you doe, and yet to put Arms and Power into his Hands, may be a kind of Temptation to make him prove cumbersome and unruly. And therefore, if you would *imponere bonam clausulam*, and send for him, and satisfie him with Honour here near you, if your Affairs which (as I have said) I am not acquainted with, will permit it, I think were the best way; which course your Lordship knoweth, if it had been taken, then all had been well, and no contempt in my Lord's coming over, nor continuance of these Jealousies which that imployment of *Ireland* bred, and my Lord here in his former greatness; well, the next News that I heard was, that my Lord was come over, and that he was committed to his Chamber, for leaving *Ireland* without the Queens Licence; this was at *Non-such*, where (as my Duty was) I came to his Lordship and talked with him privately, about a quarter of an hour, and he asked my Opinion of the course that was taken with him; I told him, my Lord, *Nubecula est, cito transibit*, it is but a Mist: But shall I tell your Lordship it is as Mists are, if it go upwards it may haply

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cauſe a ſhowre; if downward, it will clear up; and therefore, good my Lord, carry it ſo, as you take away by all means all umbrages and diſtaſtes from the Queen, and eſpecially, if I were worthy to admoniſh you, (as I have been by your Lordſhip thought, and now your Queſtion imports the continuance of that Opinion,) obſerve three Points. Firſt, make not this Ceſſation or Peace which is concluded with *Tyrone* as a ſervice wherein you Glory, but as a ſhuffling up of a Proſecution which was not very Fortunate. Next, repreſent not to the Queen any neceſſity of State, whereby, as by a coertion or wrench, ſhe ſhould think her ſelf enforced to ſend you back into *Ireland*; but leave it to her. Thirdly, ſeek acceſs, *Importune*, *Opportune*, *Seriouſly*, *Sportingly*, every way. I remember, my Lord was willing to hear me, but ſpake very few Words, and ſhaked his Head ſometimes, as if he thought he was in the Wrong; but ſure I am, he did juſt contrary in every one of theſe three points. After this, during the while my Lord was committed to my Lord Keepers, I came divers times to the Queen, as I had uſed to doe, about cauſe of her Revenue and Law Buſineſs, as is well known: By reaſon of which Acceſſes, according to the ordinary charities of Court, it was given out that I was one of them that incenſed the Queen againſt my Lord of *Eſſex*. Theſe Speeches I cannot tell, nor I will not think that they grew any ways from her own Speeches, whoſe Memory I will ever Honour; if they did, ſhe is with God, and *miſerum eſt ab illis Ladi, de quibus non poſſis queri.* But, I muſt give this Teſtimony to my Lord *Cecill*, that one time in his Houſe, at the *Savoy*, he dealt with me directly; and ſaid to me, Couſin, I hear it, but I believe it not, that you ſhould doe ſome ill Office to my Lord of *Eſſex*; for my part, I am merely Paſſive, and not Active in this Action, and I follow the Queen, and that heavily, and I lead her not; my Lord of *Eſſex* is one that in nature I could conſent with, as with any one living; the Queen indeed is my Sovereign, and I am her Creature; I may not loſe her, and the ſame courſe I would wiſh you to take; whereupon I ſatisfied him how far I was from any ſuch mind. And as ſometimes it comes to paſs, that Mens inclinations are opened more in a toy, than in a ſerious matter; a little before that time, being about the middle of *Michaelmas* Term, Her Majeſty had a purpoſe to dine at my Lodging at *Twitnam* Park, at which time I had (though I profeſs not to be a Poet) prepared a Sonnet, directly tending to draw on Her Majeſtys Reconcilement to my Lord, which I remember alſo I ſhewed to a great Perſon, and one of my Lord's neareſt Friends who commended it; this though it be (as I ſaid) but a toy, yet it ſhewed plainly in what Spirit I proceeded, and that I was ready not onley to doe my Lord good Offices, but to publiſh and declare my ſelf for him; and never was I ſo Ambitious of any thing in my life time, as I was to have carried ſome token or favour from Her Majeſty to my Lord, uſing all the Art I had, both to procure Her Majeſty to ſend, and my ſelf to be the Meſſenger; for as to the former, I feared not to alledge to her, that this proceeding towards my Lord was a thing towards the People very implauſible; and therefore wiſhed Her Majeſty, howſoever ſhe did, yet to diſcharge her ſelf, and to lay it upon others; and therefore that ſhe ſhould intermix her proceedings with ſome immediate Graces from her ſelf, that the World might take knowledge of her Princely Nature and Goodneſs, leſt it ſhould alienate the hearts of her People from her; which I ſtid ſtand upon, knowing very well that if ſhe once relented to ſend or viſit, thoſe demonſtrations would prove matter of ſubſtance for my Lord's good: And to draw that imployment upon my ſelf, I adviſed Her Mejeſty, that whenſoever God ſhould move her to turn the Light of her Favour towards my Lord, to make ſignification to him thereof; that Her Majeſty, if ſhe did it not in Perſon, would at the leaſt uſe ſome ſuch mean as might not intitle themſelves to any part of the thanks, as perſons that were thought mighty with her, to work her, or to bring her about; but to uſe ſome ſuch as could not be thought but a mere Conduct of her own Goodneſs; but I could never prevail with her, though I am perſuaded ſhe ſaw plainly whereat I levelled; but ſhe had me in Jealouſie, that I was not hers entirely, but ſtill had inward and deep reſpects towards my Lord, more than ſtood at that time with her Will and Pleaſure.

About the ſame time, I remember an anſwer of mine in a matter which had ſome affinity with my Lord's Cauſe; which though it grew from me, went after about in others names; for Her Majeſty being mightily incenſed with that Book which was Dedicated to my Lord of *Eſſex*, being a Story of the firſt year of King *Henry* the *4th.* thinking it a Seditious Prelude to put into the Peoples heads Boldneſs and Faction, ſaid ſhe had an Opinion there was Treaſon in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it that might be drawn within Caſe of Treaſon; whereto I anſwered, for Treaſon, ſure I found none, but for Felony, very many. And when Her Majeſty haſtily asked me wherein, I told her, the Author had committed very apparent Theft; for he had taken moſt of the Sentences of *Cornelius Tacitus*, and Tranſlated them into *Engliſh*, and put them into his Text. And another time, when the Queen could not be perſuaded that it was his Writing, whoſe name was to it, but that it had ſome more miſchievous Author, and ſaid with great indignation, that ſhe would have him racked to produce his Author; I replied, nay Madam, he is a Doctor, never rack his Perſon, but rack his Stile, let him have Pen, Ink, and Paper, and help of Books, and be enjoyned to continue the Story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake by collating the Stiles, to judge whether he were the Author or no. But for the main matter, ſure I am, when the Queen at any time asked my Opinion of my Lord's Caſe, I ever in one Tenour, ſaid unto her, that they were Faults which the Law might term Contempts, becauſe they were the Tranſgreſſion of

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her particular Directions and Inſtructions; but then, what defence might be made of them in regard of the great Intereſt the Perſon had in Her Majeſty's Favour, in regard of the greatneſs of his Place, and the Ampleneſs of his Commiſſion, in regard of the nature of the Buſineſs, being Action of War, which in common Caſes cannot be tyed to ſtrictneſs of Inſtructions, in regard of the diſtance of the Place; having alſo a Sea between his Demands and her Commands, muſt be ſubject to Wind and Weather, in regard of a Council of State of *Ireland*, which he had at his Back to avow his Actions upon; and laſtly, in regard of a good Intention that he might alledge for himſelf, which I told her, in ſome Religions, was held to be a ſufficient diſpenſation for God's Commandments, much more for Princes; in all theſe regards I beſought Her Majeſty to be adviſed again and again, how ſhe brought the Cauſe into any publick Queſtion: Nay, I went farther, for I told her my Lord was an Eloquent and well Spoken Man; and beſides his Eloquence of Nature or Art, he had an Eloquence of Accident, which paſſed them both, which was, the Pity and Benevolence of his Hearers; and therefore when he ſhould come to anſwer for himſelf, I doubted his Words would have ſo unequal Paſſage above theirs that ſhould charge him, as would not be for Her Majeſty's Honour; and therefore wiſhed the Concluſion might be, that they might wrap it up privately between themſelves, and that ſhe would reſtore my Lord to his former Attendance, with ſome addition of Honour, to take away Diſcontent: But this I will never deny, that I did ſhew no approbation generally of his being ſent back again into *Ireland*, both becauſe it would have carried a Repugnancy with my former Diſcourſe, and becauſe I was in mine own heart fully perſuaded, that it was not good, neither for the Queen, nor for the State, nor for Himſelf; and yet I did not diſſuade it neither, but left it ever as *Locus Lubricus*. For this particularity I do well remember, that after your Lordſhip was named for the place in *Ireland*, and not long before your going, it pleaſed Her Majeſty at *White-Hall*, to ſpeak to me of that Nomination; at which time I ſaid to her, ſurely Madam, if you mean not to imploy my Lord of *Eſſex* thither again, Your Majeſty cannot make a better choice; and was going on to ſhew ſome Reaſon, and Her Majeſty interrupted me with great Paſſion; *Eſſex* (ſaid ſhe) whenſoever I ſend *Eſſex* back again into *Ireland*, I will marry you; claim it of me: Whereunto I ſaid, well Madam, I will releaſe that Contract, if his going be for the good of the State. Immediately after the Queen had thought of a Courſe (which was alſo executed) to have ſomewhat Publiſhed in the *Star-Chamber*, for the ſatisfaction of the World, touching my Lord of *Eſſex* his reſtraint, and my Lord not to be called to it, but occaſion to be taken by reaſon of ſome Libells then diſperſed, which when Her Majeſty propounded unto me, I was utterly againſt it, and told her plainly, that the People would ſay that my Lord was wounded upon his Back, and that Juſtice had her Balance taken from her, which ever conſiſted of an Accuſation, and Defence, with many other quick and ſignificant terms to that purpoſe; inſomuch, that I remember, I ſaid that my Lord, in *foro famæ*, was too hard for her; and therefore wiſhed her, as I had done before, to wrap it up privately. And certainly I offended her at that time, which was rare with me; for I call to mind, that both the *Chriſtmas*, *Lent*, and *Eaſter* Term following, though I came divers time to her upon Law Buſineſſes, yet methought her Face and Manner was not ſo clear and open to me as it was at the firſt; and ſhe did directly charge me that I was abſent that day at the *Star-Chamber*, which was very true; but I alledged ſome indiſpoſition of Body to excuſe it, and during all the time aforeſaid, there was *ætium ſilentium*, from her to me, touching my Lord of *Eſſex* cauſes. But towards the end of *Eaſter* Term, Her Majeſty brake with me, and told me that ſhe had found my Words true; for that the proceeding in the *Star-Chamber* had done no good, but rather kindled factious Bruits (as ſhe termed them) than quenched them, and therefore that ſhe was determined now, for the ſatisfaction of the World, to proceed againſt my Lord in the *Star-Chamber* by an Information *oré tenus*, and to have my Lord brought to his Anſwer; howbeit, ſhe ſaid ſhe would aſſure me, that whatſoever ſhe did ſhould be towards my Lord, *ad caſtigationem, & non ad deſtructionem*, as indeed ſhe had often repeated the ſame Phraſe before; Whereunto I ſaid, (to the end utterly to divert her,) Madam, if you will have me to ſpeak to you in this Argument, I muſt ſpeak to you as Friar *Bacon*'s Head ſpake, that ſaid, firſt, *Time is*, and then *Time was*, and *Time would never be*; for certainly (ſaid I) it is now far too late, the matter is cold, and hath taken too much Wind; whereat ſhe ſeemed again offended, and roſe from me, and that reſolution for a while continued; and after in the beginning of *Midſummer* Term, I attending her, and finding her ſetled in that Reſolution, (which I heard of alſo otherwiſe,) ſhe falling upon the like Speech, it is true that ſeeing no other remedy, I ſaid to her ſlightly, why Madam, if you will needs have a Proceeding, you were beſt have it in ſome ſuch ſort as *Ovid* ſpake of his Miſtreſs, *eſt aliquid luce patente minus*, to make a Council-Table matter of it and end; which Speech again ſhe ſeemed to take in ill part, but yet I think it did good for that time, and help to divert that Cauſe of Proceeding by Information in the *Star-Chamber*. Nevertheleſs, afterwards it pleaſed her to make a more ſolemn matter of the Proceeding; and ſome few days after, when order was given that the matter ſhould be heard at *York-Houſe*, before an Aſſembly of Councillors, Peers, Judges, and ſome Audience of Men of Quality to be admitted; then did ſome principal Councillors ſend for us of the learned Counſel, and no-

tifie her Majeſty's Pleaſure unto us; ſave that it was ſaid to me openly, by ſome one of them, that her Majeſty was not yet reſolved whether ſhe would have me forborn in the Buſineſs or no. And hereupon might ariſe that other ſiniſter and untrue Speech that I hear is raiſed of me, how I was a Suitor to be uſed againſt my Lord of *Eſſex* at that time; for it is very true, that I that knew well what had paſſed between the Queen and me, and what Occaſion I had given her both of Diſtaſte and Diſtruſt in croſſing her Diſpoſition by ſtanding ſtedfaſt for my Lord of *Eſſex*; and ſuſpecting it alſo to be a Stratagem ariſing from ſome particular Emulation, I writ to her two or three Words of Complement, ſignifying to her Majeſty, that if ſhe would be pleaſed to ſpare me in my Lord of *Eſſex*'s Cauſe, out of the Conſideration ſhe took of my Obligation towards him, I ſhould reckon it for one of her higheſt Favours; but otherwiſe deſiring her Majeſty to think that I knew the degrees of Duties, and that no particular Obligation whatſoever to any Subject could ſupplant or weaken that entireneſs of Duty that I did owe and bear to her and her Service; and this was the goodly Suite I made, being a Reſpect no Man that had his Wits could have omitted, but nevertheleſs, I had a farther reach in it; for I judged that days Work would be a full Period of any bitterneſs or harſhneſs between the Queen and my Lord; and therefore if I declared my ſelf fully according to her Mind at that time, which could not do my Lord any manner of prejudice, I ſhould keep my Credit with her ever after, whereby to doe my Lord Service.

Hereupon, the next News that I heard was, that we were all ſent for again, and that her Majeſty's Pleaſure was, we ſhould all have Parts in the Buſineſs; and the Lords falling into diſtribution of our Parts, it was allotted to me that I ſhould ſet forth ſome undutifull Carriage of my Lord, in giving Occaſion and Countenance to a ſeditious Pamphlet, as it was termed, which was dedicated unto him, which was the Book before mentioned, of King *H.* 4. Whereupon I replied to that Allotment, and ſaid to their Lordſhips, that it was an old Matter, and had no manner of Coherence with the reſt of the Charge, being Matters of *Ireland*, and therefore that I having been wronged by Bruits before, this would expoſe me to them more: and it would be ſaid, I gave in Evidence mine own Tales. It was anſwered again, with good ſhew, that becauſe it was conſidered how I ſtood tied to my Lord of *Eſſex*, therefore that part was thought fitteſt for me which did him leaſt hurt; for that whereas all the reſt was Matter of Charge and Accuſation, this only was but Matter of Caveat and Admonition; wherewith though I was in mine own Conſcience little ſatisfied, becauſe I knew well a Man were better to be Charged with ſome Faults, than admoniſhed of ſome others; yet the Concluſion binding upon the Queen's Pleaſure directly, *volens nolens*, I could not avoid that Part that was layed upon me; which Part, if in the delivery I did handle not tenderly, (though no Man before me did in ſo clear Terms free my Lord from all Diſloyalty as I did,) that your Lordſhip knoweth muſt be aſcribed to the ſuperiour Duty I did owe to the Queen's Fame and Honour in a publick Proceeding; and partly, to the Intention I had to uphold my ſelf in Credit and Strength with the Queen, the better to be able to doe my Lord good Offices afterwards; for as ſoon as this Day was paſt, I loſt no time, but the very next day following (as I remember) I attended her Majeſty, fully reſolved to try and put in uſe my utmoſt endeavour, ſo far as I in my weakneſs could give furtherance, to bring my Lord ſpeedily again into Court, and into Favour; and knowing (as I ſuppoſed at leaſt) how the Queen was to be uſed, I thought that to make her conceive that the matter went well then, was the way to make her leave off there, and I remember well, I ſaid to her, You have now, Madam, obtained Victory over two things, which the greateſt Princes in the World cannot at their Wills ſubdue; the one is over Fame, the other is over a great Mind; for ſurely, the World is now, I hope, reaſonably well ſatisfied; and for my Lord, he did ſhew that Humiliation towards your Majeſty, as I am perſuaded he was never in his Life time more fit for your Majeſty's Favour than he is now; therefore if your Majeſty will not marr it by lingring, but give over at the beſt, (and now you have made ſo good a full Point, receive him again with tenderneſs,) I ſhall then think that all that is paſt is for the beſt. Whereat, I remember, ſhe took exceeding great contentment, and did often iterate and put me in mind, that ſhe had ever ſaid, that her Proceeding ſhould be *ad reparationem*, and not *ad ruinam*, as who ſaith, that now is the time I ſhould plainly perceive that that ſaying of hers ſhould prove true. And farther, ſhe willed me to ſet down in Writing all that paſſed that day; I obeyed her Commandment, and within ſome few days after brought her again the Narration, which I did read unto her in two ſeveral Afternoons, and when I came to that part that ſet forth my Lords own Anſwer, (which was my principal care,) I do well bear in Mind that ſhe was extraordinarily moved with it, with kindneſs and relenting towards my Lord, and told me afterwards (ſpeaking how well I had expreſſed my Lord's part) that ſhe perceived old Love would not be forgotten: Whereto I anſwered ſuddenly, that I hoped ſhe meant that by her ſelf. But in Concluſion, I did adviſe her, that now ſhe had taken a repreſentation of the matter to her ſelf, that ſhe would let it go no farther; (for Madam, ſaid I) the fire blazeth well already, what ſhould you tumble it? And beſides, it may pleaſe you keep a conveniency with your ſelf in this Caſe; for ſince your expreſs direction was, there ſhould be no Regiſter nor Clerk to take this Sentence, nor no Record or Memorial made up of the Proceeding; why ſhould you now doe that popularly which

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you would not admit to be done judicially? Whereupon she did agree that that Writing, should be suppressed; and I think there were not five Persons that ever saw it. But from this time forth, during the whole latter end of that Summer, while the Court was at *Nonsuch* and *Oatland*, I made it my task and scope to take and give occasions for my Lords Redintegration in his Fortunes. Which my intention I did also signifie to my Lord, assoon as ever he was at Liberty, whereby I might without Peril of the Queens Indignation write to him, and having received from his Lordship a courteous and loving acceptation of my good Will and Endeavours, I did apply it in all my Accesses to the Queen, which were very many at that time, and purposely sought and wrought upon other variable Pretences, but only and chiefly for that purpose. And on the other side, I did not forbear to give my Lord from time to time faithfull Advertisement, what I found, and what I wished. And I drew for him, by his Appointment, some Letters to Her Majesty, which though I knew well his Lordships Gift and Stile was far better than mine own, yet because he required it, alledging that by his long restraint he was grown almost a stranger to the Queens present Conceipts, I was ready to perform it; and sure I am, that for the space of six Weeks, or two Months, it prospered so well, as I expected continually his restoring to his attendance. And I was never better wellcome to the Queen, nor more made of, than when I spake fullest and boldest for him; in which kind the particulars were exceeding many, whereof for an Example, I will remember to your Lordship one or two; as at one time, I call to mind Her Majesty was speaking of a Fellow that undertook to Cure, or at least to Ease my Brother of his Gout, and asked me how it went forwards, and I told Her Majesty, that at the first he received good by it, but after in the course of his Cure, he found himself at a stay or rather worse; the Queen said again, I will tell you *Bacon*, the Errour of it: The manner of these Physicians, and especially these Empiricks, is, to continue one kind of Medicine, which at the first is proper, being to draw out the ill humour; but after they have not the discretion to change their Medicine, but apply still drawing Medicines, when they should rather intend to cure and corroborate the part. Good Lord, Madam (said I) how wisely and aptly can you Speak and discern of Physick ministred to the Body, and consider not that there is the like reason of Physick ministred to the Mind; as now, in the Case of my Lord of *Essex*, your Princely Word ever was, that you intended ever to reform his Mind, and not ruine his Fortune; I know well, you cannot but think you have drawn the humour sufficiently, and therefore it were more than time, and it were but for doubt of mortifying or exulcerating, that you did apply and minister strength and comfort unto him; for these same gradations of yours are fitter to corrupt, than to correct any Mind of greatness. And another time, I remember, she told me for News, that my Lord had Written unto her some very dutifull Letters, and that she had been moved by them; and when she took it to be the abundance of his heart, she found it to be but a preparative to a suite for the renewing of his Farm of sweet Wines. Whereto I replied, alas Madam, how doth Your Majesty construe of these things, as if these two could not stand well together; which indeed Nature hath planted in all Creatures. For there are but two Sympathies, the one towards *Perfection*, the other towards *Preservation*; that to *Perfection*, as the Iron tendeth to the Loadstone; that to *Preservation*, as the Vine will creep unto a Stake or Prop that stands by it, not for any love to the Stake, but to uphold it self. And therefore, Madam, you must distinguish my Lord's desire to doe you Service, is as to his Perfection that which he thinks himself to be bound for; whereas, his desire to obtain this thing of you, is but for a Sustentation. And not to trouble your Lordship with many other particulars like unto this, it was at the same time that I did draw by my Lord's Privity, and by his appointment two Letters, the one Written as from my Brother, the other, as an Answer returned from my Lord; both to be by me in Secret manner shewed to the Queen, which it pleased my Lord very strangely to mention at the Bar; the Scope of which were, but to Represent and Picture forth unto Her Meajesty my Lord's Mind to be such as I know Her Majesty would fainest have had it, which Letters whosoever shall see (for they cannot now be retracted or altered, being by reason of my Brother's or his Lordship's servants delivery, long since come into divers hands) let him Judge, specially if he knew the Queen, and do remember those times, whether they were not the labours of one that sought to bring the Queen about for my Lord of *Essex* his good. The Truth is, that the issue of all this dealing grew to this, that the Queen by some slackness of my Lord, as I imagine, liked him worse and worse, and grew more incensed towards him; then she remembring belike the continual and incessant, and confident Speeches and Courses that I had held on my Lord's side, became utterly alienated from me, and for the space of at least three Months, (which was between *Michaelmas* and *New-years-tide* following) would not so much as look on me, but turned away from me with express, and purpose-like discountenance whersoever she saw me; and at such time as I desired to speak with her about Law Business, ever sent me forth very slight Refusals, insomuch as it is most true, that immediately after *New-years tide* I desired to speak with her, and being admitted to her, I dealt with her plainly, and said: Madam, I see you withdraw your Favour from me; and now I have lost many Friends for your sake, I must lose you too; you have put me like one of those that the French Men call *Enfans perdus*, that serve on foot before Horse-men, so have you put me into matters of Envy without Place or without Strength; and I know at Chess a pawn before the King never much plaid upon; a great many love me not, because they think I have been against my Lord of

Eſſex; and you love me not, becauſe you know I have been for him; yet will I never repent me that I have dealt in ſimplicity of heart towards you both, without reſpect of Cautions to my ſelf, and therefore *vivus videnſque pereo*: If I do break my Neck, I ſhall do it as *Dorrington* did, which walked on the Battlements of the Church many Days, and took a view and ſurvey where he ſhould fall; and ſo, Madam, (ſaid I) I am not ſo ſimple, but that I take a proſpect of mine own Overthrow; only I thought I would tell you ſo much, that you may know, it was Faith and not Folly that brought me into it; and ſo I will pray for you: Upon which Speeches of mine, uttered with ſome paſſion, it is true, her Majeſty was exceedingly moved, and accumulated a number of kind and gracious Words upon me, and willed me to reſt upon this, *Gratia mea ſufficit*, and a number of other ſenſible and tender Words and Demonſtrations, ſuch as more could not be; but as touching my Lord of *Eſſex*, *nie verbam quidem*. Whereupon I departed, reſting then determined to meddle no more in the matter, as that I ſaw would overthrow me, and not be able to doe him any good. And thus I made mine own Peace, with mine own Confidence, at that time; and this was the laſt time I ſaw Her Majeſty, before the 8*th*. of *February*, which was the Day of my Lord of *Eſſex* his Misfortune: After which time, for that I performed at the Bar in my publick Service, your Lordſhip knoweth, by the Rules of Duty, I was to doe it honeſtly, without prevarication; but for any putting my ſelf in it, I proteſt before God, I never moved the Queen, nor any Perſon living, concerning my being uſed in the Service, either of Evidence or of Examination; but it was meerly laid upon me with the reſt of my Fellows. And for the time that paſſed between the Arraignment and my Lord's Suffering, I well remember I was but once with the Queen, at what time, though I durſt not deal directly for my Lord, as things then ſtood; yet generally I did both commend Her Majeſty's Mercy, terming it to Her as an excellent Balm, that did continually diſtil from Her Sovereign Hands, and made an excellent odour in the ſcents of her People; and not only ſo, but I took hardineſs to extenuate, not the Fact (for that I durſt not) but the Danger, telling her, that if ſome baſe or cruel minded Perſons had entred into ſuch an Action, it might have cauſed much Blood and Combuſtion; but it appeared well, they were ſuch as knew not how to play the Malefactors, and ſome other Words, which I now omit. And as for the reſt of the Carriage of my ſelf in that Service, I have many honourable Witneſſes that can tell; that the next Day after my Lord's Arraignment, by my diligence and information, touching the Quality and Nature of the Offenders, ſix of nine were ſtayed, which otherwiſe had been Attainted; I bringing their Lordſhips Letter for their ſtay, after the Jury was Sworn to paſs upon them; ſo near it went: And how careful I was, and made it my part, that whoſoever was in trouble about that matter, as ſoon as ever his Caſe was ſufficiently known and defined of, might not continue in reſtraint, but be ſet at liberty; and many other parts, which, I am well aſſured of, ſtood with the Duty of an honeſt Man. But indeed, I will not deny, for the Caſe of Sir *Thomas Smith* of *London*, the Queen demanding my Opinion of it, I told her I thought it was as hard as many of the reſt; but what was the Reaſon? becauſe, at that time I had ſeen only his Accuſation, and had never been preſent at any Examination of his; and the matter ſo ſtanding, I had been very untrue to my Service, if I had not delivered that Opinion. But afterwards, upon a re-examination of ſome that Charged him, who weakned their own Teſtimony; and eſpecially hearing himſelf *viva voce*, I went inſtantly to the Queen, out of the ſoundneſs of my Conſcience, not regarding what Opinion I had formerly delivered, and told Her Majeſty, I was ſatisfied and reſolved in my Conſcience, that for the reputation of the Action, the Plot was to countenance the Action, farther by him in reſpect of his place, than they had indeed any intereſt or intelligence with him; it is very true alſo, about that time Her Majeſty taking a liking of my Pen, upon that which I formerly had done concerning the proceeding at *York*-houſe, and likewiſe upon ſome former Declarations, which in former times by her appointment I put in Writing, commanded me to Pen that Book, which was Publiſhed for the better ſatisfaction of the World; which I did, but ſo as never Secretary had more particular and expreſs Directions and Inſtructions in every Point, how to guide my hand in it; and not only ſo, but after that I had made a firſt Draught thereof, and propounded it to certain principal Counſellors, by her Majeſty's Appointment it was peruſed, weighed, cenſured, altered, and made almoſt a new Writing, according to their Lordſhips better Conſideration, wherein their Lordſhips and my ſelf both were as religious, and curious of Truth, as deſirous of Satisfaction; and my ſelf, indeed, gave only Words and Form of Stile, in purſuing their Directions: And after it had paſſed their Allowance, it was again exactly peruſed by the Queen Her ſelf, and ſome Alterations made again by her Appointment; nay, and after it was ſet to Print, the Queen, who, as your Lordſhip knoweth, as She was excellent in great Matters, ſo She was exquiſite in ſmall; and noted, that I could not forget my ancient Reſpect to my Lord of *Eſſex*, in terming him ever my Lord of *Eſſex*, in almoſt every Page of the Book, which She thought not fit, but would have it made *Eſſex*, or the late Earl of *Eſſex*; whereupon, of force it was Printed *de novo*, and the firſt Copies ſuppreſſed, by Her peremptory Commandment. And this, my Lord, to my fartheſt remembrance, is all that paſſed, wherein I had part, which I have ſet down as near as I could in the very Words and Speeches that were uſed, not becauſe they are worth the Repetition, I mean thoſe of mine; but to the end your Lordſhip may lively and plainly diſcern between the face of Truth, and a ſmooth Tale. And the rather alſo, becauſe in things that paſſed a good while ſince, the very Words and Phraſes did ſometimes bring to my Remembrance the Matters, wherein I refer me to your honourable Judgment, whether you do

not

not see the Traces of an honeſt Man; and had I been as well believed, either by the Queen or my Lord, as I was well heard by them both; both my Lord had been fortunate, and ſo had my ſelf in his Fortune.

To conclude, therefore, I humbly pray your Lordſhip to pardon me, for troubling you with this long Narration, and that you will vouchſafe to hold me in your good Opinion, till you know I have deſerved, or find that I ſhall deſerve the contrary; and even ſo I continue,

At your Lordſhip's honourable Commandments,
very humble, F. B.

Sir Francis Bacon, *to the King.*

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

IT is obſerved, upon a Place in the *Canticles* by ſome, *Ego ſum Flos Campi, & Lilium Convallium*; that it is not ſaid, *Ego ſum flos horti, & lilium montium*: becauſe the Majeſty of that Perſon is not incloſed for a few, nor appropriate to the great. And yet, notwithſtanding, this Royal Vertue of Acceſs, which Nature and Judgment hath placed in your Majeſty's Mind, as the Portal of all the reſt, could not of it ſelf (my Imperfections conſidered) have animated to me have made oblation of my ſelf immediately to your Majeſty, had it not been joined to a habit of like liberty which I enjoyed with my late dear Sovereign Miſtreſs, a Princeſs happy in all things, but moſt happy in ſuch a Succeſſour. And yet farther, and more nearly, I was not a little encouraged, not only upon a ſuppoſal, that unto your Majeſty's ſacred Ears (open to the air of all Vertues) there might have come ſome ſmall breath of the good Memory of my Father, ſo long a principal Counſellour in your Kingdom, but alſo, by the particular knowledge of the infinite Devotion, and inceſſant Endeavours, beyond the ſtrength of his Body, and the nature of the Times, which appeared in my good Brother towards your Majeſty's Service, and were on your Majeſty's part, through your ſingular Benignities, by many moſt gracious and lively Significations and Favours accepted and acknowledged, beyond the thought of any thing he could effect: All which Endeavours and Duties, for the moſt part, were common to my ſelf with him, though by deſign between Brethren diſſembled. And therefore, moſt high and mighty King, my moſt dear and dread Sovereign Lord, ſince now the Corner-ſtone is laid of the mightieſt Monarchy in *Europe*, and that God above, who is noted to have a mighty hand in bridling the Floods and Fluctuations of the Seas, and of Peoples hearts, hath by the miraculous and univerſal Conſent, (the more ſtrange, becauſe it proceedeth from ſuch diverſity of Cauſes,) in your coming in, given a Sign and Token, what he intendeth in the continuance; I think there is no Subject of your Majeſty, who loveth this Iſland, and is not hollow and unworthy, whoſe heart is not on fire, not only to bring you Peace-offerings to make you propitious; but to ſacrifice himſelf as a Burnt-offering to your Majeſty's Service: Amongſt which number, no Man's fire ſhall be more pure and fervent; but how far forth it ſhall blaze out, that reſteth in your Majeſty's Imployment: For ſince your Fortune, in the greatneſs thereof, hath for a time debarred your Majeſty of the fruitful Vertue which one calleth the principal, (*Principis eſt virtus maxima noſſe ſuos*,) becauſe your Majeſty hath many of yours, which are unknown unto you, I muſt leave all to the trial of farther time; and thirſting after the happineſs of kiſſing your Royal Hand, continue ever

Your, &c.
FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Lord* Kinloſs, *upon the Entrance of King* James.

My Lord,

THE preſent Occaſion awakeneth in me a remembrance of the conſtant Amity and mutual good Offices which paſſed between my Brother deceaſed and your Lordſhip, whereunto I was leſs ſtrange, than in reſpect of the time I had reaſon to pretend; and withall I call to mind the great Opinion my Brother (who ſeldom failed in Judgment of a Perſon) would often expreſs to me of your Lordſhip's great Wiſdom and Soundneſs, both in Head and Heart, towards the Service and Affairs of our Sovereign Lord the King. The one of thoſe hath bred in me an Election, and the other a Confidence, to addreſs my good Will and ſincere Affection to your good Lordſhip, not doubting, in regard my courſe of Life hath wrought me not to be altogether unſeen in the Matters of the Kingdom, that I may be in ſome uſe both in Points of Service to the King, and your Lordſhip's particular: And on the other ſide, I will not omit to deſire humbly your Lordſhip's favour, in furthering a good Conceit and Impreſſion of my moſt humble Duty, and true Zeal towards the King, to whoſe Majeſty Words cannot make me known, neither

ther mine own nor others, but time will, to no diſadvantage of any that ſhall fore-run his Majeſty's experience, by their Humanity and Commendations. And ſo I Commend your Lordſhip to God's Protection.

From *Grays-Inn*, &c. *Your*, &c.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Earl of* Northumberland, *concerning a Proclamation upon the King's Entry.*

It may pleaſe your Lordſhip,

I Do hold it a thing formal and neceſſary, for the King to fore-run his coming, be it never ſo ſpeedy, with ſome gracious Declaration for the cheriſhing, entertaining, and preparing of Mens Affections. For which purpoſe I have conceived a Draught, it being a thing to me familiar, in my Miſtreſs her Times, to have uſed my Pen in politick writings of ſatisfaction. The uſe of this may be in two ſorts: Firſt properly, if your Lordſhip think convenient to ſhew the King any ſuch draught, becauſe the Veins and Pulſes of this State cannot but be known here; which if your Lordſhip ſhould, then I would deſire your Lordſhip to withdraw my Name, and only ſignifie that you gave ſome Heads of Direction of ſuch a matter to one of whoſe Stile and Pen you had ſome Opinion. The other collateral, that though your Lordſhip make no other uſe of it, yet it is a kind of Pourtraicture of that which I think worthy to be adviſed by your Lordſhip to the King, to expreſs himſelf according to thoſe points which are therein conceived, and perhaps more compendious and ſignificant than if I had ſet them down in Articles. I would have attended your Lordſhip, but for ſome little Phyſick I took. To morrow Morning I will wait on you. So I ever continue, &c.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Sir* Edward Coke, *Expoſtulatory.*

Mr. Attorney,

I Thought beſt once for all, to let you know in plainneſs, what I find of you, and what you ſhall find of me, you take to your ſelf a liberty to diſgrace and diſable my Law, Experience, and Diſcretion; what it pleaſes you I pray think of me. I am one that know both mine own wants and other Mens; and it may be, perchance, that mine may mend when others ſtand at a ſtay: And ſurely, I may not in publick place endure to be wronged, without repelling the ſame to my beſt advantage, to right my ſelf. You are great, and therefore have the more Enviers, which would be glad to have you paid at another's coſt. Since the time I miſſed the Sollicitor's Place, the rather I think by your Means, I cannot expect that you and I ſhall ever ſerve as Attorney and Sollicitor together, but either to ſerve with another upon your remove, or to ſtep into ſome other courſe. So as I am more free than ever I was from any occaſion of unworthy confirming my ſelf to you, more than general good manners, or your particular good uſuage ſhall provoke: And if you had not been ſhort-ſighted in your own Fortune, (as I think) you might have had more uſe of me; but that Tide is paſt. I write not this to ſhew any Friends what a brave Letter I have writ to Mr. Attorney, I have none of thoſe Humors, but that I have written is to a good end, that is, to the more decent carriage of my Maſter's Service, and to our particular better underſtanding one another. This Letter, if it ſhall be anſwered by you in Deed, and not in Word, I ſuppoſe it will not be the worſe for us both; elſe it is but a few Lines loſt, which for a much ſmaller matter I would adventure. So this being to your ſelf, I for my part reſt,

Yours, &c.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Sir* Edward Coke, *after Lord Chief Juſtice, and in Diſgrace.*

My very good Lord,

THough it be true, that who conſidereth the Wind and the Rain ſhall neither ſow nor reap, *Eccleſ* 9. 15. yet there is a Seaſon for every Action; and ſo there is a time to ſpeak, and a time to keep ſilence; there is a time when the words of a poor ſimple Man may profit, and that poor Man, in the *Preacher*, which delivered the City by his Wiſdom, found that without this opportunity, the ower both of Wiſdom and Eloquence loſe but their Labour, and cannot charm the deaf Adder. God

therefore

therefore, before his Son that bringeth mercy, ſent his Servant the Trumpeter of Repentance to level a very high Hill, to prepare the Way before him, making it ſmooth and ſtreight. And as it is in ſpiritual things, where Chriſt never comes before his Way-maker hath laid even the Heart with Sorrow and Repentance, (ſince ſelf-conceited and proud Perſons think themſelves too good and too wiſe to learn of their inferiour, and therefore need not the Phyſician;) ſo in the Rules of earthly Wiſdom, it is not poſſible for Nature to attain any mediocrity of Perfection, before ſhe be humbled by knowing her ſelf and her own Ignorance. Not only knowledge, but alſo every other Gift (which we call the Gifts of Fortune) have power to pull up earthly——Afflictions only level theſe Mole-hills of Pride, plough the Heart, and make it fit for Wiſdom to ſow her Seed, and for Grace to bring forth her Increaſe. Happy is that Man therefore, both in regard of heavenly and earthly Wiſdom, that is thus wounded, to be cured; thus broken, to be made ſtreight; thus made acquainted with his own Imperfections, that he may be perfected.

Suppoſing this to be the time of your Affliction, that which I have propounded to my ſelf is, by taking this ſeaſonable advantage, like a true friend (though far unworthy to be counted ſo) to ſhew you your true ſhape in a Glaſs, and that not in a falſe one, to flatter you, nor yet in one that ſhould make you ſeem worſe than you are, and ſo offend you; but in one made by the reflection of your own Words and Actions, from whoſe light proceeds the Voice of the People, which is often not unfitly called the Voice of God: but therein (ſince I purpoſed a truth) I muſt intreat liberty to be plain, a liberty that at this time I know not whether or no I may uſe ſafely, I am ſure at other times I could not: yet of this reſolve your ſelf, it proceedeth from Love, and a true deſire to doe you good, that you knowing the general Opinion may not altogether neglect or contemn it, but mend what you find amiſs in your ſelf, and retain what your Judgment ſhall approve; for to this end ſhall truth be delivered as naked as if your ſelf were to be anatomized by the hand of Opinion. All Men can ſee their own profit, that part of the Wallet hangs before. A true friend (whoſe worthy Office I would perform, ſince, I fear, both your ſelf, and all great Men, want ſuch, being themſelves true Friends to few or none) is firſt to ſhew the other, and which is from your Eyes.

Firſt, therefore, behold your Errours: In diſcourſe, you delight to ſpeak too much, not to hear other Men; this, ſome ſay, becomes a Pleader, not a Judge: for by this ſometimes your Affections are entangled with a love of your own Arguments, though they be the weaker, and rejecting of thoſe, which when your Affections were ſettled, your own Judgment would allow for ſtrongeſt. Thus while you ſpeak in your own Element, the Law, no Man ordinarily equals you; but when you wander, (as you often delight to do) you then wander indeed, and give never ſuch ſatisfaction as the curious time requires. This is not cauſed by any natural Defect, but firſt for want of Election, when you, having a large and fruitfull Mind, ſhould not ſo much labour what to ſpeak, as to find what to leave unſpoken: rich Soils are often to be weeded.

Secondly, you cloy your Auditory; when you would be obſerved, ſpeech muſt either be ſweet, or ſhort.

Thirdly, you converſe with Books, not Men, and Books ſpecially humane, and have no excellent choice with Men, who are the beſt Books: For a Man of Action and Imployment you ſeldom converſe with, and then but with your underlings; not freely, but as a School-maſter with his Scholars, ever to teach, never to learn. But if ſometimes you would, in your familiar diſcourſe, hear others, and make election of ſuch as know what they ſpeak, you ſhould know many of theſe Tales you tell to be but ordinary, and many other things, which you delight to repeat, and ſerve in for Novelties, to be but ſtale. As in your Pleadings, you were wont to inſult over miſery, and to inveigh bitterly at the Perſons, (which bred you many Enemies, whoſe Poiſon yet ſwelleth, and the effects now appear;) ſo are you ſtill wont to be a little careleſs in this Point, to praiſe, or diſgrace, upon ſleight grounds, and that ſometimes untruly; ſo that your Reproofs or Commendations, are, for the moſt part, neglected and contemned; when the cenſure of a Judge (coming ſlow, but ſure) ſhould be a Brand to the Guilty, and a Crown to the Vertuous. You will jeſt at any Man in publick, without reſpect of the Perſon's dignity, or your own: This diſgraceth your gravity, more than it can advance the Opinion of your Wit; and ſo do all Actions which, we ſee, you do directly with a touch of Vain-glory, having no reſpect to the true end. You make the Law to lean too much to your Opinion, whereby you ſhew your ſelf to be a legal Tyrant, ſtriking with that Weapon where you pleaſe, ſince you are able to turn the edge any way. For thus the wiſe Maſter of the Law gives warning to young Students, that they ſhould be wary, leſt while they hope to be inſtructed by your Integrity and Knowledge, they ſhould be deceived with your Skill armed with Authority. Your too much love of the World is too much ſeen, when having the Living of 10000*l.* you relieve few or none; The hand that hath taken ſo much, can it give ſo little? Herein you ſhew no bowels of compaſſion, as if you thought all too little for your ſelf; or that God had given you all that you have, (if you think Wealth to be his Gift, I mean, that you get well, for I know ſure, the reſt is not,) onely to that end you ſhould ſtill gather more, and never be ſatisfied, but try how much you could gather, to accompt for all at the great and general Audit day. We deſire you to amend this, and let your poor Tenants in *Norfolk* find ſome comfort, where nothing of your Eſtate is ſpent towards their Relief, but all brought up hither, to the impoveriſhing of your Country.

In

In your laſt, which might have been your beſt piece of Service to the State, affectioned to follow that old Rule, which giveth Juſtice leaden Heels, and Iron Hands, you uſed too many delays, till the Delinquents Hands were looſed, and yours bound: In that work you ſeemed another *Fabius*; here the Humour of *Marcellus* would have done better: What needed you have ſought more Evidences than enough? While you pretended the finding out of more, (miſſing your aim) you diſcredited what you had found. This beſt Judgments think, though you never uſed ſuch ſpeeches as are fatherd upon you, yet you might well have done it, and but rightly, for this Crime was ſecond to none, but the Powder-plot: That would have blown up all at one blow, a mercifull Cruelty; this would have done the ſame by degrees, a lingring, but a ſure way; one might by one be called out, till all oppoſers had been removed: Beſides, that other Plot was ſcandalous to *Rome*, making Popery odious in the ſight of the whole World; this hath been ſcandalous to the truth of the whole Goſpel; and ſince the firſt nullity to this Inſtant, when Juſtice hath her Hands bound, the Devil could not have invented a more miſchievous practice, to our State and Church, than this hath been, is, and is like to be. God avert the Evil.

But herein you committed another fault, that as you were too open in your proceedings, and ſo taught them whereby to defend themſelves; ſo you gave them time to undermine Juſtice, and to work upon all advantages, both of Affections and Honour, and Opportunity, and Breach of Friendſhip; which they have ſo well followed, ſparing neither Pains nor Coſt, that it almoſt ſeemeth an higher offence in you to have done ſo much indeed, than that you have done no more; you ſtop the Confeſſions and Accuſations of ſome, who perhaps, had they been ſuffered, would have ſpoken enough to have removed ſome ſtumbling-blocks out of your way; and that you did not this in the favour of any one, but of I know not what preſent unadviſed Humors, ſuppoſing enough behind to diſcover all; which fell not out ſo. Howſoever, as the Apoſtle ſaith in another Caſe, you went not rightly to the truth; and therefore, though you were to be commended for what you did, yet you were to be reprehended for many Circumſtances in the doing; and doubtleſs God hath an Eye in this Croſs, to your Negligence; and the Briars are left to be pricks in your Sides, and Thorns in your Eyes. But that which we commend you for, are thoſe excellent parts in Nature, and knowledge in the Law, which you are endued withall; but theſe are only good in their good uſe: wherefore we thank you heartily for ſtanding ſtoutly in the Common-wealths behalf, hoping it proceedeth not from a diſpoſition to oppoſe Greatneſs, (as your Enemies ſay,) but to doe Juſtice, and deliver Truth indifferently, without reſpect of Perſons; and in this we pray for your Proſperity, and are ſorry that your good Actions ſhould not always ſucceed happily. But in the carriage of this you were faulty; for you took it in Hand in an evil time, both in reſpect of the preſent buſineſs which it interrupted, and in regard of his preſent ſickneſs whom it concerned, whereby you diſunited your ſtrength, and made a gap for the Enemies to paſs out at, and to return and aſſault you.

But now, ſince the caſe ſo ſtandeth, we deſire you to give way to Power, and ſo to fight that you be not utterly broken, but reſerved entirely to ſerve the Common-wealth again, and doe what good you can, ſince you cannot doe all the good you would; and ſince you are fallen upon this Rock, caſt out the Goods to ſave the bottom, ſtop the Leaks and make towards Land; learn of the Steward, to make Friends of the unrighteous Mammon. Theſe *Spaniards* in *Mexico* who were chaſed of the *Indians*, tell us what to doe with our Goods in our Extremities, they being to paſs over a River in their flight, as many as caſt away their Gold ſwam over ſafe; but ſome more covetous, keeping their Gold, were either drowned with it, or overtaken and ſlain by the Savages; you have received, now learn to give. The *Beavor* learns us this Leſſon, who being hunted for his Stones, bites them off: You cannot but have much of your Eſtate (pardon my plainneſs) ill got; think how much of that you never ſpake for, how much by ſpeaking injuſtly or in unjuſt cauſes. Account it then a Bleſſing of God, if thus it may be laid out for your good, and not left for your Heir, to haſten the waſting of much of the reſt, perhaps of all, for ſo we ſee God oftentimes proceeds in Judgment with many haſty gatherers; you have enough to ſpare, being well laid, to turn the Tide, and fetch all things again. But if you eſcape (I ſuppoſe it worthy of an *if*) ſince you know the old uſe, that none called in queſtion muſt go away uncenſured; yet conſider that Accuſations make Wounds, and leave Scarrs, and though you ſee your Tale behind your Back, your ſelf free, and the Covert before, yet remember there are ſtands; truſt not a reconciled Enemy, but think the Peace is but to ſecure for farther Advantage expect a ſecond and a third Encounter; the main battel; the Wings are yet unbroken, they may charge you at an inſtant, or death before them; walk therefore circumſpectly: and if at length, by means of our good endeavours and yours, you recover the favour that you have loſt, give God the Glory in Action, not in words onely, and remember us with Senſe of your paſt misfortune, whoſe E'ate hath, doth, and may hereafter lie in the power of your Breath. There is a great Mercy in diſpatch, delays are tortures wherewith we are by degrees rent out of our Eſtates; do not you (if you be reſtored) as ſome others do, fly from the Service of Vertue to ſerve the Time, as if they repented their goodneſs, or meant not to make a ſecond hazard in God's Houſe; but rather let this Croſs make you zealous in God's Cauſe, ſenſible in ours, and more ſenſible in all, which expreſs thus: You have been a great Enemy to Papiſts, if you love God, be ſo ſtill, but more indeed than heretofore; for much

much of your zeal was heretofore waſted in words, call to remembrance that they were the Perſons that Propheſied of that Croſs of yours long before it happened; they ſaw the Storm coming, being the principal contrivers and furtherers of the Plot, the Men that blew the Coals, heat the Iron, and made all things ready, they owe you a good turn, and will, if they can, pay it you; you ſee their Hearts by their Deeds, prove then your Faith ſo too. The beſt good work you can doe, is to doe the beſt you can againſt them, that is, to ſee the Law ſeverely, juſtly, and diligently Executed. And now we beſeech you, my Lord, be ſenſible both of the ſtroak, and Hand that ſtriketh; learn of *David* to leave *Shimei*, and call upon God, he hath ſome great work to doe, and he prepareth you for it; he would never have you faint, nor yet bear this Croſs with a Stoical Reſolution. There is a Chriſtian Mediocrity, worthy of your greatneſs. I muſt be Plain, perhaps Raſh; had ſome notes which you have taken at Sermons been written in your Heart to practiſe, this work had been done long ago, without the envy of your Enemies, but when we will not mind our ſelves, God (if we belong to him) takes us in Hand, and becauſe he ſeeth that we have unbridled Stomachs, therefore he ſends outward Croſſes, which, while they cauſe us to mourn, do comfort us, being aſſured Teſtimonies of his love that ſends them. To humble our ſelves therefore before God, is the part of a Chriſtian; but for the World and our Enemies, the Counſel of the Poet is apt, *Time cede malis, ſed contra audentior ito.*

The laſt part of this Counſel you forget; yet none need be aſham'd to make uſe of it, that ſo being armed againſt Caſualties, you may ſtand firm againſt the aſſaults on the right Hand, and on the Left. For this is certain, the Mind that is moſt prone to be puſt up with Proſperity, is moſt weak, and apt to be dejected with the leaſt puff of Adverſity. Indeed ſhe is ſtrong enough to make an able Man ſtagger, ſtriking terrible blows; but true Chriſtian Wiſdom gives us Armour of proof againſt all aſſaults, and teacheth us in all Eſtates to be content; for though ſhe cauſe our trueſt Friends to declare themſelves our Enemies, though ſhe give Heart then to the moſt cowardly to ſtrike us, though an Hours continuance countervail an age of Proſperity, though ſhe caſt in our Diſh all that ever we have done, yet hath ſhe no power to hurt the Humble and Wiſe, but only to break ſuch as too much Proſperity hath made ſtiff in their own thoughts, but weak indeed, and fitted for renewing; when the wiſe rather gather from thence Profit and Wiſdom, by the Example of *David*, who ſaid, *Before I was chaſtiſed, I went wrong.* Now then, he that knoweth the right way, will look better to his Footing. *Cardan* ſaith, that Weeping, Faſting, and Sighing, are the chief purgers of Griefs. Indeed, naturally they do aſſwage Sorrow; but God in this Caſe, is the only and beſt Phyſician; the means he hath ordained are the advice of Friends, the amendment of our ſelves, for amendment is both Phyſician and Cure. For Friends, although your Lordſhip be ſcant, yet I hope you are not altogether deſtitute; if you be, do but look on good Books, they are true Friends, that will neither Flatter nor Diſſemble; be you but true to your ſelf, applying what they teach unto the party grieved, and you ſhall need no other Comfort, nor Counſel. To them, and to God's holy Spirit, directing you in the reading of them, I commend your Lordſhip, beſeeching him to ſend you a good Iſſue out of theſe Troubles, and from henceforth to work a Reformation in all that is amiſs, and a reſolute perſeverance, proceeding, and growth in all that is good, and that for his Glory, the bettering of your ſelf, this Church and Common-wealth; whoſe faithfull Servant whileſt you remain, I remain a faithfull Servant to you.

Sir Francis Bacon *to Sir* Vincent Skinner, *Expoſtulatory.*

Sir *Vincent Skinner*,

I See that by your needleſs delays, this matter is grown to a new Queſtion, wherein for the matter it ſelf, it had been ſtay'd at the beginning, by my Treaſurer, and my Lord Chancellour, I ſhould not ſo much have ſtood upon it; for the great and daily Travels which I take in his Majeſty's Service, either are rewarded in themſelves, in that they are but my Duty, or elſe may deſerve a much greater matter. Neither can I think amiſs of any Man, that in furtherance of the King's Benefit, moved the doubt, that I knew not what Warrant you had, but my wrong is, that you having had my Lord Treaſurer's, and Mr. Chancellor's Warrant for payment, above a month ſince you (I ſay) making your Payments, belike, upon ſuch differences as are better known to your ſelf, than agreeable to due reſpect of his Majeſty's Service, have delayed all this time, otherwiſe than I might have expected either from our ancient Acquaintance, or from that regard, that one in your place may owe to one in mine. By occaſion whereof there enſueth to me a greater inconvenience that now my Name, in ſort, muſt be in Queſtion among you, as if I were a Man likely to demand that that were unreaſonable, or to be denied that that is reaſonable; and this muſt be, becauſe you can pleaſure Men at Pleaſure. But this I leave with this, that it is the firſt matter wherein I had occaſion to diſcern of your Friendſhip, which I ſee to fall to this, that whereas Mr. Chancellour the laſt time in my Man's hearing, very Honourably ſaid, that he would not diſcontent any Man in my Place, it ſeems you have no ſuch caution. But my writing to you now, is to know of you, where

now the ſtay is, without being any more beholden to you, to whom indeed no Man ought to be beholden in thoſe caſes in a right Courſe. And ſo I bid you farewell.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the Lord Chancellour.*

It may pleaſe your Lordſhip,

AS I conceived it to be a reſolution, both with his Majeſty, and among your Lordſhips of his Council, that I ſhould be placed Sollicitor, and the Sollicitor to be removed to be the King's Serjeant; ſo I moſt humbly thank your Lordſhip's farthernes and forwardneſs therein, your Lordſhip being the Man that firſt deviſed the Mean; wherefore my humble requeſt unto your Lordſhip is, that you would ſet in with ſome ſtrength to finiſh this your Work; which (I aſſure your ſelf) I deſire the rather, becauſe being placed, I hope for your many Favours, to be able to doe you ſome better Service: For as I am, your Lordſhip cannot uſe me, nor ſcarcely indeed know me, not that I vainly think I ſhall be able to doe any great Matter, but certainly it will frame me to uſe a more induſtrious obſervance and Application to ſuch as I honour ſo much as I do your Lordſhip, and not, I hope, without ſome good Offices, which may deſerve your Thanks. And herewithall, good my Lord, I humbly pray your Lordſhip to conſider, that time groweth precious with me, and that a married Man is years ſeven older in his thoughts the firſt day; and therefore what a diſcomfortable thing it is for me to be unſetled ſtill. For ſurely, were it not that I think my ſelf born for to doe my Sovereign Service, and therefore in that ſtation I will live and die; otherwiſe for mine own private comfort, it were better for me, that the King ſhould blot me out of his Book, or that I ſhould turn my courſe to endeavour to ſerve him in ſome other kind, than for me to ſtand thus at a ſtop, and to have that little reputation which by my induſtry I gather to be ſcattered and taken away by continual Diſgraces, every new Man coming in before me; and ſure I am, I ſhall never have fairer promiſes and hope from all your Lordſhip's, and I would believe you in a far greater matter: And if it were nothing elſe, I hope the modeſty of my Suit deſerveth ſomewhat; for I know well the Sollicitor's Place is not as your Lordſhip left it, time working Alteration, ſomewhat in the Profeſſion, much more in that ſpecial Place. And were it not to ſatisfie my Wife's Friends, and to get my ſelf out of being a common gaze, and a Speech, (I proteſt before God) I would never ſpeak word for it. But to conclude, as my Honourable Lady was ſome mean to make me to change the name of another; ſo if it pleaſe you to help me, as you ſaid, to change mine own Name, I cannot be but more and more bounden to you; And I am much deceived, if your Lordſhip find not the King well inclined: As for my Lord of *Salisbury*, he is forward and Affectionate.

Your, &c.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon *to the King.*

It may pleaſe Your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

HOw honeſtly ready I have been, moſt gracious Sovereign, to doe your Majeſty humble Service to the beſt of my Power, and in a manner beyond my Power, as I now ſtand, I am not ſo unfortunate but your Majeſty knows; both in the Commiſſion of Union, the labour whereof for Men of my Profeſſion, reſted moſt upon my Hands; and this laſt Parliament, for the Bill of Subſidy, both Body and Preamble: In the Bill of Attainders of *Treſham*, and the reſt; in the matter of Purveyance, in the Eccleſiaſtical Petitions, in the Grievances, and the like; as I was ever carefull, not without good Succeſs, ſometime to put forward that which was good, ſometime to keep back that which was worſe; ſo your Majeſty was pleaſed kindly to accept of my Services, and to ſay to me, ſuch conflicts were the Wars of Peace, and ſuch Victories the Victories of Peace; and therefore ſuch Servants as obtained them, were by Kings that reign in Peace, no leſs to be eſteemed than Conquerors in the Wars. In all which, nevertheleſs I can challenge to my ſelf no ſufficiency, that I was diligent, and reaſonably happy to execute thoſe Directions which I have received, either immediately from your Royal Mouth, or from my Lord of *Salisbury*. At that time, it pleaſed your Majeſty alſo to aſſure me, that upon the remove of the then Attorney, I ſhould not be forgotten, but he brought into ordinary Place; and this was confirmed unto me by many of my Lords. And towards the end of the laſt Term, the manner alſo in particular ſpoken of, that is, that Mr. Sollicitor ſhould be made your Majeſty's Serjeant, and I Sollicitor; for ſo it was thought beſt to ſort with both our Gifts and Faculties for the good of our Service, and of this reſolution both Court and Country took Notice. Neither was this any invention or project of mine own, but moved from my Lords, I think firſt from my Lord Chancellour; whereupon reſting, your Majeſty well knoweth, I never opened my mouth for the greater Place, although I am ſure, I had two Circumſtances that Mr. Attorney that now is could not alledg; the one nine years Service of the Crown; the other, the being Couſin-*German* to my Lord of *Salisbury*; for of my Father's Service I will not ſpeak.

But

But for the leſs Place, I conceive, it was never meant me: But after that Mr. Attorney *Hubbard* was placed, I heard no more of any Preferment, but it ſeemed to be at a ſtop, to my great Diſgrace and Diſcontentment. For, gracious Sovereign, if ſtill, when the Waters be ſtirred, another ſhall be put in before me, your Majeſty hath need work a Miracle, or elſe I ſhall be a lame Man to doe your Services. And therefore my moſt humble Suit unto your Majeſty is, that this, which ſeemed to me intended, may ſpeedily be performed; and I hope, my former Services ſhall be but as beginnings to better, when I am better ſtrengthened: For ſure I am, no Man's Heart is fuller, I ſay not, but many may have greater Hearts, but I ſay, not fuller of Love and Duty towards your Majeſty and your Children, as I hope time will manifeſt againſt Envy and Detraction, if any be. To conclude, I humbly crave Pardon for my Boldneſs, *&c.*

Your, &c.
FR. BACON.

The EARL of BRISTOL's Letters, *&c.*

The Earl of Briſtol *to King* James.

I Received your Majeſty's Letters of the 9th of *September*, the 23d of the ſame Month, and by them underſtand, that your Majeſty hath received much ſatisfaction by what I had formerly written unto your Majeſty, both concerning the reſtitution of the Prince *Palatine*, as likewiſe, of this King's reſolution to proceed to the Concluſion of the Match; but that your Majeſty findeth the effects very unſuitable, both by the proceeding at *Bruxels*, and in the *Palatinate*, as alſo by what you underſtand from *Rome*, by Mr. *Gage*, of the Pope's Demands. I hope, by the arrival of Mr. *Cottington*, your Majeſty will have received ſatisfaction, in ſome meaſure at leaſt, that there hath been no diligence or time omitted, either for the redreſſing of any thing that hath been amiſs, or for the advancing of your Majeſty's Affairs.

The very Day I received your Letters, I ſent a Gentleman poſt unto the King, who was gone into the Eſcurial, to demand Audience, which he preſently granted me, and I repaired thither unto him upon the third of *October*; the Conde *de Gondomar* being likewiſe commanded to wait upon the King: I was there well received, and preſently upon my arrival, the Conde *de Olivarez* came to me, to the Lodgings which were appointed for me to reſt in. To him I delivered fully, in the Preſence of Sir *Walter Aſton*, and the Conde *de Gondomar*, which I had to negotiate with the King, both in the buſineſs of the Match, and of the *Palatinate*. In the Match, I repreſented how much it imported your Majeſty, that a ſpeedy Reſolution might be taken therein, both in regard of the Prince, being your Majeſty's onely Son, now arrived to the age of 22 Years, and for the ſetling of your Affairs in *England*. I repeated unto him all the paſſages in this Treaty, how many years had been already ſpent in it; that after ſo long an expectation, the diligences uſed in *Rome* for the obtaining of the Diſpenſation had wrought but ſmall Effect, ſince the Pope had lately made ſuch Demands as were altogether impoſſible for your Majeſty to condeſcend unto, and therefore your Majeſty ſeeing the buſineſs ſtill delayed, held it fit that ſome ſuch courſe might be taken, that both your Majeſty's might ſpeedily know what you were to truſt unto, and therefore had commanded me to ſignifie unto this King your uttermoſt reſolution, how far you would condeſcend, in point of Religion, towards what the Pope had demanded; and if herewith this King could be ſatisfied, your Majeſty deſired that we might proceed to a final and ſpeedy Concluſion; otherwiſe, that this King would likewiſe clearly declare himſelf, that your Majeſty might loſe no more time in the diſpoſing of the Prince your Son. Hereunto the Conde *de Olivarez* anſwered with ſome length, the ſubſtance I ſhall only preſume to ſet down briefly to your Majeſty. He propoſed a ſincere Intention and Reſolution in the King to make the Match, and that there ſhould not be one day loſt; for the ſpeedy diſpatch thereof imported them as much as your Majeſty; and to the end that no time may be loſt, this King had the next day after, for Don *Balthazar de Zuniga*, appointed Don *Ferdinando de Giron* in his Place in the Commiſſion; that for the going Mr. *Gage* from *Rome*, and the Popes demands they were ignorant of them, that the King had done all that I my ſelf deſired, for the redreſs of this Errour, that I might aſſure your Majeſty, that you ſhall find all Sincerity and clear proceeding, without an hour's delay, more than of neceſſity the Nature of the Buſineſs requires.

As for the buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, I preſented at large the Merits of your Majeſty's proceeding, the many promiſes made from hence; yet notwithſtanding, the while your Majeſty was treating at *Bruxels*, *Heidelbergh*, one of the three places which were onley left, and where your Majeſty had Garriſons, was beſieged by the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, and Mounſieur *Tilly*; that this King had with-

drawn his Forces, and ſo expoſed the *Palatinate* abſolutely to the Emperour, and the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Conde *de Olivarez* anſwered me, by acknowledging how much Your Majeſty's Proceedings had deſerved at the Emperour and this King's hands; that whatſoever Your Majeſty could expect, or had been at any time promiſed, ſhould by this King be really performed: That the Prince *Palatine*'s own courſes hitherto had been the onely hindrance of the effecting of it; that he referred it unto Your Majeſty's own juſt Judgement, whether the calling of this King's Forces out of the *Palatinate* were with any ill intention, or merely for the defence of *Flanders*, which otherwiſe had been put in great hazard by Count *Mansfield*, as Your Majeſty ſaw by what had really paſſed: That the Siege of *Heidelbergh* was no way by the conſent or knowledge of this King, or any of his Miniſters, but was generally diſapproved by them all.

I told them, I conceived that was not enough; for that Your Majeſty had engaged your ſelf to this King, that in caſe your Son-in-law would not conform himſelf, you would not onely forſake him, but would declare your ſelf againſt him, and give the Emperour aſſiſtance for the reducing of him to reaſon, and that Your Majeſty could not but expect a like reciprocal Proceeding from the King. He anſwered, Your Majeſty ſhould ſee the King's ſincerity by the effects, and that if *Heidelbergh* ſhould be taken, and the Emperour refuſe to reſtore it, or to condeſcend to ſuch accommodation as ſhould be held reaſonable, this King would infallibly aſſiſt Your Majeſty with his Forces. And this he ſpake with great aſſurance, and wiſhed me to deſire Your Majeſty to be confident you would find nothing but real and ſincere Proceedings from hence.

I was then preſently called for to the King, to whom I ſpake firſt in the buſineſs of the Match, and delivered him the Contents thereof in Writing, which I have ſent to Mr. Secretary. I received from him the ſame anſwer, in effect, as from the Conde *de Olivarez*: That he deſired the Match no leſs than Your Majeſty: That on his part there ſhould be no time loſt for the bringing of it to a ſpeedy Concluſion. In the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, I ſpake unto the King with ſome length, repeating many particulars of Your Majeſty's Proceedings, and how much your Honour was like to ſuffer, that now whilſt you are treating, *Heidelbergh*, defended by your Garriſons, was like to be taken. The King anſwered me He would effectually labour that your Majeſty ſhould have entire Satisfaction; and rather than Your Majeſty ſhould fail thereof, he would imploy his Arms to effect it for you. My Lord Embaſſador, Sir *Walter Aſton*, accompanied me at my Audience, and was a Witneſs of all that paſſed, as well with the King, as with the Conde *de Olivarez*.

Within few days after the News of the taking of *Heidelbergh* came hither, whereupon I diſpatched again to the King in ſuch ſort as I have at large advertiſed Mr. Secretary *Calvert*. The effect of my Negotiation was, that they on the 13 of *October* diſpatched Letters away of the Emperors and Duke of *Bavaria*'s Proceedings. But preſſing them farther, in regard their former Letters have wrought ſo little effect, they have given me at preſent a ſecond diſpatch, which I have ſent to the *Infanta*, and whereof Mr. Secretary will give Your Majeſty an Account, which I conceive will procure Your Majeſty's better Satisfaction than hitherto you have received from the Emperor and his Party.

For the buſineſs of the Match, I have Written to Mr. Secretary what is to be ſaid at preſent; and will onely add, that as I ſhould not willingly give Your Majeſty hope upon uncertain grounds, ſo I will not conceal what they profeſs, which is, That they will give Your Majeſty real and ſpeedy Satisfaction therein. And if they intended it not, they are falſer than all the Devils in Hell; for deeper Oaths and Proteſtations of Sincerity cannot be made.

It will onely remain, that I humbly caſt my ſelf at Your Majeſty's Feet, for that addition of Title wherewith it hath pleaſed you to Honour me, and my Poſterity. My gratitude and thankfulneſs wanteth Expreſſion, and ſhall onely ſay unto Your Majeſty, That as all I have, either of Fortunes or Honour, I hold it merely of your bounty and goodneſs, ſo ſhall I ever chearfully lay them down, with my Life in to the Bargin, for the Service of Your Majeſty and Yours.

So with my humble Prayers, for the Health and Proſperity of Your Majeſty, I humbly commend Your Majeſty to God's holy Protection, and reſt,

Madrid, Octob. 21. 1622.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble Servant and Subject,
BRISTOL.

The Earl of Briſtol *to Secretary* Cottington.

Good Mr. Secretary Cottington,

THere is no Man living knoweth better than your ſelf, how Zealous I have been unto the Prince's Service; and whilſt I thought he deſired the Match, I was for it againſt all the World. Now the Treaty is ended, the World ſhall ſee I never had, nor will have, any affections of my own, but will wholly follow my Maſter's, as I have Written unto you in my former Letters, and have not theſe four Months ſpoken a Word in the Marriage. If his Majeſty and the Prince will have a War, I will ſpend my Life and Fortunes in

it,

it, without ſo much as replying, in what quarrel ſoever it be. And of thus much I intreat you, let his Highneſs be informed by you; and I intreat you let me know his Directions, what he will have me doe, and how to behave my ſelf; for I abſolutely caſt my ſelf at his feet, which I deſire to doe the firſt thing after my Landing, to the end that underſtanding his Pleaſure, I may commit no Errour. I beſeech you to diſpatch this Bearer back unto me with all poſſible ſpeed, though it be with not one Word more, but what the Prince will have me doe, wherewith I ſhall come *muy Conſolado*. I underſtand that I have been much bound to the Prince for the procuring the 4000 *l.* to be payed, and for my Penſion.

I pray preſent unto him my moſt humble Thanks, and I confeſs, I have been much more comforted with that demonſtration of his Favour, than I can be with the Money. I doubt not but at this time I ſhall have the effects of a real Friendſhip from you in this particular. And ſo deſiring to have my Service remembred to my Lady *Cottington*, I reſt,

Poictiers. April 15. 1623. *Touri*, &c.

BRISTOL.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Pray move the Prince, that one of the King's Ships may be preſently appointed to waft me over; for I have a great charge of the Prince's with me.

W. Greiſly met me within 10 Poſts of *Burdeaux*, and is paſſed on to *Madrid*; I think he ſhall find the *Blandones* for his Highneſs in a readineſs, for Mr. *Stone* taketh care of them, and hath the Money in his hand.

The Earl of Briſtol *to the Lord Biſhop of* Lincoln.

My very worthy Lord,

I Give you many Thanks for your Letter of the 23*d.* of *July*, by which I underſtand your great care of me, by ſeconding a former motion it pleaſed your Lordſhip to make, of having me reconciled to my Lord Duke's Favour, (a thing which I have infinitely deſired) and have eſteemed the good Offices you have been pleaſed to doe therein, as a very high Obligation your Lordſhip puts upon me. But I conceive your Lordſhip will find that any motion you have made in that kind unto his Grace hath been deſpiſed, rather than received with any thankfulneſs, or that he hath returned you any Anſwer of his Inclination thereunto. For the Truth is, my Lord doth look down upon my poor Condition with that ſcorn and contempt, that I conjecture the very moving of any ſuch thing, eſpecially under the term of Reconciliation, hath not been pleaſing unto his Lordſhip. But thereof your Lordſhip can make the beſt judgment, by the anſwer you received from him: I do but gueſs thereat, by what I have heard he hath been pleaſed to ſay, and the manner wherewith he hath uſed me. Which hath been ſuch, that the *Spaniards* themſelves (which moſt afflicted me) have out of Compaſſion pitied me. Yet I may with much Truth aſſure your Lordſhip, that I have not omitted towards him either any reſpect of Service, that was fit for me to perform, either towards his Perſon, or the high place he holdeth in my Maſter's Favour, or unto his preſent Imployment, (well knowing how undecent and ſcandalous a thing it is, for the Miniſters of a Prince to run different ways in a ſtrange Court,) but have attended him in all his publick Audiences, and uſed in all kinds that reſpect and obſervance towards him, that I think Malice her ſelf cannot charge me with an Omiſſion: And my Lord, this is the Truth, whatſoever may be ſaid or written to the contrary. It is true, that ſome four Months ſince, in a Buſineſs that no leſs concerned His Majeſty and the Prince's ſervice, than abruptly to have broken off all our Treaty, I was far differing from my Lord's Opinion; and thereupon happened betwixt us ſome Diſpute in debate of the Buſineſs, but without any thing that was Perſonal; and there was no Creature living at it but the Prince, to whoſe cenſure I ſhall willingly refer my ſelf. In me, I proteſt it unto your Lordſhip, it made no Alteration, but within half an hour I came to him with the ſame reverence and reſpect that I was wont to do, the which I have continued ever ſince; ſo that I have much wondered how it cometh to be ſo much ſpoken of in *England*, that my Lord Duke and my ſelf ſhould live here at too much diſtance. And I cannot find any other reaſon for it, but that every body hath taken ſo much notice of my ill and contemptible uſage, that they think it impoſſible for any Gentleman, but to be ſenſible of it. But if any one diſreſpect, or omiſſion from me, towards my Lord Duke, can be truly inſtanced in by any Man, I will be contented to incur His Majeſty's high Diſpleaſure, and your Lordſhip's Cenſure.

For the preſent News here, it is, that the ninth of this Month, the Prince intendeth (God willing) to begin his Journey for *England*, and the day before, I conceive the Contract will be. The *Infanta* is to follow in the Spring, and the Prince hath commanded my ſtay here. I know not how things may be reconciled here before my Lord Duke's Departure, but at preſent, they are in all extremity ill, betwixt this King and his Miniſters, and the Duke; and they ſtick not to profeſs, that they will rather put the

Infanta

Infanta headlong into a Well, than into his Hands. I write unto your Lordſhip, you ſee, with much freeneſs, and I intreat you let it remain with you. And ſo, in much haſte, I onely intreat your Lordſhip to believe, that you have not living an Honeſter, nor a true hearteder Friend, and Servant, than

Your Lordſhip's ever to be commanded.

Auguſt 20. 1623. BRISTOL.

The Earl of Briſtol *to the Prince his Highneſs.*

WHen your Highneſs ſhall remember, that your Highneſs being here in Perſon, it was not poſſible in leſs than a Month to get that diſpatch'd which you were promiſed Mr. Secretary *Cottington* ſhould have carried with him, if your Highneſs would have but ſtayed him 24. hours; I hope you will Pardon your Servants, although they ſometimes miſtake in the time which they limit for the procuring of the diſpatch of Buſineſs, eſpecially if they depend upon the diſpatches that are to be procured from them. I have theſe 10 days had *Greiſly* in a readineſs to depart, having every day expected a Reſolution from the *Junto*. Firſt, in point of the Portion, and ſince in the days of Payment; and at laſt, I have received their anſwer in them both, in ſuch ſort as your Highneſs will ſee in the Paper incloſed, which is an extract of the Heads of the Temporal Articles that we have agreed, although I have onely conſented unto them *de bene eſſe*, untill I ſhall receive His Majeſty's approbation and Yours; in the point of the Portion, I have had a tough and a knotty piece of Work, by reaſon that not onely the *Conde de Olivarez*, but all the *Junto* were abſolutely ignorant of what had paſſed in the late King's time, which I foreſaw; and that was the cauſe that I moved ſo earneſtly at the *Eſcurial*, to have the *Conde de Gondomar* remain here. They made many Precedents to be ſearched, and found that the *two Millions* demanded was four times as much as ever was given with any Daughter of *Spain* in Money. They alledged that it would be ſaid, that the King of *Spain* was fain to purchaſe the Friendſhip and Alliance of *England*; that this would be ſuch a Precedent, as that *Spain* hereafter muſt marry no more Daughters. I onely inſiſted, that it was a thing by the laſt King ſetled and agreed with me; that this King had, by ſeveral Anſwers in writing to me, undertaken to purſue the buſineſs as it was left by his Father, and to make good whatſoever he had promiſed. And thereupon deſired that the original Papers, and *Conſultos* of the laſt King might be ſeen, which very honeſtly by the *Secretary Cirica* were produced, and appeared to be ſuch, that I dare ſay, there was not a Man that ſaw them that doubteth of the laſt King's real intention of making the Match. And queſtionleſs, this had been the uſefulleſt occaſion to have diſavowed former Proceedings, and I was reſolved to put them to it. But both the King and his Council, upon the ſight of what had been promiſed by his Father, preſently took reſolution to make good the two Millions, onely to remonſtrate unto His Majeſty the vaſtneſs of the Portion, and to deſire him to conſider how far the King had ſtretched himſelf in this particular for his Satisfaction. And therefore that he would have Conſideration of it in ſuch things for the future, as might be treated of betwixt them and their Kingdoms. As for the days of Payment, I inſiſted to have had half a Million upon the *Depoſorio's*, half a Million to be carried along with the *Infanta*, and the other Million at their Fleets, the two next years after by equal Portions. But I have now received the King's Anſwer in this Particular, which your Highneſs will ſee in the encloſed Paper; as likewiſe what I have done therein by the Copy of the diſpatch, which I now Write about it to Mr. Secretary. So not having any thing more to add concerning this particular, I recommend your Highneſs to God's holy Protection, *&c.*

Madrid. Septemb. 24. 1623.

The Earl of Briſtol *to the Lord Biſhop of* Lincoln.

My ſingular Lord,

I Have diſpatched this Bearer, my ſervant *Greiſlie*, with the draught of the Temporal Articles, which I hope will be to the King and Prince his Satisfaction, and he will let your Lordſhip have a ſight of them.

Since the departure of the Prince, there have every day paſſed Letters of extraordinary affection between the King and the Prince; and the Love that is here generally born unto the Prince, is ſuch, as cannot be well believed by thoſe that daily hear not what paſſeth both from the King and his chief Miniſters. And to ſay the Truth, his Highneſs hath well deſerved it; for in the whole time of his being here, he hath carried himſelf with the greateſt Affability, Patience and Conſtancy, and at his departure, with the greateſt Bounty and Liberality, that I think hath been known in any Prince in our Times.

And

And I proteſt unto your Lordſhip, as a Chriſtian, that I never heard in all the time of his being here, nor ſince, any one exception taken againſt him, unleſs it were for being ſuppoſed to be too much guided by my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, who is indeed very little beholden to the *Spaniards*, for their good Opinion of him, and departed from hence with ſo little ſatisfaction, that the *Spaniards* are in doubt, that will endeavour all that ſhall be poſſible to croſs Marriage: Wherein certainly they are very much miſtaken; For my Lord cannot but be obliged, as a Servant, for any particular Diſtaſtes of his own, not to croſs the advancement of his Majeſty, and the Prince's Service, eſpecially in a Buſineſs of ſo high conſequence as this.

It may be your Lordſhip will hear many complaints, and that the Match never was, nor yet is intended; I beſeech your Lordſhip to give little belief in that kind, and the effects will now ſpeedily declare the truth, if the fault be not on our ſide. It is true that the *Spaniards* have committed many Errours in their Proceedings with the Prince; but the Buſineſs is now by the Prince overcome, if we our ſelves draw not back: For which, I confeſs, I ſhould be heartily ſorry, and ſo I conceive would moſt honeſt Men; for if this Match, and the Alliance with *Spain*, hath been ſo long deſired by his Majeſty, and that for it he hath been pleaſed to doe ſo much, and the Prince to take ſo hazardous a Voyage, if all the ſame Reaſons are yet on foot, which have ever moved the King and Prince to wiſh the Match; if to this may be added, that his Majeſty hath overcome all the difficulties on his part, and that both he and the Prince do ſtand engaged for the performance of it, as far as Princes can be, God forbid, that any particular Diſtaſtes, or miſunderſtandings (which God knoweth have little relation to the Buſineſs) ſhould be of power to diſturb it, eſpecially now, when the Match is paſt all danger of miſcarrying, the Portion and all temporal Articles ſetled, and I hope to the King's Content, and all other good Effects that could be expected by this alliance in a very fair way. I hope there will be no cauſe of doubt in this kind; if there ſhould be, I am ſure that your Lordſhip would put to a helping hand, to keep the buſineſs from being overthrown, ſince you have done ſo much for the overcoming of former difficulties, and the bringing it to the paſs 'tis now in. If there be no cauſe of writing this, I beſeech your Lordſhip to impute it to my zeal to the Buſineſs, and my freeneſs with your Lordſhip, upon whoſe true love and friendſhip I ſo much rely, as I ſhall not forbear to tell you any of my fears. I hope within 3 days Sir *Francis Cottington* will be able to begin his Journey towards your Lordſhip. He will tell you many truths, being, on my knowledge, as hearty a Servant and Friend as 'tis poſſible for your Lordſhip to have. He hath told me how much I am bound to your Lordſhip for your Love and Favour, and truly I will deſerve it the beſt I can, and that I think will be only by loving you; for otherwiſe I conceive I am like to have little means of meriting at any Bodies hands, yet at your Lordſhip's it may be I may, by being a Man of Honeſty and Honour; And ſuch an one I will labour to be, and your affectionate Friend and Servant. And ſo I kiſs your Lordſhip's hands.

Madrid, &c. 24th of *Septemb.* 1623.

The Earl of Briſtol *to King* James.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Find that upon the news that is now come from the Duke of *Paſtrava*, that the Pope hath clearly paſſed the Diſpenſation, which is now hourly expected here. There is an intention to call preſently upon me, for the Princes powers for the Marriage left in my Hands, the which I know not upon what Ground or Reaſon to detain, the Prince having engaged (in the ſaid powers) the Faith and word of a Prince, no way to revoke and retract from them, but that they ſhould remain in full force till *Chriſtmas*, and delivered unto me a politick Declaration of his Pleaſure, that upon the coming of the Diſpenſation I ſhould deliver them unto this King, that they might be put in Execution, and hereof, likewiſe was there by Secretary *Serita*, as a publick Notary, an Inſtrument drawn and atteſted by all the witneſſes preſent. If I ſhall alledge your Majeſty's Pleaſure of having the Marriage deferred until one of the Holy-days, although they ſhould condeſcend thereunto, that is impoſſible, for the Powers will be then expired. If I ſhall inſiſt upon the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, this King hath therein declared his Anſwer; and it would be much wondred why that ſhould be now added for a condition of the Marriage, having ever hitherto been treated of as a buſineſs apart, and was in being at the granting of the ſaid Powers, and hath been often under debate, but never ſpecified, nor the Powers delivered upon any condition, of having any ſuch point firſt cleared; and I muſt confeſs unto your Majeſty, I underſtand not how with Honour, and that exact dealing which hath ever been obſerved in all your Majeſty's Actions, the Powers can be detained; unleſs there ſhould appear ſome new and emergent cauſe ſince the granting of them, whereof as yet I hear none ſpecified: Therefore being loth to be the inſtrument by whoſe Hands any thing ſhould paſs, that might have the leaſt reflection upon your Majeſty's or the Prince's Honour, (which I ſhall ever value more than my Life or ſafety,) and judging it likewiſe to conduce more to your Service, and aſſuring my ſelf that your Majeſty's late Direction, to have the Marriage upon one of the Holy days in *Chriſtmas*, was for want of due information that the Powers

will

will be then expired, I have thought it fit (with the Advice of Sir *Walter Aſton*) to raiſe no Scruple in the delivery of the ſaid Powers, but do intend, when they ſhall be required, to paſs on to the nominating of a prefixed day, for the Depoſorio's: but I ſhall endeavour to defer the time, untill I may be advertiſed of your Majeſty's Pleaſure, if it may be within the ſpace of 24 days, and will labour to find ſome handſome and fair Occaſion for the deferring of them, without alleadging any directions, in that kind, from your Majeſty or the Prince.

The Reaſons why I have thought it fit to take this Reſolution, are, Firſt, I find by your Majeſty's Letters, and the Prince's, that your intent is to proceed in the Marriage, and to that purpoſe your Majeſty and the Prince have ſet me free to deliver the Powers according to the firſt Intentions, by removing that Scruple of the Infanta's entring into Religion, whereupon they were only ſuſpended.

Secondly, your Majeſty's Letter only intimateth a diſire, not a direction, of having the Marriage upon one of the Holy-days of *Chriſtmas:* which I conceive is to be underſtood, if it may well and fittingly be ſo, not, if there ſhall be impoſſibility therein, by reaſon of the expiring of the Powers before, and that the intention of having it then ſhould be overthrown thereby, when I am confident that what your Majeſty writeth is for want of due Information of the Clauſe of Expiration of the Powers.

Thirdly, if your Majeſty, upon theſe Reaſons, and ſuch as I have formely alleadged unto your Majeſty, ſhould (as I no way doubt but your Majeſty will) give me order for the preſent proceeding to the Marriage, yet by my refuſing of the Powers, and alleadging your Majeſty's or the Prince's Directions, although afterwards all things ſhould be cleared, yet would it caſt ſome kind of aſperſion and jealouſie upon the ſincerity of your Majeſty's and the Prince's proceedings. On the contrary ſide, if your Majeſty's intention be not to proceed in the Match, whereof I ſee no ground, the intimation of that may be as well a Month hence as now: And I judge it duty in a Servant, eſpecially in a Buſineſs of ſo high a conſequence, and wherein your Majeſty hath ſpent ſo much time, to give his Maſter leiſure to repair to his ſecond Cogitations, before he doe any Act that may diſorder or overthrow.

This I offer, with all humility, unto your Majeſty's wiſe and juſt Conſideration, and beſeech you to make interpretation of my proceedings herein, according to my dutifull and zealous Care of your Honour and Service. I have of purpoſe diſpatch this Poſt with this Letter, to the end I may receive your Majeſty's directions, in this particular, with all poſſible ſpeed; which, I hope, ſhall be to proceed directly to the Marriage according to the Capitulations, and ſo to order all things for the Princeſs her Journey in the Spring. And for the *Palatinate*, your Majeſty may be confident, there ſhall be diligence uſed in procuring a ſpeedy and good reſolution. So, *&c.*

Novemb. 1. 1623.

The Earl of Briſtol *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

THE preſent Eſtate of the King's Affairs requireth the concurrency of all his Servants, and the Co-operation of all his Miniſters; which maketh me deſirous to make unto your Grace this tender of my Service; that if there have happened any Errours, or miſ-underſtandings, your Grace would for that regard paſs them over: and for any thing that may perſonally concern my particular, I ſhall labour to give you that ſatisfaction as may deſerve your friendſhip. And if that ſhall not ſerve the turn, I ſhall not be found unarmed with patience againſt any thing that can happen unto me. And ſo wiſhing, that this humble offer of my Service may find that acceptation as I humbly deſire, I reſt,

Madrid. Decemb. 6. 1623. Your Grace's moſt humble Servant.

BRISTOL.

The Earl of Briſtol *to King* James.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Hope your Majeſty will not be diſpleaſed that I continue unto you that moſt humble and juſt Suit which I have often made unto your Majeſty, and your Majeſty hath been often graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe, which was, that I ſhould be no ways leſſened, or diminiſhed in your Majeſty's Favour, and good Opinion, untill you ſhould be firſt pleaſed graciouſly to hear me, and my Cauſe. And although your Majeſty, for juſt Reſpects, had not been pleaſed hitherto to admit me in your preſence, which I eſteem an infinite misfortune to me: Yet, I hope, that time will no way confirm thoſe impreſſions of Diſpleaſure, which I do no way doubt, but will be fully cleared, whenſoever I ſhall be ſo happy as by your Majeſty to be heard. For I take God to record, that I have faithfully and honeſtly ſerved

you

you, and exactly purſued your Ends to the beſt of my underſtanding, and Abilities. And I doe no way doubt, but your Majeſty will in the end protect ſo faithfull a Servant as I have been, and ſhall appear to be to your Majeſty. And in the interim, my moſt humble Suit unto your Majeſty is, that ſince I am neither admitted my ſelf, nor any Man elſe will ſpeak any Word in my Defence, or Juſtification, your Majeſty, according to your Juſtice, will let nothing that may be ſaid of me redound to my prejudice in your gracious Opinion: For it ſhall be found, that I will in all things wholly, conform my ſelf unto your Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure. So wiſhing unto your Majeſty a happy Journey, and a ſafe Return, with the increaſe of all happineſs, I humbly, *&c.*

London, July 27. 1624. Your Majeſty's, *&c.*

BRISTOL.

The Earl of Briſtol *to the Lord* Conway.

My Lord,

I Received your Letter of the 25 of *February*, and therein a Commandment from his Majeſty, and in his Majeſty's Name, to make a clear and plain Anſwer, Whether I deſire or reſt in the ſecurity I am now in, and to acknowledge the gracious Favour of his late Majeſty, and of his which now is, who have been pleaſed not to queſtion my Actions, *&c.* Hereunto I have laboured exactly to obey, but find that a plain and clear Anſwer cannot poſſibly be made, untill there be a clear underſtanding of the thing propounded; ſo that I may crave pardon, if my Anſwer be not ſo clear as I could wiſh it: for I muſt freely acknowledge, that I no way underſtand what is meant by the ſecurity I am now in, whether it be by the preſent Eſtate I am now in, or not: If it be ſo, I conceive a Man cannot be under a harder Condition; for your Lordſhip knoweth, that by Order my Perſon is reſtrained, and you were pleaſed lately to ſend me word, that you would not adviſe me to make uſe of the Liberty which his late Majeſty had given me of coming to *London*, although that were only to follow my private Affairs, and for the recovery of my decayed Health. I ſtand likewiſe prohibited to come to the Court, or to the King's Preſence, (I paſs by my being removed from all my Places and Offices, and wholly depending upon his Majeſty's Royal Pleaſure.) But being a Peer of this Realm, I have not onely by Commandment been formerly ſtayed from the Parliament, but of late my Writ hath been detained, as though my Honour were forfeited. And this is truly the Condition I am now in, but I cannot imigine that this is the ſecurity intended I ſhould reſt in; but am in hope, that the ſecurity intended is, that I may for the future enjoy the liberty of a free Subject, and the Priviledges of a Peer of the Kingdom. Which being ſo, I ſhall with all humility acknowledge his Majeſty's Grace and Favour, and be ready to ſerve him with all Fidelity, even to the laying down of my Life, not thinking it to ſtand with the Duty of a Subject to preſs his being queſtioned, ſince ſuch being the Pleaſure of his Sovereign, it were not in the Power of any Subject to avoid it. But in caſe his Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to bring me to any legal Trial, I ſhall moſt willingly and dutifully ſubmit my ſelf thereunto, and doubt not but my Innocency in the end will be my beſt Mediatour for his Majeſty's future Favour. And in that Caſe I am a Suitor, that my Writ of Parliament as a Peer of this Realm may be ſent unto me, and that my preſent repair to *London* may not diſpleaſe his Majeſty; As for the pardon of the 21 *Reg. Jacobi*, which you mention, I ſhould renounce, but that I know that the juſteſt and moſt cautious Man living may through Ignorance or Omiſſion offend the Laws; ſo that as a Subject I ſhall not diſclaim any benefit which cometh in the general, as it doth uſually to all other Subjects in the Kingdom: But as for any Crime in particular, that may trench upon my Imployments in Point of Loyalty, Fidelity, or want of Affection to the King or State, I know my innocency to be ſuch, that I am confident, I ſhall not need that Pardon. I ſhall conclude, with a moſt humble Suit unto your Lordſhip, that out of your Nobleneſs, and that Friendſhip that hath been betwixt us, you will uſe your beſt Endeavours, both with his Majeſty and the Duke, that this unfortunate Buſineſs may be paſt over, by the renewing whereof I can ſee little uſe that can be made, but the adding to a Man's misfortunes already ſufficiently humbled; For I am ready to do all that a Man of Honour and Honeſty may do; but rather than to do any thing that may be prejudicial to me in that kind, to ſuffer whatſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend. And ſo with the remembrance of my humble Service unto your Lordſhip, I recommend you unto God's holy protection, And reſt,

March 4. 1625.

Sherborn-Lodge, &c. *Your Lordſhip's humble Servant.*

BRISTOL.

The Earl of Briſtol *to King* James.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

IT may pleaſe Your Majeſty to remember, that at my coming out of *Spain*, I ſignified unto Your Majeſty, how far the Duke of *Lerma* had upon ſeveral occaſins intimated unto me an extraordinary deſire of this King and State, not onely to maintain Peace and Amity with Your Majeſty, but to lay hold of all things that may be offered for the nearer uniting of Your Majeſty and your Crowns; and that from this generality he had deſcended often to have diſcourſe with me of a Match for the Prince's Highneſs with the ſecond Daughter of *Spain*, aſſuring me, that in this King and his Miniſters, there was a forward Diſpoſition thereunto. But from me he received no other anſwer, but to this effect, That I in the Treaty of the former Match for the late Prince, had received ſo ſtrange and unexpected anſwer from them, and that their Demands ſeemed ſo improper and unworthy, that I conceived that Your Majeſty had little reaſon to be induced again to give ear to any ſuch Overture, or that I ſhould again enter into any ſuch Treaty, much leſs to be the Motioner thereof; although I would confeſs, that if I were fully perſuaded of the ſincerity of their Intentions, and of a poſſibility of having the ſaid Match effected, I know not any thing wherein I would more willingly imploy my Endeavours; but as the Caſe now ſtood, I was certain that if I ſhould but make any ſuch Motion in *England*, I ſhould but draw imputation of much weakneſs upon me there, and no whit advance the Cauſe; for that Your Majeſty and your Miniſters would make no other conſtruction of the Motion, but as conſtrued to divert the Match of *France* which was treaty of; for that Your Majeſty who but the Year before had received ſo unpleaſing and unequal an anſwer, ſhould now be perſuaded that there was here ſo great a Change, as that a Match was really deſired, there would now need more then ordinary Aſſurance. But the Duke of *Lerma* continuing ſeverall times the ſame Profeſſion, and telling me beſides that the greateſt Caſes might be altered by Circumſtances, and that the Age of this Prince was much more proper than that of his Brother; I freely let the Duke know, that in Caſe I might ſee that it was really deſired here, and that I might be able to propound unto my Maſter's Conditions of ſo much Advantage and certainty as might put him and his Miniſters out of doubt that this Overture was not again revived from hence, either for Diverſion, or winning of time, I would then willingly intimate unto Your Majeſty the inclination and deſire I found here of having a Propoſition for this Match once again ſet on foot. The Duke told me, he would have a further Conference with me, and that he then no ways doubted to give ſuch ſatisfaction as might well aſſure Your Majeſty and your Miniſters, that they ſincerely deſired the Match in general, and would omit nothing on their ſide for the accommodating of Particulars that might give furtherance unto it. But the very Night before the Duke had appointed a Meeting with me, there came a Poſt diſpatcht out of *England* from the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, upon the Arrival of Sir *Thomas Edmonds* into *England*, who brought Word that the Match with *France* was abſolutely concluded, and that within few days it was to be Publiſhed; whereupon the Duke at our Meeting the next Morning, told me that it would be needleſs now to deſcend to any Particulars in the Buſineſs whereof we are to Treat, ſince that they had newly received Advertiſement that the Match with *France* was fully concluded. And thus for the preſent, the Matter reſted untill ſome five or ſix Weeks after, about which time my ſelf was to goe into *England*, and ſo taking leave of the Duke, he asked me whether I had not received Advertiſement that the Match with *France* was Publiſh. I told him, no, but I had certainly heard that it was not as yet fully concluded; whereupon he intreated me, that in Caſe I found not the *French* Match in ſuch forwardneſs as it could not be ſtayed, I would let him know of it; and that if I ſhould ſee any kind of poſſibility that the Buſineſs we had ſpoken of might be ſet on foot, I would advertiſe him, and that thereupon he would proceed to thoſe Particulars which he formerintended for my Satisfaction.

Herewith I acquainted Your Majeſty, and finding the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour in *England*, had notice from the Duke of our former Proceedings, and order to farther them by all poſſible means he could, eſpecially if he ſhould underſtand that Your Majeſty were not fully reſolved of the *French* Match, I thought it fit by this means to let the Duke underſtand in what Eſtate I found thoſe Buſineſſes in *England*; and thereupon with Your Majeſty's Permiſſion, I wrote a Letter unto him, to this effect.

That although it were true that the Match with *France* had been treated of with much earneſtneſs on both Sides, and with great likelihood of being concluded; yet there daily aroſe ſo many difficulttes, and new Caſes of delay, that I judged it far from any perfect concluſion; neither did I ſee cauſe abſolutely to deſpair of the Buſineſſes which our ſelves pretended, unleſs the difficulty of the Conditions ſhould make it deſparate. But if thoſe things ſhould be expected by *Spain* which in the Treaty for the late Princeſs were demanded, it were better by much not to renew the Buſineſs, then by impoſſible or unfitting Propoſitions on either ſide to give diſtaſte, or leſſen the Friendſhip which now was betwixt your Majeſties. And therefore except that, in *Spain* they would be contented with ſuch Conditions as Your Majeſty moſt fittingly and conveniently might yield unto, and all other Catholick Princes were willing to content themſelves with, I neither ſaw cauſe to hope for good Succeſs, or Reaſon to ſet the Treaty on foot.

But

But in caſe I might know, that the Conditions in Point of Religion, might be ſuch as I ſhould ſee a poſſibility of your Majeſty's condeſcending unto them, I ſhould be far from deſparing of ſome good effect; for that I knew that divers, not of the meaneſt nor leaſt Power with your Majeſty, were hereunto well inclined, and would give their helping hands.

Hereupon the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour diſpatch'd his Secretary into *Spain*, and received Anſwer from the Duke, that he ſhould give me all aſſurance that there was a great deſire and inclination to the making of the Match, and that at my return into *Spain* they no way doubted but that I ſhould receive ſuch ſatisfaction, as ſhould make it appear, on their part, there ſhould be nothing wanting for the effecting of it.

It now remaineth, what hath paſſed herein ſince my laſt coming to this Court. I arrived here in *Madrid* only a day or two before *Chriſtmaſs*; and having ſome ſix days after my Audience appointed by the King, whilſt I was in a with-drawing Chamber expecting the King's coming forth, the Duke of *Lerma* came thither to bear me company; and after many reſpectful Demands of your Majeſty and the Queen's, and the Prince's Health, and ſome few Complements unto my ſelf concerning my Welcome again unto this Court, he fell to ſpeak of the falſe Alarms we had in *England* concerning a Spaniſh Armado, ſeeming much to be diſpleaſed that any credit ſhould be giving to any thing to his Majeſty's Diſhonour and want of Fidelity, (as he termed it,) But your Majeſty (he ſaid) did never believe it: And it ſeems he heard of ſome pleaſant Anſwer your Majeſty ſhould make to ſome one of your Miniſters, that in great haſte came unto your Majeſty when you were a hunting, and told you that the Spaniſh Fleet was n the Channel. From this he entred into great Proteſtations of the ſincerity of the King's Affection and iIntention towards your Majeſty, telling me that I ſhould now ſee how much they deſired to work a greater neerneſs and uniting between your Majeſties: And that of the principal Buſineſs of which we had in former time ſpoken, meaning the Marriage, he deſired to ſpeak with me, but it muſt be at more leiſure. I anſwered, that I would not fail ſhortly to wait upon him, and that he ſhould find me anſwerable to the profeſſion I had made, which was, that being induced thereunto by ſuch ſufficient and good grounds as might ſatisfie my Maſter both for the conveniency and fittingneſs of having ſuch a Treaty ſet on foot, and likewiſe might take away all Objections of their intents of entertaining and diverting your Majeſty hereby, I would be as ready to do all good Offices, and give furtherance to the Buſineſs, as any Miniſter the King of *Spain* had. And this was all that at our firſt meeting paſſed in this Buſineſs.

About ſome eight days after, I having not in all this time ſtirred out of my houſe, under colour of being ill diſpoſed, though the truth was, indeed, to inform my ſelf of ſome Particulars which concerned your Majeſty's Service before I would ſpeak with the Duke: He being (as I have ſince underſtood) ſomething troubled that in all this time I made no means to come unto him, one Morning, by nine of the Clock, very privately came to my houſe, without advertiſing of his coming (as the Cuſtom is here) untill the Coach ſtayed at my Gate; and then he ſent in a Gentleman to me, telling me that the Duke was there to ſpeak with me. When I had conducted the Duke into a Room where we were private, he fell into the aforeſaid Matter, and in the manner as I ſhall here ſet down unto your Majeſty, without making any other pretence or intent of his coming, or without uſing, in the ſpace of an hour, any Speech touching any other Buſineſs.

After ſome few Queſtions of your Majeſty and the Queen, he began to ask many things of the Prince; as of his Age, his Stature, his Health, his Inclination, to what Sports he was chiefly given? And then ſuddenly, as it were with a paſſionate expreſſion of Affection, he deſired God to bleſs him, and to make him the means by which your Majeſties might be conjoined in a nearer Alliance, and your Kingdoms in a perpetual Amity: ſaying unto me, that he was out of doubt of my good inclination to this Buſineſs, both by what had formerly paſſed between our ſelves, as likewiſe by my Proceedings in *England*, whereof he had been fully informed by the Spaniſh Embaſſadour. And therefore he would, in few words, deal with me with much clearneſs and freeneſs, aſſuring himſelf he ſhould receive the like meaſure from me: and thereupon entred into a ſolemn Proteſtation, how much this King deſired the Match; and for himſelf, he ſolemnly ſwore, there was no one thing in the World he more deſired to ſee before he dyed, than the effecting thereof. But my Lord Embaſſadour (ſaid he) you muſt deal as juſtly with me, to let me underſtand whether you conceive the like deſire to be in the King of *England*, and his Miniſters, and then I ſhall proceed to ſpeak farther unto you.

I anſwered the Duke, That I ever eſteemed more the Reputation of a Man of Truth and Integrity, than of Skill and Subtilty: which I did hope he did well perceive by what I was to ſay, for that I was much more deſirous fairly to go off from this Buſineſs, than eaſily to go into it. And therefore, if he would have me ſpeak my Conſcience, I neither conceived that either in your Majeſty, or any of your Miniſters, there was any kind of inclination thereunto; for that they having formerly given ſo reſolute and diſtaſtefull an Anſwer, your Majeſty had juſt cauſe never again to caſt ſo much as your thoughts this way: And though it might be alleged, that the fitneſs of the Prince his years, and other civil regards, might cauſe new Reſolutions, yet the Differences of Religion were ſtill the ſame; and the ſame were the Truths and Opinions of Divines in Matter of Conſcience; and therefore it would not but be a thing of great difficulty, to perſuade your Majeſty, and your Miniſters, that a Match ſhould be harkened unto, much leſs deſired, from hence, but upon the ſame Terms, the very Thought and Remembrance whereof is

yet unpleaſing in *England*. So that to deal plainly with him, I neither found in Your Majeſty, or in the Council, any kind of Thought or Imagination of any poſſibility of having any ſuch Motion again revived. But this I found not to grow from any particular diſlike or want of Affection in Your Majeſty to *Spain*, or that many of the greateſt, or the principalleſt Perſons in *England*, judged not the nearneſs and alliance of *Spain* equally valuable with any other of Chriſtendom; but that out of a diſtaſtfulneſs of the former Anſwer given from hence, all expectation of any Buſineſs of this Nature wa abſolutely extinguiſhed; and therefore again to revive it, there would need more then ordinary Endeavours, or ordinary Aſſurances: But in caſe that they might be given, I know that this Match would neither want Well-willers, or Aſſiſtants. And for my own part, I would freely make Profeſſion, that no Man more deſired it then my ſelf, nor would more willingly imploy his endeavours for the furthering thereof, when by the deſcending to particulars I ſhould ſee, both in regard of the Conditions, and the aſſurances of ſincere Proceedings, the motion worthy and fit by a diſcreet and good Servant to be offered to his Maſter; neither then ſhould I be wholly out of hope of good Succeſs, though I would not but eſteem it a Buſineſs of infinite difficulty.

The Duke replied, That any Diſcourſe that I thought fit herein ſhould be condeſcended unto, for that all time was loſt that was ſpent in Generalities; and therefore, if I ſo liked, he would move this King, that one or two, beſides himſelf, might be appointed to have conference with me; for that, if he ſhould onely retain it in his hands, by reaſon of his many Occupations, it would have a ſlower progreſs then he wiſhed; but if I would by way of conference, digeſt the difficulties into Heads and Particulars, he would as often as he might, be preſent at our Meeting; but for his own part, he ſaid, he apprehended few, but what would ariſe out of the difference of Religion.

I told the Duke, that I very well approved of the deſcending into Particulars, neither ſhould I refuſe conference with any herein whom the King would appoint to ſpeak with me: But if his meaning were, that theſe Perſons ſhould be nominated or joined by way of Commiſſion, I thought fit to let him underſtand, that I neither had any time, nor did at preſent ſpeak of this Buſineſs, either by Order, or Direction, no nor ſo much as by Your Majeſty's Privity, but as a Miniſter that deſired to lay hold of all occaſions for the increaſing of farther Love and nearneſs betwixt his Maſter and the Prince to whom he is imployed, I ſhould be glad to the uttermoſt of my Power, to advance and further this Cauſe, as that which I apprehended to be the greateſt which the World now affordeth, for the firm uniting of Your Majeſties and your Eſtates.

The Duke told me, that the King would make no ſcruple to declare his good Inclination and deſire to have this Match proceeded in; and that for the accommodating of the difficulties, he had already uſed divers diligences with the Pope, as likewiſe with the greateſt Divines of this Kingdom, whereof he named ſome unto me, whom he ſaid he found very well inclined to the Match. He told me alſo, he would be glad they might ſpeak with me, to the end I might truly underſtand of them all kind of Scruples that could be alledged. I anſwered, I deſired nothing more; and that I could not but approve of thoſe Courſes he preſcribed, as the moſt probable to produce a good effect; and that I hoped God would give happy Succeſs unto the Buſineſs. But I ſhould behold in one thing to deliver my Opinion, which was, no ways to intereſs our Maſters herein, unleſs by the underſtanding and clearing the difficulties on both ſides, there ſhould be great Appearances and Probabilities that the Buſineſs would take effect; for if their Names ſhould be herein uſed, and after their Treaty ſhould not be ſucceſsfull, it would but exaſperate and breed a greater diſtaſte betwixt Your Majeſties. The Duke told me, he himſelf miſliked not my Opinion, though he ſaid, that howſoever that Buſineſs ſucceeded, yet Your Majeſty ſhould have reaſon to accept kindly this King's good intention; for that if it miſcarried, it ſhould appear, not to be their Default, but that they had ſtretched as far as Honour and Conſcience would give them leave. And thus much, he ſaid, I might Write unto Your Majeſty, if I thought fit, or to my confident Friends in *England*, upon his Word and Aſſurance, and ſo telling me, that he would preſently appoint thoſe that ſhould confer with me in this Buſineſs, we then parted.

Within two days after, I went to the Duke, and after that I had ſpoken with him about the Buſineſs of *Cleves*, according to my Inſtruction, whereof I give an account unto Mr. Secretary in a diſpatch directed unto him, we fell again into the Speech of the Match.

The Duke told me, he had well conſidered of that which I had ſaid unto him, and much approved it, not to intereſt our Maſters in the Buſineſs untill we ſhould ſee ſome likelihood of good Succeſs.

And for that he ſuppoſed the difference of Religion like to prove the onely difficulty of conſideration, he thought it fit that it ſhould be firſt cleared, and therefore he would break the matter with the Cardinal of *Toledo* and the King's Confeſſor, and with them he joined another learned Man, one Father *Frederick*, who ſince I underſtand, is a Jeſuite, but truly, hath the report of a moderate Man. Theſe the Duke ſaid, ſhould have order to confer with me as far as might be, reſerving ſafe the grounds and ſincerity of their Religion. I anſwered the Duke, that I was well ſatisfied herewith; and that if their Demands were ſuch as might content any other Catholick Prince, I ſhould have hope of good Succeſs, if otherwiſe, I ſhould judge it a happineſs to be put out of doubt and ſuſpence; and ſo we paſſed from this ſubject.

I preſume to ſet down to Your Majeſty all the Paſſages of this Buſineſs, with ſo much length and fulneſs, for that I no way dare adventure to offer unto Your Majeſty any Opinion or belief of my own, either

either for the fitneſs of the Match, or the ſincerity of their Intention, or the poſſibility of accommodating differences of Religion. But Your Majeſty ſeeing undiſguiſed, all that hath hitherto paſſed, with every circumſtance, may be pleaſed out of the conſideration and knowledge of thoſe particulars, to frame unto your ſelf both ſuch a belief of their direct meaning, and ſuch a reſolution of the further proceeding herein, as ſhall be moſt ſuitable to Your Majeſty's Wiſdom; onely I think it fit, to ſet down farther unto your Majeſty, the particular ends which may be conceived they aim at, by ſetting this Buſineſs a foot at this preſent, in caſe they ſhould not intend really to perform it: The firſt may be, to ſtagger and divert Your Majeſty's Treaty with *France*; the ſecond, for entertaining Your Majeſty with fair Hopes and Promiſes, thereby to keep you from declaring your ſelf oppoſite unto them, in the preſent Buſineſs of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, which remaineth ſtill uncompounded. But this being ſo, Your Majeſty may be pleaſed to underſtand, that they ſerve themſelves with this occaſion; not that there could be any ſuch thing primarily in their intention, for that the expreſſion of their deſire to the Match was the laſt year, long before theſe Differences happened.

Farther, the Duke of *Lerma* ſhould be the moſt falſe and diſhonourable Man living, without Chriſtianity or Soul, if he ſhould voluntarily damn himſelf with Oaths and Proteſtations of a thing that he ſincerely meant not; and truly, he ſhould deal contrarily to the Wiſdom of his other Proceedings, wherein he layeth all occaſions of diſtaſte or diſcourteſie upon other inferiour Miniſters, labouring ſtill to clear himſelf of the imputation of them, if in this he ſhould make himſelf the Author and Inſtrument of ſo unjuſt and indirect proceeding between Princes. But the courſe of moſt ſecurity and caution, is, that Your Majeſty ſuffer none of your other Reſolutions to be interrupted by this overture; onely, if Your Majeſty be pleaſed for a while to entertain and ſuſpend the concluſion of the Match with *France*, I conceive it can be little to Your Majeſty's diſadvantage.

It laſtly now remaineth, that I become an humble Suitor unto Your Majeſty, for your clear and full directions in this Buſineſs, deſiring if Your Majeſty will have it further entertained, that I may have ample Inſtructions from Your Majeſty, both that I may intimate what may be expected in point of Dowry, and in all other things to be required by Your Majeſty, as likewiſe how far I may proceed in ſatisfying in point of Religion. For it is not to be ſuppoſed, that they will proceed with that freeneſs and directneſs which is to be wiſhed, unleſs in a fitting meaſure they ſhall ſee me likewiſe able and willing to declare my ſelf in ſuch Points wherein they may expect Satisfaction. I intend not hereby to move for a formal Commiſſion to Treat, but onely a private Inſtruction, for my Direction and Warrant, how to behave my ſelf as may be moſt advantagious to the Cauſe, and Your Majeſty's ends. So humbly deſiring Your Majeſty to command this Bearer to be diſpatched back with all convenient ſpeed, I commend Your Majeſty to the holy protection of God.

Your Majeſty's faithfull Subject and Servant,

DIGBY.

The Earl of Briſtol *to the Prince, touching the delivery of his Proxy to the King of* Spain.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

IN this Letter, I ſhall onely ſpeak unto Your Highneſs concerning that particular, whereof you were pleaſed to Write unto me, after your departure from St. *Lorenzo*, and have preſumed to ſet down exactly the caſe as it ſtands; in what ſort a Woman betrothed, and *poſt Matrimonium ratum*, may, before the Conſummation of Marriage, betake her ſelf unto a Religious Life; I have likewiſe ſet down unto your Highneſs all ſorts of ſecurity that may be taken before the betrothing, for the preventing of any ſuch courſe in the Parties that are to be betrothed, To this, your Highneſs may add any other you can think of; for that the King, and his Siſter, and all the Miniſters, profeſs ſo really the punctual and preſent performance of all that is capitulated with your Highneſs; that they will refuſe no kind of Security, that in reaſon can be demanded in this behalf, ſo that your Highneſs may ſet down whatſoever you think this King and his Siſter may do with Decency, and Honour, and they will be ready to perform it.

I muſt now crave leave to ſpeak unto your Highneſs like a faithfull plain Servant, which is, if your Highneſs pleaſure be, to have uſe made of the Powers you have left in my hands, I no way doubt but in this particular ſuch ſatisfaction will be given, as will appear reaſonable to all the World; but if your Highneſs deſire, that theſe Powers ſhould not be uſed, they may be detained upon other juſt Reaſons, which will ariſe in the Treaty of the temporal Articles. And I doubt not but the *Depoſorio*'s may be deferred for ſome few days, upon other fair Pretexts: But theſe inconveniencies, I conceive will follow. Firſt, it will be of great diſcomfort to the *Infanta*, who untill the *Depoſorio*'s are paſt, is not her own Woman, but muſt be governed by the pleaſure of the *Junto*, which I think ſhe is very weary of; neither till then may ſhe declare her ſelf to be yours, nor comply with your Highneſs, in anſwering of your Letters, and Meſſages, and giving you thoſe Reſpects, and Comforts, which I know ſhe would be glad to do.

But

But if ſhe would any way judge, that the delay of the *Depeſorio's* ſhould ariſe from your Highneſs's Part, I conceive ſhe would take it moſt heavily. Secondly, it will certainly raiſe great Jealouſies in this King, and his Miniſters, and retard the Reſolutions that are fit to be taken with ſpeed, for the putting in execution that which is capitulated. I therefore offer it unto your Highneſs's Wiſdom, whether upon the ſatisfaction which they will give in this Particular, which will be whatſoever you can deſire, and upon the Agreement of the temporal Articles, your Highneſs would upon the coming of the Pope's Approbation, make any farther Scruple in the delivering of your Highneſs's Powers? If I ſhall, I am confident they will not preſs it, as not decent for the Woman's part to urge the haſting of the Marriage: But I conceive, it will caſt ſuch a cloud of Jealouſie and diſtruſt upon the Buſineſs, that beſides the Diſcontent and Affliction which I know it will give the Infanta (which moſt worketh upon me,) it will ſo diſorder the Buſineſs, that will make a ſtand in your whole Proceedings, and Preparations, wherein they now go on chearfully and confidently, and I conceive will punctually perform all that they have capitulated with your Highneſs. I dare not ſo much as give my ſelf leave once to queſtion your Highneſs's Intentions of proceeding to the real effecting of the Match, which makes me deſirous that all things may be executed, that may any way retard or diſturb it: Only I ſhall, like a faithfull poor Servant, preſume to ſay thus much to your Highneſs; that for divers years paſt, I know the King your Father and your Self, have held this the fitteſt Match in the World; and by a deſire of effecting it, your Highneſs was induced to undertake that hazaadous Journey of coming to this Court in Perſon. In the time of your being here, admitting that their Proceedings have been in many things unworthy of you, and that divers Diſtaſts have grown by intervenient Accidents; now things are reduced to thoſe Terms, that the Match it ſelf is ſure, the Portion, and the Temporal Articles ſetled (I hope, to the King's liking and yours,) all other good effects that could be hoped for by this Alliance, are in a fair way. If to theſe Reaſons may be added, that on his Majeſty's and your Highneſs's part, you have already paſſed by, and overcome the main Difficulties, and your Highneſs by your Journey hath ſatisfied your ſelf of the Perſon of the *Infanta*; God forbid, that either any Perſonal diſtaſtes of Miniſters, or any indiſcreet or paſſionate Carriage of Buſineſſes, ſhould hazard that which his Majeſty and your Highneſs hath done ſo much to obtain, and whereby doubtleſs, ſo much Good and Peace is to accrew to Chriſtendom, by the effecting of it; and contrariwiſe, ſo much Trouble and Miſchief by the miſcarrying of it; beſides the individual happineſs of your Highneſs in ſuch a Wife, which the World ſuppoſeth you infinitely eſteem for her Perſon; and for her Birth and Portion, is no where to be Matched; and queſtionleſs for her Vertue, and ſetled Affection to your Highneſs, deſerveth you better than any Woman in the World. I humbly crave Pardon for writing unto your Highneſs in this Manner, which I hope your Highneſs well enough knows, neither the Benefits I have received from *Spain*, nor their gratefull uſage of me upon Occaſions, (nor, I proteſt unto your Highneſs, any other earthly reſpect) moveth me unto it, but the Zeal and Love I bear to your Service, for which I ſhall ever under-value any thing that may concern my ſelf. And therefore I ſhall conclude by intreating your Highneſs, that if you would have any things go well, that a Poſt may inſtantly be diſpatched back unto me, authorizing me to deliver the ſaid Powers, upon the arrival of the Diſpenſation, and having taken fitting Security in this particular Point. And this I earneſtly beſeech your Highneſs may be done with all poſſible ſpeed and Secrecy, and that the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours may not know, that ever there was any Suſpenſion made of the delivery of the Powers. In the *interim*, I will find means if the Diſpenſation come, for 20 or 24 days, to alledge ſome other fair Pretexts for the deferring of the *Depoſorio's*; but herein I deſire I may know your Highneſs's Reſolution with all poſſible Speed. *&c.* And ſo with, *&c.*

Madrid. BRISTOL.

Archbiſhop Abbots *to Secretary* Nanton.

Good Mr. Secretary,

I Have never more deſired to be preſent at any Conſultation, than that which is this day to be handled; for my Heart, and all my Heart goeth with it; but my Foot is worſe than it was on *Friday*, ſo that by Advice of my Phyſician, I have ſweat this whole Night paſt, and am directed to keep my Bed this day.

But for the Matter, my humble Advice is, that there is no going back, but a Countenancing of it againſt all the World; yea ſo far, as with ringing of Bells, and making of Bon-fires in *London*, ſo ſoon as it ſhall be certainly underſtood that the Coronation is paſt. I am ſatisfied in my Conſcience, that the Cauſe is juſt, wherefore they have rejected that Proud and Bloudy Man; and ſo much the rather, becauſe he hath taken a Courſe to make that Kingdom not Elective, but to take it from the donation of another Man. And when God hath ſet up the Prince, that is choſen to be a Mark

of

of Honour through all Chriſtendom, to propogate his Goſpel, and to protect the oppreſſed; I dare not for my part give advice, but to follow where God leads.

It is a great Honour to the King our Maſter, that he hath ſuch a Son, whoſe Virtues have made him thought fit to be made a King. And methinks I do in this, and that of *Hungary*, foreſee the work of God, that by piece and piece, the King's of the Earth, that gave their Power unto the Beaſt, (all the Word of God muſt be fulfilled) ſhall now tear the Whore, and make her deſolate, as St. *John* in his Revelation hath foretold. I pray you therefore with all the Spirits you have, to put Life into this Buſineſs; and let a return be made into *Germany* with ſpeed, and with comfort, and let it be really proſecuted, that it may appear to the World, that we are awake when God in this ſort calleth us.

If I had time to expreſs it, I could be very angry at the ſhuffling which was uſed toward my Lord *Doncaſter*, and the ſleighting of his Embaſſage ſo, which cannot but touch upon our Great Maſter who did ſend him; and therefore I would never have a Noble Son forſaken, for reſpect of them who truly aim at nothing but their own Purpoſes.

Our ſtriking in will comfort the *Bohemians*, will honour the *Palſgrave*, will ſtrengthen the Union, will bring on the States of the Low-Countreys, will ſtir up the King of *Denmark*, and will move his two Unckles, the Prince of *Orange*, and the Duke of *Bovillon*, together with *Tremoville* (a rich Prince in *France*) to caſt in their ſhares; and *Hungary*, as I hope (being in that ſame Cauſe) will run the ſame Fortune. For the means to ſupport the War, I hope *Providebit Deus*: The Parliament is the old, and honourable Way, but how aſſured at this time, I know not; yet I will hope the beſt: Certainly, if Countenance be given to the Action, many brave Spirits will voluntarily go. Our great Maſter in ſufficient want of Money, gave ſome aid to the Duke of *Savoy*, and furniſhed out a pretty Army in the Cauſe of *Cleve*. We muſt try once again what can be done in this Buſineſs of a higher Nature, and all the Money that may be ſpared is to be turned that way. And perhaps God provided the Jewels that were laid up in the Tower to be gathered by the Mother for the preſervation of her Daughter; who like a Noble Princeſs hath profeſſed to her Husband, not to leave her ſelf one Jewel, rather than not to maintain ſo religious and righteous a Cauſe. You ſee that lying on my Bed I have gone too far; but if I were with you, this ſhould be my Language, which I pray you humbly and heartily to repreſent to the King my Maſter, telling him, that when I can ſtand, I hope to doe his Majeſty ſome Service herein. So commending me unto you, I remain,

Your very loving Friend,
Geo. Cant.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *to the Biſhops, concerning King* James's *Directions for Preachers, with the Directions.*

RIght Reverend Father in God, and my very good Lord and Brother, I have received from the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty a Letter, the Tenor whereof here enſueth.

Moſt Reverend Father in God, right truſty, and right entirely beloved Counſellour, we greet you well. Foraſmuch as the Abuſes and Extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have been in all times repreſſed in this Realm, by ſome Act or Council of State, with the Advice or Reſolution of grave and learned Prelates, inſomuch as the very licencing of Preachers had beginning by an Order of *Star-Chamber*, the 8th day of *July*, in the 19th year of King *Henry* 8th. our Noble Predeceſſour; and whereas at this preſent, divers young Students by reading of late Writers, and ungrounded Divines, do broach many times unprofitable, unſound, ſeditious and dangerous Doctrine, to the ſcandal of the Church, and diſquieting of the State and preſent Government; we upon humble repreſentation to us of theſe inconveniencies by your ſelf and ſundry other grave and Reverend Prelates of this Church, as alſo of our princely Care and Zeal, for the extirpation of Schiſm and Diſſention growing from theſe Seeds, and for the ſetling of a religious and peaceable Government both of the Church and State, do by theſe our ſpecial Letters ſtreightly charge and command you, to uſe all poſſible care and diligence, that theſe Limitations and Cautions herewith ſent unto you concerning Preachers, be duly and ſtreightly henceforth obſerved, and put in practice by the ſeveral Biſhops in their Dioceſſes within your Jurisdictions. And to this end, our Pleaſure is, that you ſend them forthwith ſeveral Copies of theſe Directions, to be by them ſpeedily ſent and communicated to every Parſon, Vicar and Curate, Lecturer and Miniſter, in every Cathedral and Pariſh-Church within their ſeveral Dioceſſes; and that you earneſtly require them to imploy their uttermoſt endeavour in the performance of this ſo important a Buſineſs, letting them know that we have a ſpecial Eye to their Proceedings, and expect a ſtrict Account thereof both of you and them, and every of them. And theſe our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge in that behalf. Given under our Signet, at our Caſtle of *Windſor*, the 14th day of *Auguſt*, in the 20th year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the fifty ſixth.

Directions

Directions concerning Preachers.

1. THat no Preacher under the Degree of a Biſhop, or a Dean of a Cathedrial or Collegiate Church, and that upon the King's days, and ſet Feſtivals, do take occaſion by the expounding of any Text of Scripture whatſoever, to fall to any ſet Diſcourſe or Common Place, otherwiſe than by opening the coherence and deviſion of his Text, which be not comprehended and warranted in Eſſence, Subſtance, Effect, or natural Inference, within ſome one of the Articles of Religion, ſet forth by Authority in the Church of *England*, and the two Books of Homilies ſet forth by the ſame Authority, in the Year 1562. or in ſome of the Homilies ſet forth by Authority of the Church of *England*, not only for the help of non-preaching, but withall, for a Pattern or a Boundary as it were for the preaching Miniſters; and for their farther inſtruction for the performance hereof, that they forthwith read over and peruſe diligently the ſaid Book of Articles, and the twoBooks of Homilies.

2. That no Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, ſhall preach any Sermon, or Collation, hereafter, upon Sundays or Holidays in the Afternoon, in any Cathedral or Pariſh-Church throughout the Kingdom, but upon ſome part of the Catechiſm, or ſome Texts taken out of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, or the Lord's-Prayer, (Funeral Sermons only excepted,) and that thoſe Preachers be moſt encouraged and approved of, who ſpend their Afternoons Exerciſes in the Examination of Children in their Catechiſm, which is the moſt ancient and laudable cuſtom of teaching in the Church of *England*.

3. That no Preacher of what Title or Denomination ſoever, under the Degree of a Biſhop, or Dean at the leaſt, do from henceforth preſume to preach in any popular Auditory, the deep points of Predeſtination, Election, Reprobation, or the univerſality, Efficacy, Reſiſtibility or Irreſiſtibity of God's Grace; but leave theſe Theames to be handled by learned Men, and that moderately and modeſtly by way of uſe and Application, rather than by way of poſitive Doctrine, as being fitter for Schools and Univerſities, than for ſimple Auditories.

4. That no Preacher of what Title or Denomination ſoever, ſhall preſume from henceforth in any Auditory within this Kingdom, to declare, limit, or bound out by way of poſitive Doctrine, in any Sermon or Lecture, the Power, Prerogative, Juriſdiction, Authority, Right or Duty of Sovereign Princes; or otherwiſe meddle with theſe matters of State, and the differences betwixt Princes and People, then as they are inſtructed and preſidented in the Homilies of Obedience, and in the reſt of the Homilies and Articles of Religion ſet forth, as before is mentioned by publick Authority; but rather confine themſelves wholly to theſe two Heads, Faith and good Life, which are all the Subjects of ancient Homilies and Sermons.

5. That no Preacher of what Title or Denomination ſoever, ſhall cauſeleſly, or without invitation of the Text, fall into bitter invectives, or undecent railing Speeches againſt the Perſons of either Papiſts or Puritans; but modeſtly and gravely, when they are occaſioned thereunto by the Text of Scripture, clear both the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, from the aſperſions of either Adverſary, eſpecially when the Auditory is ſuſpected with the one and the other infection.

6. Laſtly, That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of this Kingdom (whom his Majeſty hath good Cauſe to blame for their former remiſneſs,) be more wary and choice in the Licenſing of Preachers, and revoke all Grants made to any Chancellour, Official, or Commiſſary, to paſs Licenſes in this kind. And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom, a new Body, and ſevered from the ancient Clergy of *England*, as being neither Parſons, Vicars, nor Curates, be Licenſed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, only upon recommendations of the Party from the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, under his Hand and Seal, with a *Fiat* from the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and a Confirmation under the Great Seal of *England*; and that ſuch as tranſgreſs any of theſe Directions be Suſpended by the Lord Biſhop of that Dioceſs, or in his default by the Lord Archbiſhop of that Province (*ab officio & beneficio*) for a Year and a Day, until his Majeſty, by the advice of the next Convocation, ſhall preſcribe ſome farther Puniſhment.

By this you ſee his Majeſty's Princely Care, that Men ſhould preach Chriſt Crucified, Obedience to the higher Powers, and honeſt Chriſtian converſation of Life, but in a regular form; and not that every young Man ſhould take unto himſelf an exorbitant liberty to teach what he liſteth, to the offence of his Majeſty, and to the diſturbance and diſquiet of the Church and Commonwealth. I can give unto your Lordſhip no better Directions for the performance hereof, than are preſcribed to you in his Majeſty's Letter, and the Schedule hereunto annexed. Wherefore I pray you be very carefull, ſince itis the Princely pleaſure of his Majeſty to require an exact account both of you and of me for the ſame. Thus not doubting, but your Regiſter, or otherwiſe you will cauſe theſe Inſtructions to be communicated to your Clergy, I leave you to the Almighty, and remain your Lordſhip's loving Brother,

Croydon, Aug. 15. 1662. George Cant.

The

The Biſhops of Rocheſter, Oxford, *and* St. Davids *to the Duke, concerning Mr.* Montague.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

WE are bold to be Suitors to you, in the behalf of the Church of *England*, and a poor Member of it, Mr. *Montague* at this time not a little diſtreſſed. We are not Strangers to his Perſon, but it is the Cauſe which we are bound to be tender of.

The Cauſe we conceive, (under correction of better Judgment) concerns the Church of *England* merely; for that Church when it was reformed from the Superſtitious Opinions broached, or maintained by the Church of *Rome*, refuſed the apparent and dangerous Errours, and would not be too buſie with every particular School-point. The Cauſe why ſhe held this Moderation, was, bacauſe ſhe could not be able to preſerve any Unity amongſt Chriſtians, if Men were forced to ſubſcribe to curious Particulars diſputed in Schools.

Now, may it pleaſe your Grace, the Opinions which at this time trouble many Men in the late Book of Mr. *Montague*, are ſome of them ſuch as are expreſly the reſolved Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and thoſe he is bound to maintain: Some of them ſuch as are fit onely for Schools, and to be left at more liberty for learned Men to abound in their own Sence, ſo they keep themſelves Peaceable, and diſtract not the Church. And therefore to make any Man ſubſcribe to Shool-Opinions, may juſtly ſeem hard in the Church of Chriſt, and was one great Fault of the Councel of *Trent*. And to affright them from thoſe Opinions in which they have (as they are bound) ſubſcribed to the Church, as it is worſe in it ſelf, ſo it may be the Mother of greater danger.

May it pleaſe your Grace further to conſider, That when the Clergy ſubmitted themſelves, in the time of *Henry* the 8*th*, the Submiſſion was ſo, That if any Difference, Doctrinal, or other fell in the Church, the King and the Biſhops were to be Judges of it in a National Synod, or Convocation, the King firſt giving leave under his Broad Seal, to handle the Points in Difference.

But the Church never ſubmitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can ſhe, though ſhe would: And we humbly deſire your Grace to conſider, and then to move his moſt Gracious Majeſty (if you ſhall think fit) what dangerous Conſequences may follow upon it. For firſt, if any other Judge be allowed in Matter of Doctrine, we ſhall depart from the Ordinance of Chriſt, and the continual Courſe and Practice of the Church.

2. Secondly, if the Church be once brought down beneath her ſelf, we cannot but fear what may be next ſtrook at.

3. Thirdly, it will ſome way touch the Honour of His Majeſty's dear Father, and our moſt dread Sovereign of Glorious and ever Bleſſed Memory King *James*, who ſaw and approved all the Opinions in this Book; and he in his rare Wiſdom and Judgement would never have allowed them, if they had Croſſed with Truth and the Church of *England*.

4. Fourthly, we muſt be bold to ſay, that we cannot conceive what uſe there can be of Civil Government in the Common-wealth, or of Preaching, and External Miniſtry in the Church, if ſuch fatal Opinions as ſome which are oppoſite, and contrary to theſe delivered by Mr. *Montague*, are, and ſhall be publickly taught and maintained.

5. Fifthly, we are certain that all or moſt of the contrary Opinions were treated of at *Lambeth*, and ready to be Publiſhed, but then Queen *Elizabeth* of Famous Memory, upon notice given, how little they agreed with the Practice of Piety, and Obedience to all Government; cauſed them to be ſuppreſſed, and ſo they have continued ever ſince, till of late ſome of them have received countenance at the Synod of *Dort*. Now this was a Synod of that Nation, and can be of no Authority in any other National Church, till it be received there by publick Authority. And our hope is, that the Church of *England* will be well adviſed, and more then once over, before ſhe admit a forreign Synod, eſpecially of ſuch a Church as condemneth her Diſcipline and Manner of Government, to ſay no more.

And further, we are bold to commend to your Grace's Wiſdom this one Particular. His Majeſty (as we have been informed) hath already taken this Buſineſs into his own Care, and moſt worthily referred it in a right courſe to Church-conſideration. And we well hoped, that without further Trouble to the State, or breach of Unity in the Church, it might ſo have been well, and orderly compoſed, as we ſtill pray it may. Theſe things conſidered, we have little to ſay for Mr. *Montague's* Perſon, onely thus much we know: He is a very good Scholar, and a right honeſt Man. A Man every way able to doe God, His Majeſty, and the Church of *England* great Service. We fear he may receive great Diſcouragement, and which is far worſe, we have ſome Cauſe to doubt this may breed a great backwardneſs in able Men to Write in the Defence of the Church of *England*,

againſt either Home, or forreign Adverſaries, if they ſhall ſee him ſink in Fortunes, Reputation, or Health, upon his Book occaſion.

And this we moſt humbly ſubmit to your Grace's judgment, and care of the Church's Peace and Wellfare. So recommending your Grace to the protection of Almighty God,

We ſhall ever reſt at your Grace's Service.

Jo. Roffenſ.
Ja. Oxon.
Guil. Menevien.

2. Auguſt 1625.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter *to his Arch-deacon.*

Salutem in Chriſto. I have received Letters from the moſt Reverend Father in God, the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Tenor whereof followeth.

Right Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, I have received from the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty a Letter, the Tenor whereof here enſueth.

Moſt Reverend Father in God, right Truſty, and right Entirely beloved Councellour, we Greet you Well. Foraſmuch as the Abuſes and Extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit have been, *&c.*

According to the Tenor of theſe Letters, you are to ſee that theſe Limitations and Cautions herewith ſent unto you be duly and ſtrictly from henceforth Obſerved and put in Practice, and that ſeveral Copies of thoſe Directions be ſpeedily communicated to every one of thoſe whom they ſhall concern, and that you may imploy your uttermoſt Endeavours in the performance of ſo important a Buſineſs, conſidering that His Majeſty will have a ſpecial Eye over you and me, and expect a ſtrict Account at both our hands; whereof praying you to have all poſſible care, I commend your Endeavours therein to the bleſſing of God.

Your very loving Friend,

From Farnham, *Aug.* 15. 1622. Lan. Winton.

The Biſhop of Lincoln *Lord Keeper, to the Biſhop of* London, *concerning Preaching and Catechizing.*

My very good Lord,

I Doubt not before this time you have received from me the Directions of His Moſt Excellent Majeſty concerning Preaching and Preachers, which are ſo graciouſly ſet down, that no Godly or diſcreet Man can otherwiſe than acknowledge that they do much tend to Edification, if he take them not up upon Report, but do punctually conſider the Tenor of the Words as they lie, and doth not give an ill Conſtruction to that which may receive a fair interpretation. Notwithſtanding, becauſe ſome few Church-men and many of the People have ſiniſterly conceived, as we here find, that thoſe Inſtructions doe tend to the reſtraint of the Exerciſe of Preaching, and doe in ſome ſort abate the number of Sermons, and ſo conſequently by degrees doe make a breach to Ignorance and Superſtition; his Majeſty in his Princely Wiſdom hath thought fit that I ſhould Advertiſe your Lordſhip of the grave and weighty Reaſons which induced his Highneſs to preſcribe that which was done.

You are therefore to know, that his Majeſty being much troubled and grieved at the heart, to hear every day of ſo many Defections from our Religion, both to Popery and Anabaptiſm, or other Points of Separation, in ſome Parts of this Kingdom; and conſidering with much Admiration, what might be the Cauſe thereof, eſpecially in the Reign of ſuch a King who doth ſo conſtantly profeſs himſelf an open Adverſary to the Superſtition of the one, and madneſs of the other, his Princely Wiſdom could fall upon no one greater probability, than the Lightneſs, Affectedneſs, and Unprofitableneſs of that kind of Preaching which hath been of late Years too much taken up in Court, Univerſity, City and Country.

The uſual ſcope of very many Preachers is noted to be, ſoaring up in Points of Divinity, too deep for the Capacity of the People, or muſtering up of ſo much Reading, or diſplaying of their own Wit, or an ignorant meddling with Civil Matters, as well in the private ſeveral Pariſhes and Corporations, as in the Publick of the Kingdom, or a venting of their own Diſtaſtes, or a ſmoothing up thoſe idle Fancies, (which when the Text ſhall occaſion the ſame, is not onely approved, but much

much commended by his Royal Majeſty,) both againſt the Perſons of Papiſts and Puritans.

Now the People bred up with this kind of Teaching, and never inſtructed in the Catechiſm and Fundamental grounds of Religion, are for all this airy Nouriſhment, no better than a Braſs Tabret, new Table-books to be filled up either with Manuals and Catechiſms of the Popiſh Prieſts, or the Papers and Pamphlets of Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and Puritans.

His Majeſty therefore calling to mind the ſaying *Tertullian*, *id verum quod primum*; and remembring with what Doctrine the Church of *England* in her firſt and moſt happy Reformation did drive the one, and keep out the other from poiſoning and infecting the people of this Kingdom, doth find that the whole ſcope of this Doctrine is contained in the Articles of Religion, the two Books of Homilies, the leſſer and the greater Catechiſm, which his Majeſty doth therefore recommend again in theſe Directions, as the Themes and proper Subjects of all ſound and edifying Preaching.

And ſo far are theſe Directions from abridging, that his Majeſty doth expect at our Hands, that it ſhould increaſe the number of Sermons, by renewing every Sunday in the Afternoon, in all Pariſh-Churches throughout the Kingdom, that primitive and moſt profitable Expoſition of the Catechiſm, wherewith the People, yea, very Children, may be timely ſeaſoned and inſtructed in all the heads of Chriſtian Religion. The which kind of Expoſition (to our amendment be it ſpoken) is more diligently obſerved in all the Reformed Churches of *Europe*, than of late it hath been here in *England*. I find his Majeſty much moved with this neglect, and reſolved, (if we that are Biſhops do not ſee a Reformation thereof, which I truſt we ſhall) to recommend to the Care of the Civil Magiſtrate: So far is his Higneſs from giving the leaſt Diſcouragement to ſolid Preaching, or Diſcreet and Religious Preachers.

To all theſe I am to add, that it is his Majeſty's Princely Pleaſure, that both the former Directions, and thoſe Reaſons of the ſame, be fairly written in every Regiſter's Office, to the end that every Preacher of what Denomination ſoever, may if he be ſo pleaſed, take out Copies of either of them with his own Hand *gratis*, paying nothing in the name of Fee, or Expedition: But if he doſe uſe the pains of the Regiſter, or the Clerk, than to pay ſome moderate Fee, to be pronounced in open Court, by the Chancellour and Commiſſaries of the Place, taking the Direction and Approbation of my Lords the Biſhops.

Laſtly, that from henceforward a courſe might be taken, that every Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, do make and exhibit an account for the performance of theſe his Majeſty's Directions, and the Reaſons for the ſame, at the enſuing Viſitation of the Biſhops and Archideacons, paying to the Regiſter 6 *d.* for the exhibiting. And ſo wiſhing, but withall, in his Majeſty's Name, requiring your Lordſhip to have a ſpecial and extraordinary care of the Premiſes, I leave you to the Almighty.

Your very loving Friend,

Septemb. 3. 1622. J. Lincoln, C. S.

The Biſhop of Exeter, *to the lower Houſe of Parliament.*

Gentlemen,

FOR God's Sake, be wiſe in your well meant Zeal: Why do we argue away precious Time, that can never be revoked, or repaired? Wo is me, whilſt we diſpute, our Friends periſh, and we muſt follow them. Where are we, if we break? And (I tremble to think it) we cannot but break, if we hold too ſtiff. Our Liberties and Properties are ſufficiently declared to be ſure and legal; our Remedies are clear and irrefragable, what do we fear? Every Subject now ſees the way chalked out before him for future Juſtice, and who dares henceforth tread beſides it? Certainly, whilſt Parliaments live, we need not miſdoubt the like violation of our Freedoms and Rights; may we be but where the Loans found us, we ſhall ſufficiently enjoy our ſelves, and ours; it is now no Seaſon to reach for more. O let us not, whilſt we over-rigidly plead for a higher ſtrain of Safety, put our ſelves into a neceſſity of Ruine, and utter deſpair of Redreſs; let us not in a ſuſpicion of evil that may be caſt our ſelves into a preſent Confuſion: If you love your Selves and your Country, remit ſomething of your own Terms; and ſince the ſubſtance is yielded by your noble Compatriots, ſtand not too curiouſly upon points of Circumſtance. Fear not to truſt a good King, who after the ſtricteſt Law made, muſt be truſted with the Execution: Think that your Countrey, yea, Chriſtendom lieth in the Mercy of your preſent Reſolution: Relent or Farewell. Farewell from him, whoſe faithfull Heart bleeds in a vowed Sacrifice for his King and Countrey.

The Archbishop of York *to King* James.

May it please your Majesty,

I Have been too long silent, and am afraid, that by silence I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majesty to place me in: But now I humbly beseech, that I may discharge my Conscience towards God, and my Duty towards your Majesty. And therefore I beseech you Sir, to give me leave freely to deliver my self, and then let it please your Majesty to do with me as you please.

Your Majesty hath propounded a Toleration of Religion; I beseech you to take into your Consideration, what your Act is, and what the Consequence may be. By your Act, you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Whore of *Babylon*. How hatefull will it be to God, and grievous to your Subjects (the true professors of the Gospel) that your Majesty, who hath often defended, and learnedly written against those wikced Heresies, should now shew your self a Patron of those Doctrines which your Pen hath told the World, and your Consciences tells your self, are Superstitious, Idolatrous, and Detestable. Also what you have done, in sending the Prince without consent of your Counsel, and the privity and approbation of your People: For although Sir, you have a large Interest in the Prince, as the Son of your Flesh, yet have your People a greater, as a Son of the Kingdom, upon whom (next after your Majesty) are their Eyes fixed, and their Welfare depends. And so slenderly is his going apprehended, that believe it Sir, however his return may be safe, yet the drawers of him unto that Action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the Kingdom, will not pass away unquestioned, and unpunished.

Besides this Toleration you endeavour to set up by your Proclamation, it cannot be done without a Parliament, unless your Majesty will let your Subjects see, that you now take unto your self a liberty to throw down the Laws of the Land at your Pleasure. What dreadfull Consequence these things may draw after, I beseech your Majesty to consider.

And above all, lest by this Toleration, and discountenance of the true Profession of the Gospel (wherewith God hath blessed us, and under which this Kingdom hath flourished these many years,) your Majesty doth draw upon the Kingdom in general, and your self in particular, God's heavy wrath and Indignation.

Thus, in discharge of my Duty to your Majesty, and the place of my Calling, I have taken the humble boldness to deliver my Conscience. And now Sir, do with me what you please.

The Bishop of Lincoln *to his Majesty.*

Most mighty and dread Sovereign,

I Have now these four Months by the strength of those gracious Speeches your Majesty used (when I took my leave of your Majesty at *Salisbury*, and the Conscience of mine own innocency from having ever willfully or maliciously offended your Majesty, comforted my self in these great Afflictions, to be thus enjoyned in your Majesty's Presence, (the onely Heaven wherein my Soul delighteth) having submitted my self (I hope dutifully and patiently) to the discharge from that great Office, (for the execution whereof I was altogether unworthy;) my required Absence from the Council Table; my Sequestration from attending your Majesty's Coronation; and your Majesty's favourable Pleasure (for so I do esteem that) to spare my Presence at this next Parliament: And I trust in God, I shall most readily obey any other Command that bears the Image and Superscription of your Majesty; without any desire of searching after the Hand that helps to press and engrave it. Yet because I suffer in some more particulars, than peradventure is explicitely known to your Majesty; and that I have no Friend left about your Majesty, that dares for fear of Displeasure, relate unto your Majesty my Griefs and Necessities; I humbly crave your gracious Pardon, to make some few Representations, and some few Petitions unto your most Excellent Majesty.

First, I humbly shew unto your Majesty, that besides my former Calamities, I am now put from part of my Pension which should pay the Creditors who lent me Money to buy the Place; notwithstanding your Majesty hath been graciously pleased to order otherwise.

Secondly, I have not yet received my Writ of Summons unto the Parliament (among other Prisoners, or condemned Peers, in the late Reign of your Blessed Father,) that I might have liberty to make my Proxy; the which I cannot doe, the Writ not received: Nor can I my self go into the Countrey, as I had done long ere this, had not the expectation of this Writ, together with the pecial service of my Lord Duke, and no other occasion whatsoever detained me.

These

These two Particulars I present, with all submission, unto your Majesty, and shall rest satisfied with what Royal Resolution your Majesty shall make therein.

These Petitions that follow, I must earnestly beg at your Majesty's hands, and for God's sake, and your blessed Father's sake, whose Creature, and most painfull Servant, I was.

First, that your Majesty would be pleased to mitigate and allay the causeless Displeasure of my Lord Duke against me; who is so little satisfied with any thing I can do, or suffer, that I have no means left to appease his anger, but my prayers to God, and your Sacred Majesty.

Secondly, I beseech your Majesty, for Christ Jesu's sake, not to believe News, or Accusations against me, concerning my Carriage past, present, or to come, whilst I stand thus enjoined from your Royal Presence, before you shall have heard my Answer and Defence unto the Particulars. Those that inform your Majesty may (God he knoweth) be oftentimes mis-informed.

My last Supplication unto your Majesty is, That in my absence, this Parliament, no use may be made of your Sacred Name to wound the Reputation of a poor Bishop, who, besides his Religion, and Duty to that Divine Character you now bear, hath ever affectionately honoured your very Person above all the Objects in this World, as he desires the Salvation of the World to come. But I crave no Protection against any other Accuser, or Accusation whatsoever. So shall I never cease to Pray to the Almighty God, to make your Majesty the Happiest and Greatest King that ever was Crowned and Anointed, which shall be the continual Orisons of

Your Majesty's most dutifull and most humble Vassal,

JO. LINCOLN.

The Bishop of St. Davids (*Dr.* Laud) *to the Duke.*

My most gracious Lord,

I May not be absent, and not write: And since your Grace is pleased with the trouble, I must profess my self much content with the performance of the Duty. I am not unmindfull of the last Business your Grace committed to me; but I have as yet done the less in it, because I fell into a relapse of my Infirmity: but, I thank God, I am once more free, if I can look better to my self, as I hope I shall.

My Lord, I must become an humble Suitor to your Grace. I hear, by good hand, that my Lord of *Canterbury* intends shortly to renew the High Commission: Now I am to acquaint your Grace, that there is never a Bishop that lives about *London* left out of the Commission but my self, and many that live quite absent are in, and many inferiours to Bishops. The Commission is a Place of great Experience, for any Man that is a Governour in the Church; and since, by his Majesty's gracious Goodness, and your Grace's sole Procurement, I am made a Governour, I would be loath to be excluded from that which might give me experience, and so enable me to perform my Duty. I am sure, my Lord of *Canterbury* will leave me out, as hitherto he hath done, if his Majesty be not pleased to Command that I shall be in. This I submit to your Grace; but humbly desire, even against my own ease and quiet, that I may not be deprived of that Experience which is necessary for my Place. I most humbly beseech your Grace to pardon this boldness, and to know, that in my daily Prayers for your Grace's happiness, I shall ever rest

Nouemb. 18. 1624. *Your Grace's most devoted and affectionate Servant,*

Guil. Menevensis.

The Bishop of Landaffe, *to the Duke.*

My most honorable good Lord,

It is meet, before I beg anew, that I should first acknowledge those Benefits, and more especially give thanks for, the last noble Favour your Lordship did me, in standing up the last day of Parliament and pleading my Cause. Never was poor Man more bound to a gracious Lord for protecting his Innocency; and it came seasonable, like a showre of Rain in the time of Drought: My very heart was parched with grief till it came, and it had ere this been broken, had not your Lordship's Speech been drops of comfort, in strength whereof it yet lives. For an abortive Thought, which never came in Act, some two or three years ago conceived, and that tending to a work of Mercy, and Charity, a piece of Justice, and due Thankfulness, how far, how foully have I been traduced! your Honour cannot imagine how deeply I have been wounded in my good Name, as if I had deserved Deprivation, Degradation, yea, to be Hanged, Drawn and Quartered. This can none cure, but God, or the King; Deus in nostris, God hath done his part in providing an occasion: Besides *London* (which is too high

for

for me to look after) and the removes which may be thereby, *Hereford*, the next Seat to mine, (whither my Predeceſſours have been oft removed) is ſaid to be now void. Now, good my Lord, ſpeak once more ſeaſonably: it is a doubled, and redoubled, an infinitely multiplied Benefit, which is ſo given. Never had I more need of the Cordial his Majeſty gave me at my going into *Wales*, which was, That I ſhould not ſtay long there. It would be a Reſtorative too, not onely of my Credit, ſo cruelly crackt with the ſharp teeth of the wide mouth of vulgar lying Fame, but of my Eſtate alſo, always poor, but lately much more impoveriſhed, and made crazie, by Occaſions of the Church, which drew me to *London* (a Place of great Expences, as the buſie Times were) to little purpoſe: And the Parliament over-taking me, which have held me long, and longer yet are like to hold me here, even to the undoing of my ſelf, my Wife, and ſix Children, from whom I have now lived ſix or ſeven Months. And what ſhall I carry home with me, but Diſgrace and Infamy? Yet, my good Lord, at leaſt procure me of my Lord the King a *Nunc dimittis*, leave to depart. I ſhall be farther out of the reach of purſuing Malice, there in the Countrey; do his Majeſty better Service, in gathering up his Subſidies, praying, and teaching my Children (whilſt I read a Lecture to them, my ſelf was never yet able to get by heart, of Parcimony, which muſt be to them inſtead of a Patrimony,) to pray for his Majeſty's long Life, Health and Happineſs. In which Prayer ſhall your Lordſhip ever be duly remembred by

Your Lordſhip's daily devout Beadſman.
Theophilus Landavenſis.

The Biſhop of St. David's, (*Doctor* Laud) *to the Duke.*

My moſt gracious Lord,

I Am heartily glad to hear your Lordſhip is ſo well returned, and ſo happily as to meet ſo great joy. God hath, among many others his great Bleſſings (and I know your Grace ſo eſteems them) ſent you now this extraordinary one, a Son to inherit his Fathers Honours, and the reſt of God's Bleſſings upon both. So ſoon as I came to an end of my Journey, I met the happy News of God's Bleſſing upon your Grace, and it ſeaſoned all the hard Journey I have had out of *Wales* through the Snow. When I had reſted my ſelf a little at my Friend's houſe in the Forreſt (Mr. *Windebank*, a Servant of your Graces, whom I made bold to make known to your Honour) I came to *Windſor*, in hope to have been ſo happy as to meet your Grace at the great Solemnity, but when I came, I found that which I ſuſpected, that your Graces greater joy would carry you farther. Which Journey, and the Cauſe, and the end of it, I heartily wiſh, and pray, may be full of Joy, and all contentment to your Grace. I made bold to trouble your Grace with a Letter, or two, out of *Wales*, which I hope Mr. *Windebank* took the beſt care he could to ſee delivered. I have no means to do your Grace any Service, but by my Prayers; and they do daily attend, and ſhall ever, while I breath to utter them. I hope, though I have miſſed this Opportunity, yet I ſhall be ſo happy as to ſee and wait upon your Grace at *London*. In the mean time, and ever, I leave your Grace, and all your home-bleſſings, to the protection of the Almighty, and ſhall ever be found

Windſor, Decemb. 13. 1625.

Your Grace's moſt devoted and affectionate Servant,
Guil. Meneven.

Doctor Montague, *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *to the Duke,*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

YOur Highneſs vouchſafed, at *Windſor*, to let me underſtand, that his Majeſty, my gracious Maſter and Sovereign, had taken me off from that trouble and vexation which by ſome Mens procurement I was put unto in the Houſe of Commons. They, as I underſtand, think not ſo, but intend to proceed againſt me ſo far as they can, as having returned his Majeſty no other Anſwer, but that I was freed from Impriſonment. It is true, that beſides 20*l.* which the Serjeant had of me by exaction of Fees, they bound me unto him in a Bond of 2000*l.* to appear before them the firſt day of the next Seſſions. I beſeech your Grace, that as you have been pleaſed to tie me unto your Excellent, not onely Self, but alſo moſt honourable Siſter, in that Bond of Obligation, as never was poor Scholar to ſuch Worthies: ſo would be pleaſed to let his Majeſty underſtand the Caſe, that, by your means, I may be abſolutely diſcharged, with the re-delivery of my Bond from them whom I never offended, who (under correction) have nothing to do with me; and, his Majeſty's Servant, be left unto himſelf, eſpecially, for that which was authorized by himſelf, and commanded by his Father, my late Maſter, of ever bleſſed Memory. If his Majeſty will be pleaſed to call for their Accuſations againſt me, if I do not really and throughly anſwer whatſoever is, or can be imputed to me out of my Books, I will no further deſire Favour and Protection

protection of His Majesty, and your gracious Self, but be willingly left unto my Enemies. I must crave Pardon for presuming thus to trouble your Grace, the rather, because, through a grievous affliction of the Chollick and Stone, I am not able personally to attend your Grace, whom according unto my most bounden Duty, I daily recommend unto the Almighty, being more obliged unto your Noble Self, than ever to any one. So remaining

Petworth, July, 29.

Most humbly at your Grace's Service ever,
Ri. Montague.

1. IF any, or all the Papists living, can prove, that the *Roman* Church, as it now stands in Opposition to the Church of *England*, is either the Catholick Church of Christ, or a sound Member of the Catholick Church.

I will subscribe.

2. If any, or all the Papists living, can prove unto me, that the Church of *England*, as it standeth at this day, is not a true Member of the Catholick Church,

I will subscribe.

3. If any, or all the Papists living, can prove unto me, that any one Point at this day maintained by the Church of *Rome* against the Church of *England*, was the received Doctrine of the Catholick Church, or concluded by any general Councel, or particular approved Councel, or resolved of by any one Father of Credit. to be such, for five hundred Years at least after Christ.

I will subscribe.

Ri. Montague.

Doctor Field, *Bishop of* Landaffe *to the Duke.*

My gracious good Lord,

IN the great Library of Men, that I have studied these many Years, your Grace is the best Book, and most Classick Author, that I have Read, in whom I find so much Goodness, Sweetness, and Nobleness of Nature, such an Heroick Spirit, for boundless Bounty, as I never did in any: I could instance in many, some of whom you have made Deans, some Bishops, some Lords, and Privy Councellors; none that ever looked toward your Grace, did ever goe empty away: I need goe no further than my self (a Gum of the Earth) whom some eight years ago you raised out of the Dust, for raising but a thought so high as to serve your Highness. Since that, I have not played the Truant, but more diligently studied you than ever before; and yet (Dunce that I am) I stand at a stay, and am a *Non-proficient*; the Book being the same that ever it was, as may appear by the great proficiency of others. This wonderfully poseth me, and sure there is some Guile, some wile in some of my fellow Students, who hide my Book from me, or some part of it. All the fault is not in mine own Blockishness, that I thrive no better; I once feared this before, that some did me ill Offices, your Grace was pleased to protest, no Man had; and to assure me, no Man could: My heart tells me, it hath been always upright, and is still most faithfull unto you. I have examined my Actions, my Words, and my very Thoughts, and found all of them ever since, most sound unto your Grace. Give me leave after so long Patience (for which vertue you were once pleased to commend me to my old Master King *James*, and I have not yet lost it;) now that for these twelve Months almost, I have been, not onely upon the Stage, but upon the rack of Expectations, even distracted between Hope and Fear, to comfort my self with Recordation of your loving kindnesses of Old, when on that great Feast-day of your being inaugured our Chancellor, my look was your Book, wherein you read Sadness, to which I was bold to Answer, I trusted you Grace would give me no Cause. You replied with (loss of Blood rather) that was your noble Expression, but God forbid so precious an Effusion. (I would empty all my Veins rather than you should Bleed one drop) when as one blast of your Breath is able to bring me to the Heaven where I would be. My Lord, I am grown an old Man, and am like old Houshold-stuff, apt to be broke upon often removing. I desire it therefore but once for all, be it *Eli*, or *Bathe* and *Wells*; and I will spend the remainder of my days in Writing an History of your good Deeds to me and others, whereby I may vindicate you from the Envy, and Obloquy of this present wicked Age wherein we live, and whilst I live, in Praying for your Grace,

Whose I am totally and finally

Theophilus Landaven.

Mon-

Monſieur Bevayr *Chancellour of* France *diſcharged, to the* French *King.*

LO, Sir, I willingly reſign into your hands the Charge with which you were pleaſed to Honour me, and with the ſame Countenance that I received it, without ſeeking for it, I leave it without grieving for it; the Law had ſufficiently taught me to obey Your Majeſty, ſo that I needed not to have been ſent for by a Captain of the Guard, and twenty Archers; violence ſhould onely be uſed againſt thoſe that reſiſt, and not againſt me that know how to obey, and that have ever eſteemed this Honour a heavy Burthen, rather than a Dignity, which yet I had accepted for the good of your Service, becauſe every able Man owes his cares and his years to the Publick good; and becauſe it had been a ſhame for me to refuſe to die with the Stern in my hand, being able to hinder, or at the leaſt delay, the Shipwrack that threatens us. God grant, Sir, that I be the greateſt loſer in this Diſfavour, and that you and your State be the leaſt touched in it. This Accident hath not taken me on the ſudden, having ever well foreſeen, that as I followed as much as I could the Integrity and Vertues of *Monſieur de Villeroy*, and the Preſident *Janin*; ſo I ought to expect the like Fortune to theirs; your Commandment in this agrees with the Choice my ſelf had made, if I had been at full Liberty; for I love a great deal better to be Companion in their Diſgraces, (if I ought ſo to ſtile the being diſburthened of Affairs) than to be imployed in the managing the State with them that there remain; ſince I might in time have taken an ill day by the Company of ſuch People, to whom I no whit envy the increaſe of Authority, which is given them at my coſt; for I have not uſed to give Account of my Actions every Morning by ſtealth, neither will I be preſcribed what I ought to do, if the States good and reaſon doe not counſell me unto it. This is much more Honourable for me, than to have betrayed Your Majeſty, in ſealing a Diſcharge to an Accountant of 80000 Pound, in the great Poverty of the Treaſury, and that to further the good of a Man that bluſhes not, (beſides this) to demand the Dutchy of *Alanſon* by way of Mortage, which is the Portion of the King's Sons, and to pretend to the Office of Conſtable, which the late King's Will expreſly was, ſhould be ſuppreſſed after the Death of the late Lord *Monmorency*. Think not, Sir, that in not giving my conſent to this, I deſired to oppoſe my ſelf againſt your Authority, I know well, that that hath no Bounds but thoſe of your Will; but yet are you bound to rule your ſelf according to Reaſon, and to follow the Counſell of thoſe which have entred into the managing of the State, by the choice which the late King had made of them, as being more able to give it you, than certain new Comers drawn out of the dregs of Buſineſs and of the People. This exchange which is made of us for them, is the trick of the Wolves to the Sheep, when they took their Dogs from them; doth not Your Majeſty perceive it, or dare you not redreſs it for fear of Diſobedience? Sir, you owe Obedience by Nature to thoſe that Preach it to you, but they themſelves owe it you both by Divine and Humane right; and though you ſhould yield them leſs, they have given you but too many Examples ſo to doe. Remember if it pleaſe you, that you are paſt Fifteen years Old, and Kings are of Age at Fourteen. *Iſaac* followed *Abraham* his Father to be Sacrificed, becauſe he was not old enough to fear any thing: I believe if he had been a Man grown, and had foreſeen the danger, he would not himſelf have carried the Sticks upon his ſhoulders; he was but the appearance of a Sacrifice, I pray God in theſe Occaſions keep you from the Effect: for when I ſee that Men move the Authority of the Court when they will, that Men ſet to ſale and diſpoſe of the Officers of the Crown, without being once hindred by any; the Princes of the Blood having been ſome impriſoned, and other Princes have retired themſelves for the ſecurity of their Perſons; when I ſee that among the great Ones, they that are made, ſee ſome ſhadow of better Fortunes are fain to lend their hands to bring themſelves into Bondage; that they which have attained ſome ſetlednes in this alteration, maintain it onely for fear of returning to the former Miſery of their former Condition:——Beſides, it ſeems alſo that the People, and the Provinces partake of this Change, after the Example of the great Ones, ſeeing the help of the Law is unprofitable, every thing being out of order by Canvaſing, by Violences, and by Corruptions; the *Louvre* it ſelf hath put on a new Face, as well as the Affairs of the Kingdom; there remains nothing of the old Court but the Walls, and even of them the uſe hath been changed, for they were wont to ſerve for the ſafe-guard of Princes, and now they ſerve for their Priſon, and for yours it may be, (if it be lawfull to ſay ſo;) for it is not without ſome end, that when you goe Abroad, you have a Company of Light-horſe to attend you, choſen by a ſuſpected hand. This is your Guard after the Faſhion of the *Baſtile*, this diſtruſt Counſells you enough what you ought to doe, and you need no other Advice. I am hiſt at, I am ſcoft at, and my Diſcourſe; ſo was *Caſſandra* uſed, when ſhe foretold the Deſtruction of *Troy*. Sir, I have nothing left but my Tongue to ſerve you with; if I were ſo happy to draw you out of the Errour in which you are fed, I would bleſs a thouſand times my Diſgrace, for having emboldened me to ſpeak freely in a time wherein even Words are puniſhed. The falſeneſs of the *Alcharon* is onely Authoriſed, by that it is forbidden under pain of Death to ſpeak of it. The incroachment which is made upon your Authority takes footing onely by the danger that is in telling

ling it you freely; conſider, (if it pleaſe you) that thoſe which uſurp Power over you are of a Countrey where every body would Reign; thence it is that there is not a City on the other ſide the Alpes, that hath not her republick or her petty King; and if Your Majeſty had but a little taſted the Hiſtory of your own Kingdom, you would have found that the moſt learned Tragedies that were ever ſeen in *France* have come from that ſide; the laſt——— upon occaſion of a little Book which I publiſhed, touching *Conſtancy and Comfort in publick Calamities*, I fear much that (contrary to my deſign) this is a Work for your Reign, if the Goodneſs of God take not pity on us. Think not, Sir, that the grief to ſee my ſelf removed from the State Affairs, breeds ſo bold a diſcourſe; If I had felt any grief for that, 'tis but as new Married Wives weep to leave the Subjection of their Fathers, to enter into the Equality of Marriage: Yet it is true, that owing you my Service, I ſhould with more contentment have imployed it in your Counſels of State, than in your Parliaments, where the matters are of leſs Importance. For I ſuppoſe, that if the Carpenter which made the Frame of the Admiral, wherein *Don John de Auſtria* commanded at the Battle of *Lepanto*, had known that ſhe ſhould have ſerved in ſo important an occaſion, wherein depended the Safety of the reſt of *Europe*, he would have taken more pleaſure in the making her, than if he had made a Veſſel deſtined onely for Traffick. Notwithſtanding, ſince your Majeſty commands me to retire my ſelf, in a good hour be it, the leſſer Stars bear a part in a perfection of the Univerſe, though they contribute leſs to it than the Sun or Moon. In what condition ſoever I live, I will ever bring all I ſhall be able to the good of your Service; and if there be any of thoſe which are near you, that lament mine Abſence, for my own ſake, I would willingly ſay to them, Weep for your ſelves, Children of *Jeruſalem*, that for want of Courage ſuffer Your Majeſty to be betrayed; and not for me, that have no other fault, than that I am an honeſt Man. I take leave therefore of you, Sir, Praying God to take pity of your Eſtate, and care of your Breeding.

Monſieur Balſac *to the Cardinal* de la Valette.

My Lord,

I Am retired here into *Cicero*'s Houſe, where I take the freſh Air, and the Shade of every hour of the Day, and Laugh at thoſe that broil themſelves at *Rome*. But although I be come hither as well to untire my Spirit, as to recreate my Body, notwithſtanding it is impoſſible that the firſt can reſt, but muſt doe Buſineſs where it finds none; it croſſes the Sea, and paſſes over the Alps without my conſent; and becauſe there is nothing to doe at *France*, it goes to ſeek ſome at *Conſtantinople*, at *Madrid*, at *London*, and at *Montauban*. Now to the end you may not think me a Lyer, and that under an honeſt Pretext I would palliate a reproveable Idleneſs; I am going to Write you the Adventure of my yeſterdays Walk, and ſpeak to you in the ſame Stile, and the ſame ſort as I rave. While the King is buſied to make War, the King of *Spain* paſſeth his time with Ladies, and into Places that may not honeſtly be named; I will give no Judgment upon the different Inclination of theſe two Princes, but I very well know, that ſo long as they live in that Faſhion, the King of *Spain* ſhall take no Towns, nor the King of *France* the Pox. You have ſurely heard it reported, that the *Polanders* have defeated the *Turks* Army, which was compoſed of two hundred thouſand Combatants, the half whereof lay Dead upon the Place. It muſt neceſſarily be granted, that but he onely, after ſuch a loſs, could make ſuch a ſecond, and that he hath a ſource of Men that cannot be drawn dry, either by Wars, by Plagues, or by any other ill diſpoſition of the Air, ſeeing that in the abundance of all things, that his Empire produces, there is nothing at ſo low a price, as the lives of Souldiers. When I dream that the Duke of *Bouillon* is ſhut up in *Sedan*, from whence he cannot come forth to go and make his Party; I imagine to my ſelf, a poor Mother ſtanding upon the brink of a River, ſeeing her Son ſlain on the other ſide, neither being able to help him, or bid him farewell, never was Man ſo aſſaulted with ſuch diverſity of Thoughts, not oppreſt with unprofitable cares; one while it vexes him that ſufficient reſiſtance was not made at St. *Jehan de Angeli*; and again, I find that they made not uſe of the advantage which they might have taken. At one and the ſame time I would have been at *Montauban* to defend, and in *England* to get ſuccour for it. But why dwells ſo great a Spirit in a Body that hath no more Heat in it than a Fever gives it, and which is never removed but by Ambergriſe and Phyſick? Its known that the better part of it dwells in the Hiſtory of Troubles, and that in this World it holds but the place of another. In the mean time, the Affairs of the Rebels grow to Ruine; and if they make any ſmall attempts, it is not that their Hopes increaſe, nor their Courage ſtrengthens; but it is God's Will that they ſhall not have either Victory or Peace.

The Duke of *Bouillon* ſees all this, not being able to remedy; and if ſometimes to divert his Spirit from ſo vexing an Object, he thinks to ſeek ſome comfort out of the Kingdom, and amongſt ſtrangers Affairs, of one ſide he diſcovers a puiſſant Army under the conduct of *Spinola*, which threatens all *Germany*; and on the other ſide he ſees his Nephew, who from having been *Count Palatine*, and King of *Bohemia*, is become Penſioner to the *Hollanders*, and a Gentleman of the Prince of *Orange* his

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I Am retired here into *Cicero*'s Houſe, where I take the freſh Air, and the Shade of every hour of the Day, and Laugh at thoſe that broil themſelves at *Rome*. But although I be come hither as well to untire my Spirit, as to recreate my Body, notwithſtanding it is impoſſible that the firſt can reſt, but muſt doe Buſineſs where it finds none; it croſſes the Sea, and paſſes over the Alps without my conſent; and becauſe there is nothing to doe at *France*, it goes to ſeek ſome at *Conſtantinople*, at *Madrid*, at *London*, and at *Montauban*. Now to the end you may not think me a Lyer, and that under an honeſt Pretext I would palliate a reproveable Idleneſs; I am going to Write you the Adventure of my yeſterdays Walk, and ſpeak to you in the ſame Stile, and the ſame ſort as I rave. While the King is buſied to make War, the King of *Spain* paſſeth his time with Ladies, and into Places that may not honeſtly be named; I will give no Judgment upon the different Inclination of theſe two Princes, but I very well know, that ſo long as they live in that Faſhion, the King of *Spain* ſhall take no Towns, nor the King of *France* the Pox. You have ſurely heard it reported, that the *Polanders* have defeated the *Turks* Army, which was compoſed of two hundred thouſand Combatants, the half whereof lay Dead upon the Place. It muſt neceſſarily be granted, that but he onely, after ſuch a loſs, could make ſuch a ſecond, and that he hath a ſource of Men that cannot be drawn dry, either by Wars, by Plagues, or by any other ill diſpoſition of the Air, ſeeing that in the abundance of all things, that his Empire produces, there is nothing at ſo low a price, as the lives of Souldiers. When I dream that the Duke of *Bouillon* is ſhut up in *Sedan*, from whence he cannot come forth to go and make his Party; I imagine to my ſelf, a poor Mother ſtanding upon the brink of a River, ſeeing her Son ſlain on the other ſide, neither being able to help him, or bid him farewell, never was Man ſo aſſaulted with ſuch diverſity of Thoughts, nor oppreſt with unprofitable cares; one while it vexes him that ſufficient reſiſtance was not made at St. *Jehan de Angeli*; and again, I find that they made not uſe of the advantage which they might have taken. At one and the ſame time I would have been at *Montauban* to defend, and in *England* to get ſuccour for it. But why dwells ſo great a Spirit in a Body that hath no more Heat in it than a Fever gives it, and which is never removed but by Ambergriſe and Phyſick? Its known that the better part of it dwells in the Hiſtory of Troubles, and that in this World it holds but the place of another. In the mean time, the Affairs of the Rebels grow to Ruine; and if they make any ſmall attempts, it is not that their Hopes increaſe, nor their Courage ſtrengthens; but it is God's Will that they ſhall not have either Victory or Peace.

The Duke of *Bouillon* ſees all this, not being able to remedy; and if ſometimes to divert his Spirit from ſo vexing an Object, he thinks to ſeek ſome comfort out of the Kingdom, and amongſt ſtrangers Affairs, of one ſide he diſcovers a puiſſant Army under the conduct of *Spinola*, which threatens all *Germany*; and on the other ſide he ſees his Nephew, who from having been *Count Palatine*, and King of *Bohemia*, is become Penſioner to the *Hollanders*, and a Gentleman of the Prince of *Orange* his

Train; as the Beasts, in time past, were wont to be Crowned, which ought to be Sacrificed; so Fortune presented a Kingdom to this poor Man, to the end he should lose his life; but not to lye, he hath shewed himself craftier than she, and fled so he could never be overtaken. Notwithstanding, to speak home, the Gain which he got by not dying at the Battel of *Prague*, is not so great as the Reproach which shall be cast upon him for living by his own Fault, and for having witnessed to all the People of the World, that the end of his desires was onely to attain to be old; and without doubt, as it is a great advantage to be the Grandchild of an Usurper, so there is not a more miserable condition, than to have been a King, and now to be no more but the Subject, or Tragedy, to Plays. Let Men then, as much as they please, praise the designs of this Man, and his good Intention; I, for my part, find nothing so easie as to fly and lose; and Posterity shall put him rather in the number of Thieves that have been punished, than of Conquerours which have triumphed on the Earth. Since it is true, that the Persecution ceases in *England*, and that the King wearieth himself with giving us Martyrs; it may be, that within a short time, he will altogether set Souls at Liberty, that still makes one step to his Mother Church. As for my part, I despair not of this great Conversion, that all honest Men will, with salt Tears, desire this from Heaven, knowing to the contrary, that he hath a reasonable Spirit, and may be perswaded upon a thing that he determined on. I assure my self that he studies every day the truth of the Instructions the great Cardinal *Peron* left him, and that will be the strongest in his Kingdoms, assoon as his Conscience —— Authority better re-stablished than his. His Predecessors knew not how to reign in regard of him, no not she that plaid with so many Heads, and who was more happy than needfull for the Christian Common-wealth. It is certain, that heretofore *England* believed in God, but this day it onely believes in its Prince, and Religion makes but a part of the Obedience yielded unto him; insomuch, that if he would but set in the place of all the Points of Faith, all the Fables of Poesie, he should find in his Subjects complying enough to bring them to his Will, and perswade himself, that he may make all things just that he does, and all things culpable that he condemns; his Authority came not so far at the first stroke, and there must be time to make Men lose Reason, but at this time when all Spirits are vanquished, and that the great belief that he hath given of his judgement, takes away the liberty of theirs; they can imagine nothing above the Wisdom of the King, and without medling with any thing that passes between God and him; they beleive that if he command them to tread under foot all the Holy things, and to violate all the Laws, all that were but for the safety of their Consciences. But it is to be believed, that this Divine Providence, which conducts things to their ends, by means which in appearance are contrary, will use the bloodiness of this people to procure their Salvation, and cause them to come again into the Church, by the same Door they went out of it. And since the hearts of Kings are in the hands of God, there wants nothing but a good motion sent unto him, to build again the Altars which he hath beaten down, and at one clap to turn to the true Religion the Souls of three Kingdoms. A while ago he sent a Gentleman expresly to this Court, that it might not be contrary with the Marriage which he treated with *Spain*, and to endeavour to make the *Romans* think well of it; and that one of these days, it may be, he will call his Holiness, and the sacred College of Cardinals; but hitherto these are terms of a Tongue unknown to him. Farthermore, in this Countrey we imagine, that there will be no lack of Wars till *Rochel* be reduced to extremity; it is very true, that the Forces which the King hath left before it, are not great; but for how many Men, think you, they count the Captain into whose hands he hath put them? It is not permitted to judge of that which he will doe by the ordinary course of the things of this World; his actions cannot be drawn into example, and though he be infinitely wise, notwithstanding it is certain, that in what he undertakes, it always appears somewhat greater than Man's Wisdom; yet truly, my Lord, after having considered the motion of the Stars, which are so just; the order of the Seasons, which are so governed, the beauties of Nature, which are so divers; I find in the end, that there is nothing in the World, wherein God sheweth himself so admirable, as in the guiding of the Life of my Lord your Father. But to the purpose, behold this that I added Yesterday to the great Discourse, which I made by your Commandment, and which you much praised the first time.

See King James *his Remonstrance against Cardinal* Peron.

The way for Romish Conversion.

Monsieur Balsac *to King* Lewis.

SIR,

THe late King your Father hath not done more, and nevertheless, not to speak of the Actions of his life; Your Majesty knows that his last thoughts made all the Kings of the Earth to tremble, and his Memory untill this day is reverenced to the uttermost ends of the World. Notwithstanding, Sir, be it that you are come in a better time than he, be it that God hath destinated Your Majesty for higher things, the glory which you have gotten at the going out of your Infancy is not less, than that which that great Prince deserved when he was grown old in Armes; and in Affairs as he, so you make your self redoubted without Tyranny, as he, so you govern your People. But I am constrained to avow

that

that your Majesty must needs yield to him in one thing, which is, that you have not yet begot a Son that resembles you. But certainly, Sir, we cannot any longer time have this Advantage over you. All *Europe* requires Princes and Princesses of you; and it is certain, that the World ought not to end, but when your Race shall fail: if you will then that the Beauty of the things we see pass to another Age; If you will that the publick Tranquillity have an assured foundation, and that your Victories may be Eternal, you must talk no more of working powerfully, nor of doing great Acts of State, but with the Queen.

The Lord Brook *to the Duke.*

May it please your Grace,

OUt of *Spain* we hear, the World comes so fast after you, (since your departure,) as we assure our selves, this great Work is at a good end, with contentment to our blessed Prince, and like a Princely Treaty, with addition of Honour to the Monarchy he intends to match with.

But, Sir, we hear of a new Treaty sprung up between the *Palsegrave's* Eldest Son, and the Emperour's youngest Daughter. A Labyrinth, into which what hope soever leads us, I fear no one thread will be able to guide us well out. Because in the Passages between these far distant Princes, Education of Children seems like to be demanded; Balancing of Counsels to the jealousie of Friends, I Question whether the *Palatinate* shall be delivered in the Nonage before Marriage, or after; Then whether sequestred into a Catholick, or Protestant hands. If into a Catholick, a probable Argument that both it and the *Valtaline* are equally reserved free to fall with associated Forces upon our ancient Bulwark the *Netherlands*, at pleasure. Lastly, whether the Mitre, and these Sceptres thus united, with their advantage in number of Swords, and Desks abroad, their new springing Party at home, Strengths by Sea and Land, constant Ambition of adding Crown to Crown, and perfect Audit of their neighbour's Powers and Humours, (even while the second Heir-male of this Kingdom shall live in the Hands of Enemies and Strangers,) I say, whether these will not prove fearfull inequalities, casual to the Lives of our King and Prince, dangerous to the Crown, by changing successive Rights into Tenures of Courtesie, and charging of the Peoples Consciences with Visions of Confusion or Bondage.

Again (Sir) admit this new Project should vanish into Smoak, as undigested Vapours use to do, yet give me leave to question, whether to your Grace you have overtly protested against the intricate Courses of the *Spaniard*, even the specious Issue of the *Palatinate's* delivery, before the Consummation of the Marriage, but not like to prove Mother of many colourable and unavoidable Delays. Because, suppose the Proposition should be granted, yet who sees not the effecting of it will prove an Act of so many parts. *viz.* the Pope, Emperour, King of *Spain*, Duke of *Bavaria*, &c. and of so great consequence jointly, and severally, to them all, and must of necessity require divers Assemblies, Commissions, perchance Diets, &c. And then what time the execution of the Minutes under these Heads will demand, he that knows the divers Natures of Nations in treating may easily conceive.

To begin with the least; What Money or other Conditions can be offered like to satisfie the Honour, Humour, and huge Expence of the *Bavarian*, for quitting his Conquest to so unreconcileable a Neighbour: and if there be possibility, yet out of whose Estate or Treasury are these Conditions, or large Proportions of Dowry, probably to be expected? Touching the Emperour; Is there any Forreign Alliance able to perswade this Prince, who having by an untimely War changed all Tenures of Election into Succession, and thereby shaken the ancient Freedom of our *Germany* Princes, what I say, can in likelihood win him to restore these dead Forces of his Enemies, to the prejudice of all he injoys, or aspires to? Besides, What shall move this Emperour to take away the Bann from the *Palsegrave's* Person, who hath so desperately hazarded, not only his own private Kingdoms and Provinces, but by his undertaking, waved the main Ambition of the *Austrian* Family. For the Spanish King, if he be prest, his Answer will be ready and fair, that he hath no Right in him (but Mediation) as appears by the Divisions already made. Notwithstanding, how little Right soever he pretends, yet his Counsel, his Instruments, his Charge, by Diversion, *Overt Ayde*, insensible Succours (the World sees) have been used in all these Wars: so as this, together with his Right, by strong hand gotten (and kept by Arts of depositing) upon the *Valtoline*, may lead us to discern clearly, that he finds the passage of his Forces through them equal, and so resolves both, to over-run the Low Countries when he please. Against which little State (whether out of Revenge or Ambition of greater Conquests by them) he will constantly carry a watchfull and griping Enemies hand.

Concerning the Pope, who knows not, that his universal affected Supremacy (how soever dissembled) yet hath, doth, and ever will urge his Holiness to stir up colourable Wars of Religion, since

Wars, Contentions, and Tumults among Princes, have been his old way of adding more Wealth and Power to his ſanctified See. How, I ſay, this new faſhion'd Monarch ſhall be won to ſuffer *Heidelberg* (the moſt dangerous Neſt of Hereticks, after *Geneva*,) to return to her former ſtrength, is a Point beyond my Capacity.

By theſe ſhort, haſty, and imperfect Images, your Grace may yet judge, that except the reſtitution of the *Palatinate* be inſtantly preſſed, (and like a Work of Faeries, either furniſhed, or broken off at once,) we may eaſily be over-ſhot in our own Bows, by having the Strengths and free Councils of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, during this Treaty, kept under a kind of Covert-baron, and ſo long made a Forge for other Prince's ends, as my Bleſſed Sovereign's Truſt may perchance find it ſelf compelled to play an After-Game, amongſt diſcouraged Friends, and Combination of powerful Enemies; ſuch as under Characters of *Alliance* will think they have won one great Step towards their inveterate Ambition of a Weſtern Monarchy.

Noble Duke, If you find me lifted above my Earth, in handling a Subject to which I am utterly a Stranger, yet bear with a Monk's Humour, in a Man that is Priſoner to old Age. Hide my folly from the Eyes of Criticks. And pardon my freedom that hath wearied you, with a mind ever to remain,

Novemb. 11. 1623. *Your Grace's loving Grand-child, and humble Servant,*

THO. BROOK.

To his Wife.

LEt me intreat you to reade my Letter once again, and if you can find no cauſe of Quarrel, do but then think what you have done all this time to ſend me ſuch a Cartell; you cannot be more void of Fault, than I of ſuſpition, and what you ſpeak I cannot underſtand. But doth my Impriſonment abridge me that I cannot give you Counſel? Or have you reſolved to follow the Counſel of the Lady you know? Know then, as my ill Fortune cannot deject me, ſo ought it much leſs to make you brave and inſolent. You have your choice of two Courſes, let me know which you will take, that I truſt not to a broken Reed. And yet what need I care, ſeeing that you who were my chief Care, do now begin to ſever your ſelf: I will not yet condemn you, you may ſee how unapt I am to entertain ill Thoughts. I will yet, both hold and write my ſelf,

Your loving Husband,

G. BROOK.

Mr. George Brook, *to a Lady in Court.*

Madam,

THe Meſſage which you ſent me, of her Majeſty's gracious Purpoſe altered towards me, hath put me into that ecſtaſie, that I know not whereupon to reſt my ſelf, not having Power to believe that which I am bound to know. Is it poſſible that you ſhould be ſo weak in Grace with her Majeſty, as not to prevail in ſo ſmall a Matter for any Man but of an entire Reputation? Or ſhall I believe that her Majeſty, who ſuffers not the merit of her Servants to be buried with them, ſhould not hold me equivalent with any new *Melchiſedech*, without Father or Mother? I proteſt (Madam) I could not preſage any ill Succeſs to my ſelf, but only of the means of my Ambition, and have held it therefore ſuperfluous to claim any Favour in vertue of Supererogation, eſteeming it too great a derogation from my ſelf, for ſo poor a thing as a Spital-houſe, to raiſe the Dead to ſpeak for me, or challenge any thing more than my own. But it is neither the ſtrangeneſs of the Matter, nor the hardneſs of my belief, that can alter the Decree of a Prince. But I muſt take it in good payment, that is no leſs than for as great a Diſgrace as can outwardly befall me; yet muſt I ever hold my ſelf beholden to this Suit; for though I loſe the Hoſpital, yet have I loſt many Errours; withall I have weighed my Friends in a Balance, and taken a juſt meaſure of my Fortune. I muſt not deſpair, it is not impoſſible for a Man well taught to make a retreat into himſelf; neither will I yet deſpair of my Suit, only for this Reaſon, that this Change cannot proceed of her Majeſty's proper Motion, but muſt be procured by ſome blind Practice that dares not ſee the light, though it may be my Fortune to bring it forth bluſhing; howſoever it be, it ſhall never diſtemper my dutifull Affection towards her Majeſty, though that be for ever barred from her knowledge: for they who are able to prevent her Goodneſs, will be ever likely to prevent my Service. That the Place is already meant to a Divine cannot be true, nor my Impediment: For there is no kind of her Majeſty's Servants and Subjects ſo provided for, there being ſuch ſtore of Places that fall daily both better than this in value, and more proper for their Function. Your Ladyſhip hath been hitherto an honourable and faith-

full

full Interceſſor for me; Good Madam, be not weary to continue ſo ſtill, as I ſhall do ever to acknowledge it; and if I be able, in part to deſerve it,

G. B.

Dr. Balcanquel, *to Secretary* Nanton.

Right Honourable,

THe reaſon why I have not of late written to your Honour, is, the diſcontinuance of our Seſſions of the Synod this great while; but ſince my laſt unto your Honour, we have thus ſpent our time. The publick Reading of all the Collegiate Judgments upon the five Articles was made an end of; in which (God be thanked for it) there was a greater Harmony and Conſent, than could almoſt be hoped for, in ſuch variety of learned Men, who did not know one of anothers Judgement. The only difference was in the ſecond Article. After that the Preſident (never asking Advice from the Synod) took upon him to conceive and dictate the Canons himſelf to us; but we who were ſent by his Majeſty, conceiving that Courſe to be altogether againſt the Dignity of the Synod, conſulted with ſome of the Delegates, who approved our Counſel, and thought it fit, that there ſhould be ſome deputed by the Synod, and joined to the Preſident for conceiving of the Canons, that ſo whatſoever was done might be done by publick Authority. This Motion did trouble the Preſident not a little, who hath all the Provincials at his beck, and ſome of the Foreign Divines too, but eſpecially the *Palatines*. Yet there was a publick Synod called for this purpoſe, where the Preſident of the Delegates did make a Speech, deſiring the Synod to depute ſome, who, joining with the Preſident and the Aſſeſſours, might take pains for moulding of the Canons. In the delivering of the Voices moſt teſtified their diſlike of this Courſe, and their ſingular Reſpect to the Preſident's Credit; but *Scultetus* did by many Reaſons approve the Courſe which the Preſident had begun, and diſprove this new Courſe, which was ſuggeſted, yet he taxed no Man perſonally. But *Sibrandus*, (when he came to deliver his Voice,) like a Mad-man did inveigh againſt thoſe who were the Suggeſters of this Change, and ſaid, That Strangers ſhould not take upon them to preſcribe what was good for the Eſtate of their Church, and that ſome others who had joined in that were worthy to be noted *Cenſura Eccleſiaſtica*: therein he aimed at the South *Holland*, who did likewiſe much diſlike the Preſident his Courſe. *Sibrandus* ſpake ſo furiouſly, that both the *Præſes Politicus*, and the *Præſes Eccleſiaſticus*, deſired him either to hold his peace, or elſe ſpeak that which might not diſturb the Peace of the Synod. Yet ſince it was the Delegates pleaſure, the whole Synod added to the Preſident and the Aſſeſſours three foreign Divines, *viz.* my Lord of *Landaff*, *Scultetus*, and *Deodatus*; three Provincials, *viz. Polyander*, *Vallæus*, and *Triglandius*; who ſhould mould and conceive the Canons upon every Article, and then ſend a Copy of what they have done to every College, and that they may add Power and Change what they will, the Colleges Obſervations being conſidered by them, and the Canons according to them amended, they are to be returned to the Colleges, and the Colleges to return them again, and ſo to keep the Courſe ever till there be no Exceptions againſt them. When they are thus agreed upon by all the ſeveral Colleges, they ſhall publickly be concluded, and approved by the Synod.

We are now hard at poliſhing the Canons which theſe Deputies ſend us. All our trouble is in the ſecond Article: The moſt part of the Synod would cry us down with Voices for the reſtriction of the general Propoſitions in Scripture, and the Confeſſions of the Reformed Churches concerning Chriſt's death, *ad Solos Electos*. We ſtand for leaving them unexpounded, and unreſtricted, as we found them, and rejoice exceedingly, that the Directions which my Lord Embaſſadour ſent us from his Majeſty concerning this Point, agreeth ſo fully with our Judgment ſubſcribed with our Hands, given in to the Synod, upon the ſecond Article. By this doing we, firſt, leave a ſound and ſufficient Ground for preaching of the Goſpel to all Men. Next, we ſhun a great deal of Offence, which otherwiſe we muſt needs have given to the *Lutheran* Churches. Thirdly, we retain the ſame Phraſes, and Forms of Speaking, which thoſe Fathers did, who wreſtled with the *Pelagians* in the ſame Point. If this Article be well looked into, I hope there ſhall moderation enough to be obſerved in all the reſt. If it were not for the moderation of the Foreign Divines, we ſhould have ſuch Canons as I think have not been heard of: for there is never a Provincial Miniſter here, who hath delivered any rigid Propoſition, and hath been taxed by the Remonſtrants for it, but he would have that Propoſition thruſt into one Canon or another, that ſo he may have ſomething to ſhew for that which he hath ſaid. As ſoon as the Canons are agreed upon, I ſhall, by God's grace, with all Expedition ſend them unto your Honour. Our next work will be *Vorſtius*, whoſe Book they would cenſure, without citation of himſelf. The Preſident wrote to our College, in the Delegates name, to know, whether we thought it fit to have him perſonally cited; but eſpecially to know what we thought would be moſt agreeing to his Majeſty's mind.

To the latter, concerning his Majeſty's Mind, we anſwered, That we thought my Lord Embaſſadour could give them the beſt Reſolution for that Point.

For

For the former, we thought it would be evil taken, if any Man ſhould be condemned, not being firſt heard. But becauſe they doubted that *Vorſtius* would keep them as long as the Remonſtrants had done; we told them, that we deſired they would not ſuffer him to make any Defences, or explications of his blaſphemous Propoſitions, but ſimply to anſwer *per ita vel non*, whether he would plainly abjure them, or not; and ſo accordingly proceed againſt him, and ſo we ſhould make no great loſs of time; ſo I think he ſhall be perſonally cited.

This is all, for we had no Synodical meeting theſe twelve Days. I can ſee no end of the Synod before *Whitſontide*. With my beſt Prayers for your Honour, and the remembrance of all my faithfull reſpects, I take my leave; and am

Your Honour's,
In all true Obſervance and Service,
Walter Balcanquel.

March 26.

Sir William Beecher *to His Majeſty.*

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

BEſides the relation of the appearance of change in the affairs of the Court, wherewith my diſpatch to Mr. Secretary *Lake* will acquaint your Majeſty: I thought it my Duty to give you particular account, that being yeſterday with the Prince of *Jainville*, after ſome earneſt proteſtations made to me of his deſire to doe your Majeſty Service, falling into diſcourſe of thoſe Occurrences, he grew into theſe Terms. That the complaints of the Queen Mother were founded upon good Reaſon; that if ſhe had offended the King or the State, why did they not make her Proceſs? if ſhe had not offended, why ſhould ſhe not ſee the King, and her Children? That when the Queen fell upon theſe Complaints, they thought to fright her, by pretending to bring forth the Prince of *Conde*; but that the Queen had aſtoniſhed them, by telling them, that ſhe was ſo far from oppoſing, as ſhe deſired the Liberty of the Prince. That the Queens Friends would be glad of his Liberty, for that it could not be prejudicial, but rather advantageous, at the leaſt; it would be honourable for them, if his Liberty were wrought, if not by their Interceſſion, at leaſt by their Occaſion. Farther he told me, that he was confident, that the Queen would not be gained by their fair Words, but would perſiſt in her Reſolution. Which diſcourſe of his, with ſome other Advertiſements, doth perſuade me, that this matter hath a farther root, and is likely to bring forth ſome great alteration here, in no long time. And I doubt not but that *Monſieur de Luine* will find with repentance, how much better it had been for him, to have farthered your Majeſty's Advice for the delivery of the Prince, whereby he might have acquired to the King a reputation of Juſtice, and to himſelf an obligation of a powerfull Friend in the Prince, rather than to leave him to the adventure of the changes that Time may produce. But if your Counſel did prove fruitleſs to them by their miſconceit of it, yet it doth, and will every day prove more honourable to your Majeſty, who by your Wiſdom hath foreſeen, and by your Goodneſs have premoniſhed all your Neighbours of the Miſchiefs that threatened them.

Peradventure they may overcome this *Effort* of the Queens by fair words to her Perſon, and threats ſignified afar off, and continue the ſtate of affairs in the ſame condition that now it is, which is, in few words, extreamly Romiſh, Jeſuitiſh, and by conſequence, *Spaniſh*.

Mounſieur *de Luine*, ſeemeth to me a Man in himſelf capable of Reaſon, and by the death of the Marſhall *d'Anchre*, eternally bound to be a good Patriot, but he applies himſelf wholly to the King's Perſon, and that diſtruſting his own Judgment, relies upon the Judgment of the Miniſters of the State, and principally * *Du Augen*, the Chancellour, and the Gardeſeaux.

* *Du Aym.*

They utterly neglect all the Alliances of our Religion abroad, and care not how inconſiderately they oppreſs it at home. Only they ſeem deſirous to entertain themſelves well with the King of *Spain*, by the intervention of the *Nuncio*, and do think that no advantage which they can give the *Spaniard* by this proceeding in other parts, can equal that which they pretend to receive at home, by ſuppreſſing the State and Doctrine of thoſe of the Religion.

If they proceed long in this Train, it will undoubtedly breed miſchievous deſigns, which there is no ſo ready way to prevent, as to let them generally perceive, that they are diſcovered, whereby the proceedings of the Miniſters of State will grow ſo deteſtable to all thoſe here, that have any Senſe of the Love of their Countrey, that it will produce either a change of their Perſons, or of their Counſels.

But I do humbly ſubmit the cenſure hereof to your Majeſty's moſt exquiſite Judgment, whom I do beſeech the Almighty long to preſerve in Health and all perfect Happineſs.

February 4.

Your Majeſty's
Moſt humble Subject, and Loyal Servant,
Will. Beecher.

The

The Duke of Buckingham, *Chancellor elect, to the Univerſity of* Cambridge.

MR. Vice-Chancellor, and Gentlemen of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, there is no one thing that concerneth me more near, than the good opinion of good and learned honeſt Men; amongſt which number as you have ever held the firſt rank in the eſtimation of the Common-wealth, and fame of the Chriſtian World; ſo in conferring of this Honour of Chancellorſhip upon me, I muſt confeſs, you have ſatisfied a great Ambition of mine own, which I hope will never forſake me, and that is, to be thought well of by Men that deſerve well, and Men of your Profeſſion. Yet I cannot attribute this Honour to any deſert in me, but to the reſpect you bear to the Sacred Memory of my Maſter deceaſed, the King of Scholars, who loved you, and honoured you often with his preſence; and to my gracious Maſter now living, who inherits, with his Bleſſed Father's Vertues, the Affection he bore your Univerſity. I beſeech you, as you have now made your choice with ſo many kind and noble Circumſtances, as the manner is to me as acceptable and grateful as the matter; ſo to aſſure your ſelves, that you have caſt your Votes upon your Servant, who is as apprehenſive of the time you have ſhewed your Affection in, as of the Honour you have given him. And I earneſtly requeſt you all, that you would be pleaſed not to judge me comparatively, by the ſucceſs and happineſs you have had in your former choice of Chancellors, who as they knew better, perhaps by advantage of Education in your Univerſity, how to value the deſerts of Men of your Qualities and Degrees; ſo could they not be more willing to cheriſh you than my ſelf, who will make amends for want of Scholarſhip, in my love to the profeſſors of it, and unto the Source from whence it cometh: having now moſt juſt cauſe more chiefly to employ my uttermoſt endeavours, with what favour I enjoy from a Royal Maſter, to the maintaining of the Charters, Privileges, and Immunities of your Univerſity in general, and to the advancing of the particular Merits of the Students therein. And ſince I am ſo far engaged unto you, I will preſume upon a farther Courteſie, which is, that you will be pleaſed to ſupply with your Advice, and ſuggeſt a way unto me (as my ſelf likewiſe ſhall not fail to think on ſome means) how we may make Poſterity; remember you have a thankful Chancellor, and one that both really loved you, and your Univerſity. Which is a reſolution writ in an honeſt heart, by him that wanteth much to expreſs his Affection to you, who will ever be

York houſe, *Junii.* 5. 1626.

Your faithful Friend and Humble Servant,
Geo. Buckingham.

The Univerſity of Cambridge's *Anſwer to the Duke.*

Illuſtriſſime Princeps, atq; auſpicatiſſime Cancellarie,

NEptunum *perhibent gratum cum* Minerva *iniiſſe certamen, utrum re magis mortalibus conferret donum: Ille potens maris Deus illico effudit equum; Illa pacis & muſarum numen, ſuppeditavit oleam; utrumque certe Deo dignum munus. Adeo noſtrum non eſt tantam litem dirimere, quin faceſſat potius litis importuna vox, ubi non alia quam amoris, propinantur pignora. Perinde tecum ſe res habet, excellentiſſime dux, quam jam olim potentiſſimus Oceani Britannici Neptunus, non ſolum ſuprema Maris Præfectura cohoneſtavit, ſed & prætorio donavit equo; adeo ut illius munere & propriâ virtute, unus audias, Terræ Martisque ſummus Dictator, ut ſic dicamus Claſſis, & Magiſter Equitum. Poſt tanta honorum veſtigia, ecce, noſtra* Minerva, *tua jam* Cantabrigia, *ſupplex ſuas obſendit oleas, tanquam inter victrices lauros lambentes hederas; oleas quidem quibus & tuis rebus, & rebus tum publicis tum literariis precatur ſimul & auſpicatur pacem. Nec ad uſque ſumus gens togata impotenter ſuperbi, ut hoc Cancellariatu arbitremur. Nos tantillos tibi in id Meritorum & Gratiæ culmen evecto, quicquam vel teſtimonii ad eſtimationem, vel tituli ad gloriam contuliſſe. Quod autem ipſe aliter opinaris, veſtra illa pietas eſt, haud ambitio, major tua tum virtus tum decus eſt, quam ut eisant noſtra quidpiam ſuffragia addere, aut aliorum poſſit invidia detrahere: ſtellæ in primo orbe, quas fixas vocant, altiores ſunt, quam ut ad eas valeat terrarum umbra pertingere, quamquam felicissimæ memoriæ* Jacobo *pientiſſimoque* Carolo, *non eſt, quod hoc quicquid eſt nominis te debere dicas, citra eſt, miſellum munus Academicum, citra eſt quam ut tantos anſtares mereatur, quin veſtram potius celſitudinem, veſtrum tutelare numen, Nos illis Principibus imputabimus, qui inde ex illius potiſſimum voto te elegimus, unde non niſi immortalia accipere beneficia ſolebamus. Quod ſi noſtrum hoc in veſtram Excellentiam ſtudium tibi ipſa, uti ſcribis, commendat tempeſtivitas, nos illud ſaltem debituri ſumus temporibus, cæterum non nimis fœlicibus, quod tibi vel inde gratiores ſimus, quanquam ſuſpicamur, ut hoc totum quod de opportunitate inſimuas merum ſit, nec magnis ingeniis inſolens bene de ſuis cultoribus merendi artificium, quæ eo conſilio ſingula ſuorum officia maxima tempeſtive autumant, quo uberius ſibi remunerandi argumentum aucupentur: nam faciles credimus honorificis quibus nos dignaris promiſſis. Jamdiu eſt, ex quo te ani-*

mo

mo atque opera Cancellarium ſenſimus, nihilque tibi hoc tempore noſtra potuere ſuffragia, quam nomen adjicere. Nolis tamen, ut cum illuſtriſſimis Heroibus Præceſſoribus tuis, te committamus, in qua ſane tua prædicanda modeſtia illorum honori & memoriæ conſuluit, ne tanti fulgoris claritudine offuſcentur, ut enim nulla re magis ſe jactat Cantabrigia *quam præteritorum gloria ac ſplendore Patronorum; hodie tamen, neſcio quid ſolito auguſtius ſpirat, & tuis ſuperba auſpiciis, quaſi* Buckinghamienſis, *aucta tutelis, magnaque ſpe gravida intumeſcit. Ad extremum, nos ad concilium vocas, qua potiſſimum ratione, quo digno monumento tuo, in nos amoris memoriam poſteritati conſecres; verum enim vero (Illuſtriſſime Dux, indulgentiſſimeque Cancellarie,) major eſt ea provincia, quam ut nos eam ſubeundo ſimus, quod tuo amori par ſit monumentum, tuum poteſt ſolummodo excogitare ingenium. Nos interea alia manebit cura, quibus nimirum apud Deum præcibus, quibus ſtudiorum vigiliis, officiorum obſequiis, tantæ Clientelæ felicitatem nobis propriam & perpetuam deſpondeamus,*

Datæ, frequentiſſimo Senatu noſtro,
ſexto Idus Junii, 1626.

Veſtræ Excellentiæ humillimi
devotiſſimique Clientes Servique,

Procancellarius, & reliquus
Senatus Cantabrigienſis.

The Lord Duke of Buckingham *to Sir* Walter Aſton.

IN your Letter of the 5th of *December*, you deſire me to give you my Opinion; my ancient Acquaintance, long Cuſtom of loving you, with Conſtancy of Friendſhip invites me to do you this Office of good will, and to ſerve you according to your requeſt. And for your more intire ſatisfaction, I will deliver the things in the paſt and preſent. You, in all the beginning of the Treaty, won to your ſelf a good Eſtimation, while you were only at large in the Treaty, and had communication of the paſſages from the Lord of *Briſtol*, as by Courteſie; and in his abſence handled no farther in the Treaty of Marriage, than by direction from him. When the Prince was there, your carriage gave his Highneſs and my ſelf all ſatisfaction. Now you muſt give me leave to put you in mind of the freedom uſed with you, whilſt we were at *Madrid*, and of the explanation the Prince made of himſelf to you, by his Letters from St. *Anderas*. From which you might obſerve the reſentment the Prince had of their proceedings with him. And by his Highneſs's Declaration to you from thence you might ſee, both his Care and Reſolution, not to ingage himſelf into the Marriage without good Conditions for the *Palatinate*, and Conſervation of his Honour every way. My Care and my Intentions were to move increaſe of Honour to you, and to Recompence, by a good underſtanding to be layed in his Majeſty towards you, which I purſued ſo ſoon as I came to the King's Preſence. And the Prince's Confidence was ſo great in you, as he joyned you in the Commiſſion; beſides, he declared himſelf to you by his Letters, not leaving you thereby to gueſs at his Majeſty's Directions to the Earl of *Briſtol*, which he was to communicate to you. Now you may think how ſtrange it was to the Prince, and how much I was troubled (not being able to make your excuſe) when your joynt Letters made known, how you had concurred with the Earl of *Briſtol*, to engage his Highneſs by prefixing a day for the *Depoſitories*, without making certain the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* and Electoral Dignity, the Portion and temporal Articles. Which proceeding of yours with the Earl of *Briſtol* was ſo underſtood by the Lords of the Committee, as they took reſolution once, to adviſe his Majeſty to revoke both the Lord of *Briſtol* and you, upon thoſe Grounds, which you will underſtand by his Majeſty's own Letters, and Secretary *Conway's* Letters, written to you with this Diſpatch. I was not able at firſt, by any endeavour to oppoſe the reſolution of your Revocation, ſo far had you caſt your ſelf into Miſconſtruction, and given ſtop to the progreſs of your own advancement. But with conſtant induſtry and time, I have won this Point, of qualifying all ill opinion of you, and ſufferance of your continuing there. So as it will be now in your Power (by your Carriage) to come off without reproof. And I ſhall hope to overcome the reſt with time, to bring you again to the condition of Honour and Recompence. Being confident that ſince you ſee your own Errour, and acknowledge it, you will be carefull by a ſtiff and judicious carriage, to warrant all your preſent and ſucceeding Actions. If you think at firſt ſight I preſs you a little hard upon this point, you may be pleaſed to interpret it to be a faithful way of ſatisfying your requeſt, and expreſſion of my Affection, to have you to doe all things ſuitable to your Wiſdom, Vertue, and Honour, and according to the wiſhes of

Yours, &c.
G. Buckingham.

The

The Duke of Buckingham *to Sir* Walter Aſton.

I Had not leiſure in my former diſpatch, being haſty to write the reaſon why I wondered at the errour you committed in the laſt diſpatch of my Lord of *Briſtol*'s and yours; for the matter is, that his Majeſty having plainly written unto you both in his former diſpatch, that he deſired to be aſſured of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, before the *Depoſorium* was made, ſeeing he would be ſorry to welcome home one Daughter with a ſmiling Chear, and leave his own onely Daughter, at the ſame time weeping and diſconſolate. And the Prince having alſo written unto you, that he never meant to match there, and be fruſtrated of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* ſo often promiſed: That notwithſtanding this clear Language, you ſhould have joyned with my Lord of *Briſtol* in a reſolution of ſo haſty a delivery of the Prince's *Proxy*, before you had his Majeſty's Anſwer to your former diſpatch, wherein my Lord of *Briſtol* urged of his Majeſty a harſh Anſwer and Direction; and his Majeſty cannot but take it for a kind of ſcorn, that within four days after he had urged his Majeſty's Anſwer, ye ſhould in the mean time, take reſolutions of your own Heads. You may doe well, becauſe there is no leiſure in this haſty diſpatch, for his Majeſty to anſwer my Lord of *Briſtol*'s laſt Letter, (which will be done, by the next duplicate of this ſame diſpatch,) to acquaint him in the mean time with this Letter, which his Majeſty himſelf hath dictated unto me. And ſo in haſte I bid you farewel.

Yours, &c.

G. B.

L. H. R. *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

My dear Lord,

I Have ſince my departure from you uſed all diligence in the Prince's Service, and punctually obſerved all his Commands. Only with the King I have dealt ſo freely in my relation of the Prince his Carriage, and your extraordinary Care of working his content in all Points, that I did move him to ſhed Tears in expreſſing his Happineſs for ſuch a Son; and likewiſe his good Fortune in having a Favourite, who is framed according to his own Heart in all Points. Neither have I preſſed any thing to injure, any farther than my Duty bound me, and my faithfull Love to your Service, which ſhall always have a prime place in my Heart.

My Lord, there are contrary opinions in Court and City; by the one you are much admired for your noble Expreſſions of true Honour, and Love to your King, Prince, and Country, with many obſervations of your ſpecial Care and Zeal to Religion, and your immoveable reſolution to conteſt with all oppoſitions to the contrary; by the other you are maligned, and they give it out, that you have with your willfulneſs occaſioned theſe delays, by diverting and changing their ways, wherein they had began to treat; but the falſeneſs hereof hath been ſhewn, and it appears Malice without Ground, the which though heretofore I have told you, not out of any other end than to doe you Service, yet have you ſo ſlightly regarded me for it, and ſo much reſpected thoſe ill-deſerving great ones, (as if you had intended to receive your Enemies into your Boſome, and to caſt off your faithfulleſt Friends;) yet ſhall not any uſage diſcourage me, from diſcharging the Office of a moſt loving and zealous affected Friend and Servant; yea inſomuch, that I will rather diſpleaſe you, in doing you that faithfull Service, that both my Honour and Love obligeth me to, than be ſilent, and let you run into apparent Danger.

My Lord, amongſt the Proteſtants you are divulged (as much as ill diſpoſed ones dare) a Papiſt. Amongſt the Papiſts it is avowed you are the greateſt Enemy they have. For which reports, I am not troubled, for they have made you the much more pitied, and as highly eſteemed, and honoured amongſt the moſt judicious, and beſt deſerving Subjects, as any thing could do: And I dare aſſure you, that ſince your being at *Madrid*, you are much better beloved of all People (who have not ends) than you were before. Noble Lord, I find the King both Reſolute and Courageous, but Wiſe, and Secret, to my own Heart's Joy, and not to be won upon by the ſubtil and falſe Policy of any: I made it my humble ſuit upon my Knees, that he would conſent to no propoſition of this Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, concerning Peace or War, till the Prince's Return, which Suit he took well at my Hands, and granted. I have told him freely what I have obſerved in *Spain*, both of their Manners, Uſage, and Honeſty, and left it to his Wiſdom, to make what uſe he pleaſed. His Majeſty longs to ſee the Prince and you, and ſo do all the Subjects, and will not be ſatisfied with any thing, but your ſpeedy return; except you have jealouſies put into the Spaniards Heads, and prevent the danger, which will be by haſting the Marriage with all poſſible ſpeed; for there are ſome whoſe Buttons break with Venom, that you have got ſo much Honour, and ſo well deſerved of the King

and Prince: But you believe me not, but think I ſpeak of Spleen, when God knows I never bore any to any Man, but for your ſake. Your moſt vertuous Lady mourns for your Abſence, and will not be comforted; your fair Daughter deſerves your ſtaying withall; and your faithfull Friends, and the Good of the Kingdom, want you moſt of all.

And for your greater Comfort, the King is ſo reſerved in the Prince's Affairs, as that he neither imparts the buſineſs of *Spain*, nor his intents therein, to any of his Privy-Council. Since your Patent, the Earl of *Marſhal* is become a great ſtranger at the Court; but all Men find you ſo faſt riveted into the King's Heart, that they ſee it is an impoſſibility to work you any way diſpleaſure in your Abſence, and therefore bear to expreſs what willingly they would effect, but find it in vain to go about it. But let not the King's Love to you, or their ſmall ability to doe you harm, make you too careleſs or too credulous of thoſe your Enemies, leſt it give too great encouragement to them, and too great diſheartning to your faithfull Friends. I am ſorry at my being with you at *Madrid*, that you durſt not impart thoſe Secrets wherein I am ſure my Faithfulneſs and Love unto you would have done you all Service, (as the thing I moſt deſire;) but I ſee the Zeal of my Heart to you is not rightly conſidered; yet I am confident that time will make me beſt known, and better eſteemed by you, as one whoſe true Heart is always watchfull, of taking all opportnities to doe you Service. My Lord, you ſhall find me not only a word-friend, but an Active, who never am better pleaſed, than when I find moſt Oppoſition. And for your Concluſion, I am ſo far from ſhunning Dangers, to doe you Service, as that I would willingly wade in Bloud at any time to manifeſt my ſelf yours: And therefore, I ſhould receive great content, if you knew how truly I were yours, becauſe then I am ſure, in the Nobleneſs of your Nature, it would be impoſſible for any to be able to doe me wrong in your honourable Thoughts. My dear Lord, pray ſuffer no longer delays in *Spain*, but either diſpatch what you went for quickly, or elſe return ſpeedily; for aſſure your ſelf, their deſire to have you continue there is for no Love to you, but to farther thereby their own deſigns elſewhere. Nay, I dare juſtifie it out of my own weak Judgment, that the longer you ſtay, the farther off you ſhall be from obtaining what you deſire. And if you reſolutely purpoſe your return with ſpeed, you will force them out of their dull Pace, and put upon them the Rock from which they cannot eſcape, except they fulfill your Deſires. Beſides, your Preſence is moſt neceſſary here for home Affairs; for your Abſence hath cauſed too great inſolency in the Court, by ſuch as bear themſelves very loftily, and inſult very much over yours, eſpecially your poor Servant *Mentis* is much threatned, as being yours, and muſt ſuffer till you come back. Some other things likewiſe are otherwiſe carried in your Abſence, than would be in your Preſence; therefore for God's Sake return, but with the Prince, and count delays Denials. And the longer you ſtay there, the ſtronger you make them, and your ſelves the weaker. My Lord of *Briſtol* hath a great and more powerfull Party in Court than you imagine; in ſo much, that I am confident, were the King a Neuter, he would prevail; and I do not much marvel at it, for you truſt upon the Honour, and Juſtification of all your Actions, deſirous to make no Friends, becauſe you need none; but he deals with a great deal of cautelous Wiſdom, and as he hath wrought into the King's Opinion, by reaſon of ſome pleaſing Services, ſo hath he into all thoſe who are about the King, or powerfull, that they may better his good Services, and ſmother his bad. Beſides, the Man who is ſuſpitious (as he muſt needs be) hath far greater care of after-reckonings, how to make fair Gloſſes, than he who doth all things with the avowment of all Honour, and the only intent of Service to his King and Countrey. It grieves me, I am not thought worthy to hear from you any word by theſe laſt Meſſengers, eſpecially being promiſed the imployment from which I was put. Farewell (dear Lord) and the Almighty's Protection be upon our unmatchable Prince, upon whoſe Worth, and brave Atchievements, all Eyes are fixed; and the ſame Protection light upon you, his right Hand, and give you the good Fortune, to make as brave a Return, as you did a Voyage thither, to the eternal Praiſe of your future Memories. And upon theſe Hopes, I reſt happy to think my Self

Yours,

H. R.

CECIL'S

CECIL'S Letters, &c.

Sir Robert Cecil, *after Earl of* Salisbury, *to the Lord* Burleigh, *his Father, from* France.

MY duty humbly remembred to your Lordſhip, having lately made diſpatches from *Deip*, and having made little way in *France*, by reaſon of Sir *Thomas Wilks* indiſpoſition, your Lordſhip can expect little from me; eſpecially having joined with my Aſſociates in a Letter to your Lordſhip: Nevertheleſs, becauſe Love and Duty will find eaſily occaſion to expreſs themſelves, I am bold to yield your Lordſhip ſome more trouble by my private Letter. I have met here with the Primier Preſident of *Roan*, a Man of great Credit and Reputation, one that untill mere neceſſity did force him, kept much hold here for this King; he afterward retired, and kept the Parliament at *Caen*, he is Learned, Grave, of good Perſon, good Diſcourſe, and well Affectionate to *England*, his name is *Claude Grollart*; he is now next the Duke *Monpenſier*, the ſtay of all thoſe Quarters, inſomuch that when the King will be merry with him, he calls him one of the petty Dukes in *Normandy*; he did viſit me with great Reſpect, and fell into familiar diſcourſe with me of your Lordſhip, whom he had known in *England* many Years ſince, and hath had correſpondency with your Lordſhip by Letters in Mr. Secretary *Walſingham*'s time. And being talking thereof, he deſired me to tell your Lordſhip by occaſion, that when theſe Troubles were like to grow by the League, you writ him a Letter of advice to ſtick faſt to the King, and not to be doubtfull, though he ſaw difficulties; for you did hold it for a true Oracle, that the Kings on Earth are like the Sun, and that ſuch as do ſeek to uſurp, are like falling Stars: For the Sun, although it be eclipſed and obfuſcated with Miſts and Clouds, at length they are diſperſed; where the other are but figures of Stars in the Eyes view, and prove no more but exhalations, which ſuddenly diſſolve and fall to the Earth, where they are conſumed. Becauſe I have little elſe to fill my Paper, I preſume to trouble your Lordſhip thus far, to whom I think cannot be offenſive to hear that for your ſake I am by many the better uſed, and that by your own Wiſdom, you are by Men of Place and Gravity both honoured and remembred. The Marriage of the Duke of *Tremoville* to the Count *Maurice* his Siſter, hath drawn the Duke of *Bouillon* towards *Britany*, where, I am informed by this Preſident, that he meaneth to ſtay, and to attend the King, to whom he will clear himſelf if he take any knowledge of any jealouſie; and the rather becauſe he is there well fortified in a Countrey full of thoſe that are of the Religion. It ſhall behove me being there to carry my ſelf tenderly towards him. The King's proſperity in *Britany* hath already made his Catholicks begin to quarrel with the Accord which hath been made at the Aſſembly; for the Perſons that were appointed to frame the Articles in an Edict have varied upon ſome principal Points, onely to triſle out the time, thereby to diſcover whether the King may need their aſſiſtance or no. But the Duke of *Bouillon* hearing inckling of it, made more haſte, and hath been with the King, and doth return forthwith to him, as ſoon as he hath been at the Marriage of the Lady *Tremoville*. Your Lordſhip knows the circumſtances of my Journey are not ſuch as can afford me any means to judge; but this your Lordſhip may aſſure, that by that time I have ſpoken to the King, things will break out one way or other, ſo far as it will appear whether it be worth the tarrying to treat or no; after once the King has been dealt with, to which I will addreſs my ſelf with all ſpeed, and not tarry for the States, who may be come to *Paris* by that time I do return; for I believe they will be content to treat any where. I ſhould have a miſs of Sir *Thomas Wilks*, were it not we were well inſtructed; and ſurely, he was grown very heavy of late, and dull: If I ſhould ſtay here to attend his Recovery, it would conſume me to no purpoſe. I have written a Letter to the Queen of ſome ſuch gathering as I have gotten, and of the Speeches between Me and the Preſident, becauſe Her Majeſty may not be offended that I write not particularly to her ſelf of ſomething. Although the *Spaniards* from *Callis* have ſpoiled *Baſe-Bologne*, yet it is not holden here that the Cardinal will ſit down before any Town ſpeedily, for he will not be able. Nevertheleſs, the Conſtable is come into *Picardy*, to give ſtay to the Province; if that be the Truit of the Treaty, we ſhall have leſs need to diſſuade the King,

I much fear Sir *Tho. Wilks* to be in a Lethargy, ſince your Lordſhip's Letter of *Feb.* 15. which found me at *Dover* a little before my Imbarking, the Wind hath not ſerved to bring me any Letter out of *England*. The Lord of Heaven ſend me Tidings of your Lordſhip's Health, for whom I will daily pray I received alſo a Letter from the Earl of *Eſſex*, of the 16*th*. and did Imbark the 17*th*. I humbly take my leave, and reſt

Your Lordſhip's humble and obedient Son,

Feb. 26. 1597. Ro. Cecil.

Certain Copies of Letters, Written by Sir William Cecil *Knight, Secretary of Eſtate to Queen* Elizabeth, *to Sir* Hen. Norris *Knight, Ambaſſadour for the ſaid Queen, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

*I Am conſtrained to uſe the hand of my ſervant in Writing unto you, becauſe I find it ſomewhat grievous to uſe mine own at this preſent; the Queens Majeſty hath received your Letters with very good contentation, and alloweth your manner of beginning and proceeding as well, I dare aſſure you, as your ſelf could deviſe; which I do not in Words onely ſpeak, but wiſh you to take them for as good a truth as I can inform.

Entertainment above ordinary.

The rare manner of your Entertainment hath moved the Queens Majeſty to muze upon what courſe it ſhould be, being more than hath been uſed in like caſes to her Embaſſadours; and ſuch as beſides your own report hath been by others very largely advertiſed; and for that in ſuch things gueſſes be but doubtfull, I pray you by your next, advertiſe me what your ſelf doth think of it, and in the mean time, I know you are not untaught to judge of the difference of fair Words from good Deeds, as the ſaying is, *Fortuna cum adblanditur captum adducit:*

To know the cauſe thereof.

The Queens Majeſty meaneth to require this Embaſſadour expreſly to write unto the King there, in how good part ſhe taketh this manner of greatfull Acceptation of you her Servant there, giving him to underſtand how good report you have made thereof, and how much comforted you are by this manner, to proceed in her Service there.

I would have had Her Majeſty to have Written her own Letters to the King hereof; but her Majeſty made choice rather to ſpeak with the Embaſſadour, which ſhe will do to Morrow, who cometh hither, and *La Croq*, which cometh out of *Scotland*, and departeth ſhortly from hence thither into *France*, having been a good time in manner as an Ambaſſadour with the *Scottiſh* Queen.

Monſieur *Moret* is, I think, on the way coming hither out of *Scotland*; my Lord of *Bedford* who came long ago out of *Scotland*, arrived here but of late, and hath brought us good report from the *Scottiſh* Queen, of her good diſpoſition to keep Peace and Amity with the Queens Majeſty.

Of late *Shane O Neal* hath made means to the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, to be received into Grace, pretending that he hath not meant any manner of unlawfullneſs unto the Queen; by which is gathered, that he groweth weary of his Lewdneſs; and yet I think he is not otherwiſe to be reformed, than by ſharp proſecution, which is intended to be followed no whit the leſs for any his fair Writings, as reaſon is.

Of the Troubles of the Low Countries, I think you be as well advertiſed there as we can be here; and of the likelihood of the King's not coming into the Low Countries.

I cannot tell whether you are yet acquainted with Captain *Cockburne*, whoſe humor when you know, as I think *Barnaby* can ſhew you, I doubt not but you ſhall have of his hand no lack of Intelligence, which you muſt credit as you ſhall ſee cauſe by proof of the Event; he writeth almoſt weekly to me, and looketh for as many Anſwers, which I cannot have leiſure to make him, but I pray let him underſtand that I accept his Writing in very good part.

The manner of the dealing with them there for the particular cauſes contained in your Inſtructions is very well to be liked; and I wiſh the ſucceſs of the Anſwers to prove as good as the beginning hath appearance, and eſpecially for the relief of the poor Priſoners in the Gallies, whoſe ſtay, I fear, will grow indirectly by Monſieur *de Foix*, to get thereby the Acquittal of *Leſtrille*, whom ſurely he is bound in Honour to ſee reſtored.

Since I had Written thus much by my Servant's hand, and meant yeſter Night to have ended the Letter; I thought good to ſtay untill this preſent, that I knew by the *French* Embaſſadour, what *De la Crocq* ſhould doe here; and amongſt other things, the Queens Majeſty hath very earneſtly expreſſed to the Embaſſadour her good liking and eſtimation of your Honourable Entertainment, whereof you did advertiſe Her Majeſty; and contrary to her former Determination, did tell *La Crocq*, that he ſhould carry her Majeſty's Letters to the *French* King, of ſpecial Thanks for the ſame; beſides words of Viſitation, nothing paſſed this day otherwiſe, and therefore meaning not to keep your Servant any longer, I end with my very hearty Commendations to your Self, and my Lady, and wiſh as well to you and all Yours, as to my Self.

Feb. 10. 1566.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

To the Right Honourable Sir Hen. Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſties Embaſſadour in* France.

Sir,

SIR,

* THe Queen's Majeſty continueth her good liking of your manner of Negotiation, and your Adver-tiſements to her Majeſty, which ſhe wiſheth you to continue. She alſo alloweth your diſcretion, in writing apart to me, in Matters containing Trouble and Buſineſs, and to her of Advice; of all other things, ſhe moſt marveileth at the Anſwer ſent you by Monſieur *De Foix*, who ſeemeth not diſpoſed to perform his Promiſe made to the Queen's Majeſty, by a Cavillation, alledging it to have been for his Maſter; wherefore you ſhall doe well to ſay to him, That upon his Anſwer reported hither, the Queen's Majeſty ſeemeth to make doubt that you have not rightly conceived it; and therefore ſhe hath re-charged you to ſpeak with himſelf, and to require his Anſwer; for you may ſay, her Majeſty advertiſed you, that ſhe cannot be well perſuaded that you will forget your Promiſe firmly made to her ſelf, for the ſafe delivery of *Leſtrille*; and when he was eſcaped of your Advertiſement, that he was taken, and that he ſhould be returned into *England*; and if ſuch a Promiſe be no otherwiſe kept, being made unto her, you may ſay her Majeſty ſhall find it ſtrange how to credit an Embaſſadour; and ſo her Majeſty would that you ſhould charge him in fair Words, and good Manners, the beſt you can, to obtain *Leſtrille*. You may doe well to learn how many Priſoners do remain in the Gallies.

The ſtrange News of the Death of the King of *Scots* will be come thither before theſe Letters; but by your Son you ſhall know as much as I have.

The Queen's Majeſty would fain have a Taylor that had Skill to make her Apparel, both after the *French* and *Italian* Manner; and ſhe thinketh that you might uſe ſome mean to obtain ſome one ſuch there as ſerveth that Queen, without mentioning any manner of Requeſt in the Queen's Majeſty's Name. Firſt, to cauſe my Lady, your Wife, to uſe ſome ſuch means to get one, as thereof knowledge might not come to the Queen Mother's Ears, of whom the Queen's Majeſty thinketh thus, That if ſhe did underſtand that it were a Matter wherein her Majeſty might be pleaſured, ſhe would offer to ſend one to the Queen's Majeſty: Nevertheleſs, if it cannot be ſo obtained by this indirect means, then her Majeſty would have you deviſe ſome other good means to obtain one that were skilfull.

I have ſtaid your Son from going hence now theſe two days, upon the Queens Majeſty's Commandment, for that ſhe would have him to have as much of the truth of the Circumſtances of the Murther of the King of *Scots* as might be; and hitherto the ſame is hard to come by, otherwiſe than in a generality, that he was ſtrangled, and his Lodging razed with Gun-powder; his Father was firſt ſaid to have been ſlain; but it is not true, for he was at *Glaſco* at that time: It is conſtantly affirmed that there were thirty at the killing of him.

We look hourly for *Robert Melvin* from the Queen of *Scots*, by whom we muſt have that which he hath Order to report.

The Queens Majeſty ſent yeſterday my Lady *Howard*, and my Wife, to the Lady *Lenox* to the Tower, to open this Matter unto her, who could not be by any means kept from ſuch Paſſions of Mind, as the horriblneſs of the Fact did require. And this laſt Night were with the ſaid Lady, the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and Doctor *Huick*; and I hope her Majeſty will ſhew ſome favourable compaſſion of the ſaid Lady, whom any humane Nature muſt needs pity. After I had written thus far, Maſter *Melvin* cam hither from *Scotland*, by whom we looked that we ſhould have heard many of the Circumſtances of this Murther; but he cannot, or may not tell us any more than we heard before; the moſt ſuſpition that I can hear, is, of the Earl *Bothwell*; but yet I would not be the Author of any ſuch Report, but onely do mean to inform you, as I hear, and as I mean, when I ſhall have more

The Queen's Majeſty cauſed the *French* Embaſſadour to be informed of the Anſwer made to you by Monſieur *de Foix* concerning *Leſtrille*, who ſaith, when he hath ſpoken with the Queen's Majeſty here, he will advertiſe the King then thereof. He ſeemed to underſtand, firſt, how ſome Bargain might be made for *Leſtrille*. Secondly, whether the Queen's Majeſty could not be pleaſed to have him delivered to you; but the Meſſenger anſwered him, that he knew no other, but to have him returned hither according to the Promiſe; and ſo you may doe well therein to perſiſt.

Now ſeeing I am come to no more knowledge from *Scotland*, I will ſtay your Son no longer, wiſhing him well to come to you, and long to enjoy both you and my Lady;

From *Weſtminſter*,
20 Feb. 1566.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

Poſtſcript.

I thank you for your offer, to ſend me the Book *de tranſlation' de Religion'*, which I have; but if there be any particular Charts new printed, I pray you ſend me a Callendar thereof, and of any new Books, whereupon I may chance crave of you ſome.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queens Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

After

SIR,

*After my very hearty Commendations, I ſend you herewith a Letter from the Queen's Majeſty, by which you ſhall underſtand what her Pleaſure is for you to deal with the *French* King; whereunto you may add, as you ſee occaſion, That you are informed, very credibly, that *Montue's* Company, now at their return, are ſuffered to make Port-Sale of all that they have brought home from the Iſles of *Medera*. And therefore, if it might pleaſe his Majeſty to give direct Order and Charge, for due reſtitution of that which was ſpoiled from the Queen's Subjects, it is likely the Parties ſhall be able enough to make Recompence; my meaning herein is, that the *French* King and his Council may perceive that it is well known, how theſe Pirates are ſuffered to doe what they will, notwithſtanding contrary Proclamations; and yet you ſhall ſo utter this Matter, as not that you find fault with this manner of Sufferance, for that ought properly to be to the *Spaniſh* or *Portugal* Embaſſadour, with whom you may ſometime deal, to underſtand how they do know what is done, and how they do interpret it.

You ſhall ſhortly hear of ſome ſpecial Perſon, that ſhall be ſent thither in Embaſſage, to join with you for the demanding of *Callis*, which is due, by the Treaty of *Cambray*, to be reſtored to the Queen's Majeſty the ſecond day of *April* next; but who it is that ſhall come, as yet I cannot advertiſe.

The Manner of the Death of the King of *Scots* is not yet diſcovered to us, for the knowledge of the Author thereof; but there hath been Proclamation made, That whoſoever would reveal the Offenders ſhall have two Thouſand Pound *Scotiſh*; and if he were a Party, ſhould have his Pardon and five hundred Pounds; the day after a Bill was ſet up in *Edenburgh*, in this ſort, *I, according to the Proclamation, have made Inquiſition for the ſlaughter of the King, and do find the Earl* Bothwell, *Mr.* James Beafour, *Parſon of* Flisk, *Mr.* David Chamber, *and* Black *Mr.* John Spence, *the principal Deviſers thereof; and if this be not true, ſpirat* Gilbert Beaufour. There were alſo Words added, which I am loth to report, that touched the Queen of *Scots*, which I hold beſt to be ſuppreſt: Farther, ſuch Perſons annointed are not to be thought ill of without manifeſt proof.

The next day following, a ſecond Proclamation was made, repeating the former Bill, willing the Party to ſubſcribe his Name, and he ſhould be pardoned, and have the Money according to the firſt Proclamation. The next day, being the nineteenth of *February*, a ſecond Bill was ſet up in the former Place, offering to compear and avow the Matter; ſo as the Money might be put into indifferent hands; and that Sir *Francis Baſtine*, *Joſeph* and *Moſes Miſke* be taken; and then he the Exhibitor of the Bill would avow the whole Matter, and declare every Man's Act. Thus far things paſſed till that day; and ſince that, I hear that much unquietneſs is like to grow about that Matter; and the common Speech toucheth the Earls, *Bothwell* and *Huntly*, who remain with the Queen; but how true the Accuſations, I will not take upon me to affirm the one or the other; neither would I have you to utter any of theſe things, to make condemnation of any of them, but as reports, not doubting but ſhortly God will cauſe the truth to be revealed. There do adhere together with the Earl of *Lenox*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Morton*, *Athell*, *Murrey*, *Catneſs* and *Glencarne*, who mean to be at *Edinburgh* very ſhortly, as they pretend, to ſearch out the Malefactors.

Of late you wrote unto me of one *King* an *Engliſhman*, who doth miſuſe himſelf very much; of whom if you would write unto me ſomewhat more particularly, for the proof of his Traiterous Speeches, whereby there might be ſome good ground made, how to have him demanded, you ſhall hear more thereof, and ſo you ſhall (percaſe) by the next, though I do not hear from you; and ſo fare you heartily well.

Weſtm. March, 1566. *Yours aſſuredly*

W. Cecil.

Poſtſcript.

Becauſe I have not preſently leiſure to write to Mr. *Man*, Embaſſadour in *Spain*, I pray you to let him underſtand of ſuch Advertiſements as I ſend you, and ſuch other things as you ſhall think meet; And to convey the Letters by the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour's means, Reſident there in that Court.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſtys Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

*I Wrote of late to you, that Sir *Thomas Smith* ſhould come ſhortly thither, but I think he ſhall not be there now ſo ſpeedily as was meant; for he ſhall firſt ſecretly paſs over to *Callis*, to be there the Third of *April*, to demand the Town; not that we think the Governour will deliver it, but to avoid all Cavillation which they might invent; (for by Law it muſt be demanded at the very Place, and being not delivered, the Sum of five hundred thouſand Pounds is forfeited;) Maſter *Winter* ſhall paſs ſecretly with him to take Poſſeſſion thereof, if they ſhall deceive our Expectation; but not paſt three of the Council know of *Winter*'s going.

The common Fame in *Scotland* continueth upon the Earl *Bothwell*, to be the principal Murtherer of the King, and the Queen's Name is not well ſpoken of; God amend all that is amiſs: We heard before your Writing, of the *French* Attempt for the Prince.

We

We have no News, but all well here; the Matters of *Flanders* go very hard for the Proteſtants; and if God do not provide for their ſafety, I look for their ruine. I heard, this day, that *Danvile* ſhould be ſlain. Fare you well.

Weſtm. 21. *March*, 1566. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecil.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſtys Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

*BY the Queen's Majeſtys Letters, and by this Bearer, you ſhall underſtand how earneſtly her Majeſty is inclined to help the Count *Rocondolfe*; and ſince the writing of her Majeſty's Letters, ſhe hath commanded me that you ſhould make it a principal part of your Requeſt to the King, and the Queen Mother; that conſidering the Count is a Stranger born, and is of the Order of *France*, that his Cauſe might be heard and ordered by the King, and the others of the ſame Order; and to that end you ſhall proſecute your Requeſt, that the whole Cauſe may be removed from the Court of Parliament at *Paris*; wherein her Majeſty would have you by all good means to perſiſt, as in a Requeſt that of it ſelf is Honourable, and ſometimes, as ſhe thinketh uſual: At the leaſt ſuch, as if any the like Perſon, being a Stranger in her Realm, and being honoured with the Order of the Garter, if he would require to have his Cauſes (wherein his Life or Honour were touched) to be heard by her Majeſty, and her Knights of her Order, he ſhould not be denied, nor ſhould be by any other Judges moleſted.

Thus I report to you her Majeſty's good Pleaſure; and thereto do add my poor private Requeſt, to beſeech you not to be weary in the proſecution of this Suit.

Weſtm. 9. *March*, 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecil.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, Her Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

*YEſterday Mr. *Smith*'s Son arrived with ſome Letters from you and him, containing your troubleſome Negotiation, whereof we here thought very long. He ſaith he was conſtrained to tarry ſix days at *Hull*, and that his Father would be here this Night; you ſhall hereafter hear of ſome ill News out of *Ireland*; and though it be not of great Moment, thanks be to God, yet by report of ill Friends they will be amplified. Indeed the 21ſt of *April*, a Fire happened in a little Fort upon the Sea-ſide, at a Place called the *Dirrye*, which Mr. *Randolphe* firſt took, in ſuch ſort as the Houſes being all covered with Straw, the Soldiers were forced to abandon it, being two hundred, and with their Captain Mr. *Sentlo*, came by Sea to *Knockvergus*, a Caſtle of the Queen's; but for all this it is meant to take again the Place, or a better, and to proſecute the Rebel, who is in declination.

The Queen of *Scots*, I think, will be woed to marry the Earl *Bothwell*; the principal of the Nobility are againſt it, and are at *Sterling* with the Prince. Fare ye well; and as I wrote by Mr. *Shute*, ſo aſſure your ſelf of me, as you mean your ſelf to me:

May 12. 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecil.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, her Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

*BY your laſt Letter of I underſtand of the Intelligence was given unto you, of Preparation of eight Ships, to be ſet out to the Seas, which ſeemeth very ſtrange; and therefore the Embaſſadour here, who could not get Audience of the Queen's Majeſty, although he often demanded it, ſince Mr. *Smith*'s return, was ſent for to come to the Council, and was roundly charged with certain Depredations committed upon *Engliſh* Merchants in the Weſt; and alſo with this new Preparation, and therewith warned to advertiſe his Maſter, that we could not long ſuffer ſuch Attempts unrevenged; and being ſomewhat amazed with the Charge, he denied the things very flatly, and promiſed to write very earneſtly therein to the King his Maſter. And for concluſion, we ſaid, that we would write unto you, to move the King to make Reſtitution, and to prohibit the going to the Seas of any other, but of thoſe that were good Merchants in this time of Peace, according to the Treaty; of which our Negotiation you ſhall hear more ſhortly by Letters from the Council, although I thought it good, by this my private Letter, ſomewhat to touch it unto you.

This

This Speech with the Embaſſadour was on Saturday, the fourth of this preſent; and upon Importunity of the Embaſſadour, he had Audience of the Queen's Majeſty this day, to whom he ſhewed a Letter from the King, that *Percivall* coming over with Letters of late thither, was ſtayed at *Deip*; and the King hearing that he had Letters from the Queen's Majeſty, ordered to diſmiſs him, and willed the Embaſſadour to pray the Queen to think no Offence in it, for the ſaid *Percivall* was to be Arreſted in *France* for great Debts which he ow'd there; beſides that, as the Embaſſadour ſaith, he is to be charged there with a Murther. After he had ſhewed this Letter to her Majeſty, ſhe called the Lord Chamberlain and me to her in his Preſence, there being no more of her Council then; and in very round Speeches told the Embaſſadour, that ſhe did not take the *French* King's Anſwer, for the Matter of *Callis*, in good part; and ſo much the worſe, becauſe the Queen Mother, by her Letters ſent by Mr. *Smith*, wrote, that her Son had given very benign Audience, and ſo reaſonable an Anſwer, as ought well to content her Majeſty. In which manner of Speech, ſhe ſaith, ſhe is not well uſed, conſidering the Anſwer was altogether unjuſt and unreaſonable; and if hereof the Embaſſadour ſhall make any miniſter Report, you may, as you ſee cauſe, well maintain the Queen's Anſwer to be very reaſonable, as having cauſe to miſlike the manner of Writing of the Queen thereon; which nevertheleſs you may impute to the unadviſedneſs of the Secretaries, for ſo the Queen's Majeſty here did impute it.

Upon Sunday laſt I received Letters from *Barnaby*, your Secretary, who therein did very well advertiſe me of the ſtaying of *Percivall* at *Deip*, and indeed I do find that the Cauſe hath grown from the Embaſſadour here, either of Diſpleaſure, or of Suſpition that he hath againſt the State *Re. Condulphe*, for whom he knew *Percivall* was ſpecially ſent; and finding this day the Embaſſadour very earneſt in private Speech with my Lord of *Leiceſter* and my ſelf, that *Percivall* would be Arreſted in *France*, after that he had delivered the Queen's Letters, I adviſed him to write to the contrary; for otherwiſe he might provoke us to doe the like with his Meſſengers; and ſurely, if I may be ſuffered, ſo will I uſe them.

I have no more to write unto you; But I can aſſure you that the Queen of *Scots* was married the 15th of this *May*, and the Nobility therewith ſo offended, as they remain with the Prince, and keep apart from her; what will follow, I know not. My Lady your Wife is ſafely arrived, and was long with the Queen on Sunday: I thank you for the little *French* Book which ſhe brought me, the like whereof I had before.

May 27. 1567. *Yours aſſuredly,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſtys Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecil.

SIR,

*THe Matters of *Scotland* grow ſo great, as they draw us to be very carefull thereof; I think not but you do hear of them by the Reports; but briefly theſe they be: The beſt part of the Nobility hath confederated themſelves, to follow, by way of Juſtice, the Condemnation of *Bothwell* and his Complices, for the Muther of the King; *Bothwell* defends himſelf by the Queen's maintenance, and the *Hambletons*, ſo as he hath ſome Party, though it be not great. The 15th of this Month he brought the Queen into the Field, with her Power, which was ſo ſmall, as he eſcaped himſelf without fighting, and left the Queen in the Field; and ſhe yielding her ſelf to the Lords, flatly denied to grant Juſtice againſt *Bothwell*; ſo as they have reſtrained her in *Lothleven*, untill they may come unto the end of their Purſuit againſt *Bothwell*.

The *French* Embaſſadour, and *Villeroy*, who is there, pretend favour to the Lords with very great Offers, and, it may be, they doe as much on the other ſide.

At this time I ſend unto you certain Packets of Letters, left here by Mr. *Melvin*, who lately came hither from the Queen of *Scots*; the ſending of thoſe to my Lord of *Murray* requireth great haſte, whereof you may not make the *Scotiſh* Embaſſadour privy; but I think you may make *Robert Steward* privy, with whom you may confer, for the ſpeedy ſending away of the ſame Letters.

His return into *Scotland* is much deſired of them; and for the Weal both of *England* and *Scotland*, I wiſh he were here; and for his manner of returning, touching his ſafety, I pray require Mr. *Steward* to have good care.

Our Wars in *Ireland* are come to a good paſs; for the Arch-Traitor *Shane-O Neale* is ſlain by certain *Scots* in *Ireland*, of whom he ſought aid, (one Murtherer killed by many Murtherers;) hereby the whole Realm, I truſt, will become quiet; I pray you of thoſe things, that our Embaſſadour in *Spain*, by your Letters, may be advertiſed, whereof I cannot at this time make any ſpecial Letter unto him, for lack of leiſure; and ſo, I pray, advertiſe him from me: I am pitifully overwhelmed with Buſineſs.

Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* is ſhortly to paſs into *Scotland*, to negotiate there for the Pacification of thoſe Troubles.

Richmond, 26th *June*, 1567. *Yours aſſuredly,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſtys Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecil.

SIR,

SIR,

THis your Lackquey brought me Letters from you, and alſo from your ſervant Mr. whom he left at *Rye*; for ſuch Buſineſs as by his Letter he hath certified me, whereof I have informed the Queen's Majeſty, wherein ſhe alſo well alloweth of your circumſpection; and I wiſh all to ſucceed as you adviſe, for otherwiſe the peril were great. Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* hath been ſomewhat long in going into *Scotland*, and entred by *Berwick* on *Monday* laſt; I think the two Factions of the *Hambletons* and the *Lenoxes* ſhall better accord than your Neighbours where you now live would; if *Bothwell* might be apprehended, I think the Queen there ſhall be at good Liberty for the Nobility.

My Lord of *Pembrooke* perceiving likelihood of Troubles there in that Country, would gladly have his Son Mr. *Edward Herbert* to return home; and ſo I pray, with my hearty Commendations to him, declare my Lord his Father's mind; and if my Lord of *Murray* ſhould lack credit for Money, my Lord Steward would have his Son give him ſuch Credit as he hath, for my Lord alloweth well of his Friendſhip. I am ſorry that at preſent I am unfurniſhed to help you with a Secretary; my Servant *Windebanke* is ſick, Mr. *Sommers* will not be induced to leave his place. So as nevertheleſs, if I can procure you any other meet Perſon, by the next Meſſenger, you ſhall hear.

I thank you for the Chart of *Paris*, and for a written Book to the Queens Majeſty, whereof Her Majeſty would gladly know the Author; and ſo I end.

Richmond, 14. *July*, 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

AT my laſt writing by Maſter *Jenny*, I did not make any mention of Anſwer to your requeſt for the proviſion of a Secretary, becauſe I heard that you meant to place one *Moleneux*, if he might be recommended by me; and truly if he be meet for the place, I do well allow thereof, for howſoever he did in times paſt miſuſe me, I have remitted it, and wiſh him well.

My Lord Keeper prayeth you to uſe ſome good Means, to inquire by the way of *Orleans*, of Sir *Ralph Pawlet*, what is become of him, and where he is, and how he doth.

It is certain, on the 29*th.* of *July*, the Prince of *Scotland* was Crowned King at *Starling*, with all the Ceremonies thereto due, and with a general applauſe of all ſorts; the Queen yet remaineth where ſhe was.

Winſor, 5. *Aug.* 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOu ſhall perceive by the Queen's Majeſty's Letter to you, at this preſent, how earneſtly ſhe is bent in the Favour of the Queen of *Scots*; and truly, ſince the beginning, ſhe hath been greatly offended with the Lords; and howſoever Her Majeſty might make her profit by bearing with the Lords in this Action, yet no Counſel can ſtay Her Majeſty from manifeſting of her miſliking of them; ſo as indeed, I think thereby the *French* may and will eaſily catch them, and make their preſent profit of them, to the damage of *England*; and in this behalf Her Majeſty had no ſmall miſliking of that Book which you ſent me written in *French*, whoſe name yet I know not; but howſoever I think him of great Wit and Acquaintance in the Affairs of the World: It is not in my Power to procure any reward, and therefore you muſt ſo uſe the matter, as he neither be diſcouraged, nor think unkindneſs in me.

When all is done, I think my Lord of *Murray* will take the Office of Regency; and will ſo band himſelf with the reſt, as he will be out of Peril at Home. And as for External Power to offend them, I think they are ſo skillfull of other Princes cauſes and needs, as I think they will remain without fear.

We are occupied with no News greater than this of *Scotland*; we begin to doubt of the King of *Spain*'s coming out of *Spain*, finding it more likely for his Son to come.

In *Ireland* all things proceed ſmoothly, to make the whole Realm Obedient; the Deputy hath leave to come over to confer with the Queens Majeſty upon the Affairs.

My Lord of *Suſſex* wrote from *Auguſta*, the 24*th.* of *July*, that he meant to be at *Vienna* the laſt of *July*, and alſo that the Emperour meant to be there at the ſame time.

I muſt heartily pray you to bear with my Advice, that in your Expences you have conſideration not to expend ſo much as by your Bills brought to me by your Servant *Cartwright* it ſeemeth you do; for truly I have no Warrant to allow ſuch ſeveral Fees as be therein contained, neither did I know any of the like allowed to any of your Predeceſſors; and in the paying for your Intelligences, if you be not well ware, you ſhall for the moſt part, have counterfeited Ware for good Money.

In matters of Importance, or when you are preciſely commanded to proſecute matters of Weight, it is reaſon your extraordinary Charges be born; but as to the common Advices of Occurrents abroad, they are to be commonly had for ſmall value, and many times as News for News; for at this day the common Advices from *Venice*, *Rome*, *Spain*, *Conſtantinople*, *Vienna*, *Geneva*, *Naples*, yea and from *Paris*, are made ſo currant, as every Merchant hath them with their Letters from their Factors. If I did not know your good Nature, I would not thus plainly write; and yet if I ſhould not hereof warn you, your Expences might increaſe, and I know not how to procure your Payment; and yet hereby I mean to doe my beſt at all times to help you to allowance for all neceſſary Expences; and ſo I take my leave.

From the Mannor of
Guilford, 19. *Aug.* 1567.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecil.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France,

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SIR,

I Have had no good Meſſenger of good time to write unto you; the Queen's Majeſty hath been abroad from *Windſor* theſe twenty days, and returned on *Saturday* very well.

Lignerolls is come out of *Scotland* with very ſmall ſatisfaction, as I think; he could not ſpeak with the Queen, no more than Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who alſo is returning.

The *Hambletons* hold out, the Earl of *Murray* is now Regent; the Queen's Majeſty our Sovereign remaineth ſtill offended with the Lords for the Queen, the example moveth her.

In *Ireland* all things proſper and be quiet; Sir *Henry Sydney* ſhall come onely to confer, and ſhall return to keep a Parliament in *Ireland*.

My Lord of *Suſſex* was honourably received the fifth of *Auguſt*, lodged and defrayed by the Emperour, had his firſt Audience on the eight; the Arch Duke *Charles* was looked for within five days, and now we daily look for Sir *Henry Cobham* to come in Poſt, at the leaſt, within theſe ten days.

All things are quiet within this Realm, thanked be Almighty God.

I have preſently a Paper ſent me from *Antwerp* in *French*, very ſtrange, containing an Edict to compell all Judges, Governours, all Officers and Counſellors, to give Atteſtation of the Catholick Faith; if it ſhould be true, it ſhould be a hazard to make a plain Civil War.

My Lady your Wife came this Night hither to *Windſor*, whom I have warned to write to you by this Bearer.

Septemb. 3. 1567.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOu may perceive by the Queen's Letter, how this Noble Man is partly of his own mind, partly by perſuaſion ſtayed; and ſurely, if either the *French* King or the Queen ſhould appear to make any Force againſt them of *Scotland*, for the Queen's Cauſe, we find it credibly, that it were the next way to make an end of her; and for that cauſe Her Majeſty is loth to take that way for avoiding of Slanders that might grow thereby.

I had provided a young Man for you, which could have ſerved very well for writing and ſpeaking of *French* and *Engliſh*; but I durſt not allow him to ſerve you in your Negotiations, although I know no thing in him to the contrary; but hearing that you have Men that can both ſpeak and write *French*, and perceiving by the ſuperſcription of your Letters, that you have one who writeth a good Secretary Hand, I have thought fit to forbear to deal farther with the ſaid party.

I thank you for your offer to ſend me any Charts that I ſhould name; and if you would ſend me a note of the names of the Charts that are thought neweſt, and of the Author of their ſetting forth, and the places were they be Printed, I may chance to trouble you with craving of ſome.

I would

I would be glad to have from you a Note of the Names of the chiefeſt Nobility of *France*, and with whom they be married; adding thereto any other thing that may belong to the knowledge of their age and Degrees, as you ſhall think meet: And ſo for this time I end.

Windſor, 27 *Sept.* 1567. *Yours aſſuredly,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſtys Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecill.

SIR,

AFter my very hearty Commendations, with my like Thanks for all your courteous Letters to me, and eſpecially for the friendly Truſt which I ſee you put in me, to the due anſwering whereof you ſhall never find me wanting.

My Lady, your good Wife, can ſufficiently report to you all things from hence, ſo as I need write nothing preſently, but my hearty Commendations.

And where it ſeemeth you think ſome hardneſs, in not allowance of your Expences, expreſſed in ſundry your Bills; ſurely it is not lack of my good Will that ſtayeth me, but Power; for truly I never ſubſcribed ſo many extraordinary Bills for any, as I have done for you; and, as I underſtand by your Servant *Cartwright*, I have ſubſcribed more in ſome of them than will be as yet paid. Generally, I will ſubſcribe all Charges reaſonable for Carriage of Letters; but concerning Entertainment of Men to continue at the Court, or for Rewards, given extraordinarily, I never did nor could allow them; and yet I wiſh them paid, being laid out in the Service of her Majeſty. And, in this manner, I heartily pray you to interpret my good Will to the beſt; for ſurely, if you were either my Brother or Son, I have no more Power to ſhew you and yours good Will, than I do.

The Duke of *Chaſtilherant* is at *Deip*, and meaneth within theſe ten days to be here, as his Servants report; I think he ſhall not be able to annoy the *Lowth*, as he and his, I ſee, do deſire.

Bothwell is not yet taken, to our knowledge, though it be ſaid he ſhould be taken on the Seas, by a Ship of *Breme*: And ſo I end, as I began,

Windſor, 2 *Octob.* 1567. *Yours, as your own,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſtys Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecill.

SIR,

YOur Servant *Jenny* arrived here yeſterday, with your Letters of the firſt day of *September*; by which the Queen was greatly ſatisfied, for that we had received divers Bruits of the Troubles of *France*, whereunto we know not what credit to give; and now conſidering the Ice is thus broken, you muſt think we ſhall daily be moleſted with uncertain Reports.

The Queen's Majeſty advertiſed the *French* Embaſſadour, and Monſieur *de Paſquiers*, of as much as ſhe heard from you, who were not a little troubled before, by reaſon of Strangers News ſpread abroad, and more dangerous to the King; for otherwiſe they had heard no manner of thing of credit out of *France*, although of late time they had ſent three ſeveral Meſſengers; ſo as I do gueſs that the Paſſages be ſtopped to them, and I wiſh they be not alſo to you too.

I find her Majeſty diſpoſed, upon the next hearing from thence, to ſend ſome ſpecial Gentleman thither; before which time, her Majeſty being moved by me, according to your deſire, yet will not agree to ſend you any Currier.

My Lady, your Wife, was ready to depart towards you upon Wedneſday laſt, and would not be ſtayed from her Journey by any perſuaſion, what ſhe will do now upon your Servants coming, I know not; but, in my Opinion, ſhe ſhall do well to forbear the venture.

This Letter which I do write, I do ſend by your Footman, wherein I dare, as the time is, write nothing but that which may be ſeen of all ſorts.

That which you wrote of late to me touching *Jenny* your Servant, I aſſure you ought not to be imputed to him, but to ſuch in *Scotland*, to whom being uttered for their good, they could not uſe it as was meet.

We have nothing in *Scotland*, but all things therein be quiet ſince the laſt of *September*, at which time the Caſtle of *Dunbar* was rendred to the Earl of *Murray*; and one named the Lord *Waughton*, follower of the Earl *Bothwell*, which kept the Caſtle as long as he could, was adjudged to pay for the Charges of them which beſieged it; and the charge of the Carriage of the Ordinance back to *Edinburgh*, a new kind of Puniſhment, ſufficient enough for ſuch a Beggar. And ſo wiſhing that we may

hear often from you; I end with this alſo, that it ſhall behove you to take good heed, whoſe Reports you credit in this variety.

9. *Oct.* 1567.

Yours aſſuredly,

W. Cecil.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

Her Majeſty much diſlikes of the Prince of Conde *and* Thadnur *Lords of* France. *The Lords of the Council do all they can to cover the ſame. Her Majeſty being a Prince her ſelf, is doubtfull to give comfort to Subjects. Our Embaſſadour to comfort them, nevertheleſs, as occaſion ſerves. Expectation of the Queen's Marrying with the Arch-Duke* Charles. *In* Scotland *all quiet, the* Scotiſh *Queen ſtill in* Loughlevin, *and in health.* Murray *ruleth quietly as Regent.*

★I Heartily thank you for your gentle Letters ſent to me by your two laſt Meſſengers, *William Wade* and *Crips*; both which Perſons come to me, being at *London*, becauſe it was Term-time, where I am for the more part, ſaving Sundays and Holy-days; by which occaſion; I have at both times ſent your Letters to the Queen's Majeſty, ſo as I have not had the Commodity to ſee your Advertiſements; nevertheleſs, you ſhall doe well to continue your accuſtomed manner of advertiſing her Majeſty as fully as you can, for in theſe troubleſome Times, the Accidents being ſo diverſly reported as they are, it is meet that her Majeſty ſhould be largely advertiſed; and becauſe it may be that your Letters may come in this Term-time, whilſt I am at *London*; I pray let me have ſome repetition of your Advices in ſuch Letters as you ſhall write to me. This Bearer your Servant *Crips*, can make full report to you of all Matters here.

My Lady your Wife alſo hath been very carefull to have him return to you, and would have ſome other of more weight; but the Queen's Majeſty forbeareth to ſend any, becauſe of the uncertainty of the time ⫶ *Dover* A 1 ⫶ in miſliking o :t ⋐ and of F wherein all is done that can be by B, and to cover the ſame, as I think the principal is for that A is 42 91 11 € ⁱˡ, and doubtfull of giving χλ.ɔωλ25 5λ Subjects; nevertheleſs, you ſhall do well as occaſion ſhall ſerve 5λ ±ℶ⋐ ⊓ϰ.ϽϤ5: .ℱ⊙ For this we here well perceive that λϽϽ𝔙 ♁ is :t ⅃⅃⊓115 we look daily to hear a certainty of the ⁱⁱⁱ W ⁴ R, howſoever percaſe they there mean to let it.

In *Scotland* all is quiet, the Queen continueth in *Lough Levin*, in very good health; and the Earl of *Murray* ruleth quietly as Regent; and ſo I end.

Hampton Court, 3. *Nov.* 1567.

Yours aſſuredly, as your own,

W. Cecil.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſtys Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

★BEfore Mr. *Bridges* came, who arrived here on *Saturday* laſt, with your Letters dated the 16th. We were much troubled with variety of Reports, of the Encounter betwixt the Conſtable and the Prince; and by him we are well ſatisfied to hear that we think to be truth, although otherwiſe Men report on the other ſide.

Your Servant *Crips* was ſent hence, and as I hear, was ſtayed for lack of Wind to paſs, ſix or ſeven days at *Rye*; but ſeeing Mr. *Bridges* met him ſo near *Paris*, I think he came in ſafety to you. And now, for your farther ſatisfaction, I ſend this Bearer Mr. *Jenny*, whom truly I think honeſt and carefull, and in the Matter imputed unto him, I take him to be clear.

Mr. *Bridges* ſhews himſelf towards you very friendly, and, in his Reports, very wiſe and diſcreet; ſurely I do like him well.

The oftner you can ſend, the better it is, in this buſie time.

The *French* Embaſſadour perſuadeth us, that all our Merchants at *Rohan* are by his means at good liberty to uſe their Trade; which if they be, I know the thanks belong to you.

I wiſh to have a Callendar of them which are with the Prince, and alſo to ſee the Edicts that have lately paſſed from the King againſt them.

Yours aſſured, to continue,

W. Cecil.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſtys Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

★AFter my very hearty Commendation, my Lady, your Bedfellow, having not heard from you this good while, hath thought good to ſend over one of hers purpoſely to ſee you, and to bring her word again from you; by whom I would not fail to write theſe few Words unto you; not having any

any thing to write at this time, but of the prosperous state of all things on this side. The last Letters from you hither were by your Servant *Henry Crips*, who was dispatched home again towards you the fourth of this Month, the want whereof is not imputed to be in you for lack of Diligence and good Will to write, but partly to the dangerous time, and hard means to send when you would, and partly, for lack of knowledge of the doings of the contrary part, which in such a time are not easily known; but as you may, you shall doe well to advertise how things pass there at the full.

The *French* Embassadour was with the Queen's Majesty on *Wednesday* the 12th of this present, who had no great news to impart to her Majesty, but came only as he said, to see her Majesty. His last Letters out of *France*, he said were of the 27th of *October*; in talk with me he told me, that by his Letters he understood, that the King had sent for you at the time of the sending away of his dispatch, whereby he judged that you might have occasion to write hither shortly; and that your Messenger was in likelihood on the way hitherwards; so as if he be not hindered by the way, your Letters are looked for very shortly, or for lack of his coming it will be indeed thought that he is stayed; your next Advertisement will shew it, which is daily looked for. And thus I wish you in this dangerous Time, all Safety and Health.

From the Court at Hampton-Court, 15. *Nov.* 1567.

Your very assured loving Friend, W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France.

SIR,

YOu must think, that seeing all the parts of Christendom are intentive to hear of the matters of *France*; we cannot be careless, to whom the same belongeth next of all, whatsoever the end thereof shall be.

Your last Letters brought hither came with good speed, being dated the 28th of *December*, they came the 4th of this *January*; of the news therein contained, mentioning the encounter betwixt *Mountgomery* and the King's Vantguard, about the 23d of *December*, I had Letters dated in *Paris* the 20th, which did express the same more particularly, but I dare not credit them.

Your good Advice given to her Majesty in the said Letter, is well to be commended. Of the state of our things here, there is no new thing to write; all things, thanked be God are, quiet.

In *Scotland* they have ended their Parliament; wherein as I hear, they have enacted the Coronation of the King, the Authority of the Regent to be good, and have noted the Queen to be privy to the Murther of her Husband.

My Lady your Wife hath been a little sick, but now well recovered, and hath instantly required me to send away this Bearer, because she had writings to send you; otherwise I would have had him stayed two days to have heard some more news from thence.

I thank you for the Articles which you last sent me, but lacking the Articles of the other side, I could not well understand those which you sent me; and so I end,

Westm. 8 *Jan.* 1567.

Yours assuredly to use or Command, W. Cecill.

To the right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France.

SIR,

IT is to us here thought very long since we heard from you, your last being of the fourth of this Month, sent by young *Cornwallis*, especially because we are troubled with such diversity of reports, that what may be taken for truth, is uncertain. Beside this, I cannot but let you understand, that the Lords of the Council are desirous to hear more largely and particularly how things do pass; wherein they seem to require such a diligence, as Sir *Thomas Smith* was wont to use, who sought to understand, and so continually did write what was done, almost every other day, making as it were a Journal or a *Diarium*. But in my opinion, I have shewed them that it is not so easie for you to do it in this time, considering the Armies and their Accidents are far from *Paris*, and as I think, very great heed given, that no Advertisements should be given you, but such as you should not think worthy of Writing: Nevertheless, for their Contentations, I wish you would write of as many things as you can, whereby they shall both be content, and what they hear from other places of the same things, they shall better discern what to think true.

♋ ☽ ☉ ☍ ♀ ♂ ♃ ♄ ♅ ♆ ♇ ♐ 5. m. 3. to the disadvantage of R. All things are here in quietness, I think Master Vice-Chamberlain shall be Deputy of *Ireland*, for that Sir *H. Sidney* is sore vexed with the Stone in the Bladder; and so I take my leave, thanking you for the offer you have made me

me to provide for me certain Charts, of the which I am bold to name nine, as I have noted them in the Paper included.

26 *January*, 1567. *Yours assured,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France. W. Cecill.

SIR,

*After my hearty Commendations, the Queens Majesty, and my Lords of her Council, have been reasonably well satisfied of late by your two Dispatches, wherein you have largely written, the last being of the 29th sent hither, by the means of *Glover* of *Rohane*; the other of the 23d. brought hither by this Bearer your Servant; before the coming whereof we had plenty of uncertain news brought hither by the means of the passages, sometimes from *Diep*, sometime from *Bulloigne*; but comparing them with yours, we make them as refuse, and yours as clean Metal. And truly I find that to be true which you write, that you see good cause to forbear writing of every thing there, finding by experience that the greater part of reports brought hither, prove not the truest. I am glad there is no occasion here to requite you with any news, for God blesseth us with continuance in our accustomed quietness; for the which, I wish, we might but yield half the thanks. The Queens Majesty is in good Health, and was purposed of late to have gone abroad for her Pastime, as she did this time twelve Months, but the foulness of the weather hath letted it. There were certain *Scots*, which newly returned into *Ireland*, about *November* last, but they found themselves disappointed of such aid as they looked for, and so are gone and scared, whereby the Realm remaineth quiet. The Earl of *Desmond* and his Brother Sir *John*, be here in the Tower, chargeable rather with disorders for private quarrels than for any untruth; whereupon some think, that whilst they remain here, good Order may be better stablished there. In *Scotland* things are quietly governed by the Regent, who doth acquit himself very Honourably, to the Advancement of Religion and Justice, without respect of Persons. My Lord of *Sussex*, by his last Letters of the 27th. of *January*, looked for his resolute Answer in such sort at that time, as he hoped to be at *Antwerp*, before the end of this Month. What his Answer is like to be, I assure you on my Faith, neither do I know, nor can likely conjecture. I perceive by some of your Letters of late, that you were somewhat troubled with light reports of news from hence, and therein you thought it strange that you could not hear thereof from me. You may be sure, that in such a Case I would have given you some knowledge, if any thing had hapned.

More as yet I have not at this present, but heartily to thank you for the young Horse you have bestowed upon me, wherein you see my overmuch boldness of your Friendship, as in many other things; and so I heartily take my leave. I wish to have a Bill of the names of the principal Persons, with the Place.

West. 12. *Feb.* 1567. *Yours assured,*

To the Right Honourable Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France. W. Cecill.

SIR,

*Your last Letters be dated 10th of *February*, by which (as I perceive) you did two days before, make earnest Suit on the behalf of the poor Men at *Marseilles*, wherein surely you did very charitably; beside that it toucheth the Queen's Majesty, in Honour to have them delivered; and so her Majesty alloweth your doings therein, and therefore you may do well to continue it. I doubt the former Answer will be renewed, that is, to have the interest of *D'Estrill* fully remitted; which belongeth properly to some of the Queens Subjects, who have spent a great deal of Money in the pursuit thereof, by attendance only for that purpose upon this Court, more than two or three Years, which of my own knowledge I understand to be true, insomuch as they have been forced to be relieved out of Prison, for very debt grown by this their suit. Of late they of *Rie* took certain Fishers of *Diepe*, which had come upon our shoar in the night, and Fished with sundry Nets of unlawfull size, such as are both by the Ordinances of *France* and *England*, on both sides condemned; and being kept in ward by them of *Rie*, the Embassadour made earnest suit for them; but after the Nets were brought up, and some of the parties also, and plainly proved before them, that they were far unlawful; it was agreed by my Lord Steward and the Officers of the Houshold, here in the favour of them, that they should be released, and have their Nets with faithful promise, never to use the same again upon our Coast: Hereof it may be you shall hear, but I assure you, considering the unreasonableness of their Nets, I think they had too much favour, in that the Nets were not burned. The Queens Majesty this Morning, willed me to write unto you, that you should obtain License of the *French* King, to send for by safe conduct, your Nephew *Champernoune*, which is with the Count *Mountgomery*, whom his Father thought to have remained in *Normandy* with the Countess; but now since

ſince Dinner, I perceive by Sir *Arthur Champernoune*, he would be loth to ſeem to ſend for him; and therefore you may do herein as Sir *Arthur Champernoune* ſhall, by his Letter ſent unto you at this time move you; for indeed I think the Count *Montgomery* would be very loth to part with him, for opinion ſake. The Lord of *Arbroth* came lately out of *Scotland* this way, and ſpake with the Queen's Majeſty, pretending to go into *France* to ſollicite aid for the delivery of the Queen of *Scots*; he came out of *Scotland* without licenſe or knowledge of the Regent there xx♁ 30--05 19 2'157 ☿ ⅢL this way of late, but I truſt ſhortly to hear from ♂♂ ☌ ☽ of ſuch things as he carryed with him. Your Admonition of O was well allowed of, but about that matter we are otherwiſe occupied, if things may fall out as are meant, whereof I cannot write any more, becauſe as yet the Iron is not in the Forge. I thank you for the Edicts publiſhed and printed in *Paris*, which you ſent me, praying you that you will hereafter continue in the ſame manner, to ſend me any thing that is there publiſhed.

Having not heard of any thing from you ſince the 9th of this Month, (this being the 26th.) I am in ſome perplexity what to think of matters there; for howſoever Rumors and News be brought from the Sea Coaſt; neither do I believe any for the Truth, but ſuch as are confirmed by you; and hereby you may perceive that the oftner you write, the more Pleaſure you do me.

Weſt. 26. Feb. 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*

Poſtſcript. W. Cecill.

I hear that *Glover* of *Rohan* is very ill uſed. I wiſh you could help him, as you ſhall underſtand his Grief.

To the right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

*YOur laſt Letters that have come to my Hands, were of the 12th of *February* brought hither by one *Bogg*, of the *French* King's Guard, who having tarryed, as he ſaid, fourteen days at *Diep* for lack of paſſage, by that means came very ſlowly hither, and therefore you muſt think we be here much troubled for lack of certain Advertiſements from you, while we hear from other parts reports ſo diverſly: Neverthleſs, I do think and affirm, that there be ſome Letters diſpatched from you ſince the date aforeſaid. Thoſe which you wrote laſt to the Queen's Highneſs, were well and amply written; and ſo I wiſh you ſhould do with the reſt hereafter.

You may perceive by the Queen's Majeſty's Letter, which I ſend at this time, her ſincere meaning, which if it be well taken, it is well beſtowed; and yet I think ſhe ſhould not find the like Courteſie and good Meaning, if ſhe had need of the like, from the which I pray God long keep her; her Majeſty is well diſpoſed to ſend ſome thither, if ſhe thought ſhe might doe good towards the Peace, againſt which I think plainly, all Embaſſadours but your ſelf are vehemently diſpoſed; and ſo it appeareth by the Fruits of their Councils; and if you told the Queen-Mother ſo, as of your own Head, as a thing your hear ſpred abroad in the World, I think you might doe well and ſpeak truly; for as the Pope's Miniſters, their Profeſſion is to preferr the State of their corrupted Church before the Weal of any Kingdom in the Earth; and whatſoever come of any thing, they look only to the continuance of their own Ambitious Ruling; and as for other Miniſters of Princes, or for Men of War; it is a truth Infallible, the more they do impoveriſh that Monarchy of *France*, the better they think their own Eſtates; and if the Queen-Mother and other good Counſellors of the King, do not underſtand this, you may ſay if you can in good Terms, *Oculos Habent & non vident.* Our Matters here in *England* remain as hitherto they have long done, by the goodneſs of God, in great quietneſs.

This day I had Letters from my Lord of *Suſſex*, of the firſt of this Month, from *Antwerp*, who I perceive, meaneth to paſs over the Seas hitherward this Night; ſo as I think, he will be here by *Monday*, what he bringeth, I know not at all. *Bredrood* is dead at *Collen*; the Count of *Berry*, eldeſt Son to the Prince of *Orange*, is in *Zealand*, ready to be carried into *Spain*; it is doubted that the Counts of *Egmond* and *Horne* ſhall follow.

March, 6. 1567. *Yours aſſuredly*,

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecill.

Sir

SIR,

*YOu have done very well in this doubtfull time, to write ſo often hither as you have done, for that the Queen's Majeſty hath been in great expectation, what to judge to be the truth in the midſt of ſo many divers Advertiſements; for howſoever we be from other Places advertiſed, we meaſure the ſame even by yours. The laſt Letters which you ſent were dated the 30th of *March*, which came hither yeſterday, being the 7th. and conſidering the laſt accident hapned the 29th. by a Treachery to have ſupplanted the good meaning of the Peace, I am in opinion that the Prince and his ſhould have a reaſonable occaſion offered unto them to mend their Bargain, in certain points tending to their own ſurety, which ſurely if they do not better foreſee, methinks their danger will not be far off; I pray you to continue your vigilancy in exploring of ⸿ⵜ⨯ ⵔ ⍵ⵣ 2V. wherein you may doe very well to procure that the R may be induced to withſtand that enterprize, as being a matter very prejudicial to the whole χ 7 3 A o *London* 2 ⊓⌣⊍⊙⌽⅄ⵔ⍵ⵣ *Paris*, &c.

Here hath been of good long time, one *Emmanuel Tremelius*, who heretofore in King *Edward*'s time, read the *Hebrew* Lecture in *Cambridge*, and hath now been ſent hither by the Count *Palatine* the Elector, to inform the Queen's Majeſty of the Proceedings of the ſaid Elector, in ſending his Son into *France*, without intention to offend the King and the Realm, or to aſſiſt the Prince of *Conde* in any thing; but only in the defence of the common cauſe of Religion, who now upon the ending of theſe Cauſes in *France* will depart hence, and truly in my opinion, the ſaid Elector hath ſhewed himſelf to be a Prince of great Honour in this Action.

The Prince of *Orange* hath alſo ſent hither a ſpecial Gentleman, to declare unto her Majeſty his Innocency in ſuch Cauſes as are objected againſt him, touching any part of his Duty, towards the King of *Spain*: And farther alſo, to ſhew good Cauſe why he doth not return into the Low Countries, to appear before the Duke of *Alva*, whom he noteth to be a Judge not competent, becauſe he hath already notoriouſly broken the Laws and ancient Priviledges of the ſame Countries. Out of *Scotland* I hear, that the *Hambletons* continue in that Faction againſt the Regent; and I believe they be nouriſhed out of *France*, by means of the Abbot of *Arbroth*, who lately came through this way. Of my Lady, your Wife's dangerous Sickneſs (out of the which ſhe was newly eſcaping, when your Son arrived here) I doubt not but you are well advertiſed; ſo as I need not to write any other thing, but only to rejoyce with you, that ſhe is ſo well amended. You ſee by my Writing, that this Country thanked, be God, is as barren of news, as that of *France* is plenteous.

Sir *Ambroſe Cave* is departed this Life, and as yet it is not known who ſhall ſucceed him; ſome name Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, ſome Sir *Henry Sidney*, ſome Sir *Ralph Sadler*, ſome Sir *Nic. Throckmorton*; her Majeſty can make no ill choice of any of theſe: And ſo truſting e're this Letter can come to your Hands, I ſhall receive ſome of yours, containing the Reſolution of this long lingring Peace.

April 8. 1568. *Yours aſſuredly,*

W. Cecill.

SIR,

*THis Evening *Harcourt* arrived here with your Letters, which were long looked for, and be now welcome, for your ſatisfaction by this Bearer you ſhall underſtand of the recovery of my Lady, your Wife. The Gentleman that lately came hither, named Monſieur *de Beamont*, one of the late diſorder of *France*, paſſeth into *Scotland*, which is not much to be liked.

The Book which you ſent of the Peace, hath not printed in it certain Articles, by way of requeſt made to the King by the Commiſſaries on the Princes part, what anſwers Marginal of the King, I fear much the ſurety of the Prince and his Colleagues.

I hear by him that came laſt, now of ſtrange News at *Diep*, of the King and Prince of *Spain*; I pray you, if there be any of moment, ſend us word.

Here is an Embaſſadour arrived from *Portugal*, for to braul about Merchants and Maritime matters: For haſte, I can write no more.

April 14. 1568. *Yours aſſuredly,*

Poſtſcript. W. Cecill.

I ſend you the beginning of the Parliament of *Scotland*; when I have more, you ſhall have more ſent you.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

Sir

SIR,

★YOur last Letters brought hither, are of the 18th of *April*, which came hither the 29th of the ſame Month, by which I looked to have heard where the Prince and the Admiral was, and what they did, and how they intended to proſecute the enjoyning of the Peace, for here we are troubled with very manifold Tales; and I never make good reſolution of doubts without your Advertiſement; and therefore I pray, write from time to time, what is done on both parts: You ſhall doe well to give good reſpect to the [illegible] pretending to [illegible] wherein ſurely may be ſeen the very intent of the Practicers.

I heartily thank you Sir, for your plentifull Preſent of ſo many Countries, as you lately ſent by *Harcourte*, who indeed did in former times ſerve me, and with my good favour departed from me, but if he may ſerve you, I am glad, for I never knew but good honeſty by him: [illegible] is not a little afraid of theſe 42 [illegible] G.

We hear newly of great attempts towards *Flanders*, and ſo having nothing more to write, I am by buſineſs forced to end, being aſſured that both by your Son, and otherwiſe, you are advertiſed of all our ſeen matters here. From *Greenwich* the 1ſt of *May*, which is become a very cold day, 1568.

Yours aſſuredly at all times,

W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

★BY the Queen's Majeſty's Letter you may perceive what is her Pleaſure at this time, *Beaton* is paſſing thither, ſo as I think he will be at the Court before the coming of this Bearer: In your ſpeaking with the King, you may not by your Speech ſeem to utter that you know, of *Beaton*'s coming for Aid there, upon Advertiſement given from hence; for he being adviſed not to ſeek Aid there, and promiſed Aid here, for his Miſtriſs hath in words allowed thereof; and ſaith, that he will forbear to require Aid from thence, and will only but notifie the Queen's Liberty. But yet, ſurely I am not bound to believe him, but he hath required us here to ſay nothing of that which he at his firſt coming told us, That the Queen his Miſtriſs ſent him to *France*, to require Aid of one thouſand Harquebuſiers, and a Summ of Money, with ſome Ordnance. Wherefore, except you ſhall learn there that he demandeth Aid, you ſhall not ſpeak thereof; but if he do, then ſhall ye doe well to make mention thereof to the King.

I hear daily of the evil obſervation of the laſt Peace towards the Proteſtants.

In *Flanders* and the Low Countries, I ſee things will proſper too well in hurt of the Religion; and only for lack that the Prince of *Orange* his party hath of Money.

Greenwich, 16. *of* May, 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,

W. Cecill.

POSTSCRIPT.

And I think Mr. Vice-Chamberlain ſhall be Controller, Mr. *Sydney* Treaſurer, Mr. *Throckmorton*, Vice-Chamberlain, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* Cancellour of the Dutchy.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſtys Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

★AFter our very hearty Commendations: we being made privy to ſuch Letters and Meſſage as you lately ſent by this Bearer your Secretary, to Sir *William Cecill*, have well conſidered the ſame, and do well allow of the good [illegible] becauſe [illegible] the [illegible]. And do not miſlike the overture, made to you by *Paris* [illegible] for the diverting of the [illegible] Low [illegible] good [illegible] *Callis* and *Dover*; and although there is no likelihood of the ſequel of this overture for ſundry reſpects; yet we do allow ſo well thereof, as we wiſh you would make ſuch anſwer to the ſaid party, as [illegible] xx: And to that end we are content that you may, if need ſo require, [illegible] the [illegible] giving him to underſtand, that we will gladly, if the matter ſhall [illegible] the [illegible] to us, uſe our Credit towards xx the A[illegible], who we hope ſurely neither can nor will but accept the good will of [illegible] in every good part; and ſo we require you to further that matter with all xxxx [illegible] that you can; and on our part you may

may assure the party that it shall be also xx ## low ⊙⊙9 ~Γ 45. the ⅃ƷƐϘ+⊙ЦЂƷЦЖϘ. And so fare yee well heartily.

From the Court at Greenwich,
28th *of* June, 1568.

Your assured loving Friends,
Pembroke, R. Leicester, W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France.

SIR,

*YEsterday being the 12. of this Month, Mr. *Bridges* came to the Court as we were going from *London* towards *Havering*, in such sort, as the Queen's Majesty her self seeing him, and knowing that you would not have sent him but with Matter of some Importance, commanded me forthwith to decipher your Letter, which I did, and shewed her Majesty; whereupon she comfortably and constantly seemed not to fear any such deviliſh Practice; but yet she is earnest in the farther discovery of the Matter, and liketh well of your Advertisement: But she marvelleth that you did not advise more particularly of more special means, to know the XX ϑδƵTUϘ+E. for as he is described to be of chiefest ϰϧ7Ш3 u o with the ⑬ T ƧƵШLП as also with ⑭ we cannot truly hit of no Man; for as there be 4. or 5. that do sometime accompany the ⑬ so are there Men of that Nation, but they do resort to the ⑭ wherefore it is necessary that you speak again with the Party that gave you this Intelligence; and if the Matter be of truth, and not a disguising to some other purpose, he can as well obtain you the knowledge of the Party in certainty, as this to give a guess at him; for as he hath his intelligence of the Matter which he uttered to you (if it be true) so may he attain to a more perfect knowledge; and if the Matter be true, and shall be discovered by his means, you may promise him reward of the Queen's Majesty, as a Prince of Honour, and so indeed shall he have it; On the other side, if the Matter be not true, but a Device; surely he and they that do participate with him are much to blame; wherefore, Sir, I earnestly require you to use all the speed you can herein, and advertise as plentifully as you can, to the satisfaction of her Majesty; For though her Highness's Words have comfort, yet it cannot be but she shall rest perplexed untill more certainty be had.

Likewise her Majesty would have you cause diligent inquisition to be made of the other Matter concerning the vi g prepared by :t ⅁L 45 ЦϘ𝍐LЦ ⊙I* T2 IП where and when, and to what end the parparation shall be.

We marvel that you write nothing at this time of the Prince of *Conde*, &c. For the *French* Embassadour reporteth that he shall come to the King to *Gallian*, the Cardinal *Burbon's* House; and that the Cardinal of *Lorrein* shall depart from the Court, which to me is unlikely for truth.

The *Scotish* Queen is ordered to remove from *Carlile*, to a Castle of the Lord *Scroop's* in the edge of *Yorkshire* next *Cumberland*, called *Bolton*; for where she was appointed to come to *Tutbury*, the Queen's Majesty finding her great misliking therein, hath forborn the same.

Her desires are these, in sundry degrees: First, to come to the Queen's Majesty's Person, and to have present aid to be restored: Secondly, if that cannot be, to have Licence to pass into *France*; and to these it hath been answered, untill her Cause may appear more probable for her Innocency, the Queen's Majesty cannot with Honour receive her personally; but if the Queen will by any manner of means, honourable, let her Cause appear to be void of the horrible Crime imputed to her for the murthering of her Husband, she shall be aided, and used with all Honour; whereunto she will give no resolute Answer, other than that if she may come personally to the Queen's Majesty, then she will let it appear how she standeth in the Cause: Hereupon we stand at a brawl; she much offended that she hath not her Requests, and we much troubled with the difficulties, finding neither her continuance here good, her departing hence quiet for us. We here speak of one *La Mote* that should come hither.

From Havering, *the* 13th *of* July, *in haste.*

Yours assured,
W. Cecill.

POSTSCRIPT.

And for ✠ and *x*, I pray you put them in comfort, that if extremity should happen, they must not be left; for it is so universal a Cause, as none of the Religion can separate themselves one from another: we must all pray together, and stand fast together; and further, &c.

To the right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassador, Resident in* France.

SIR,

*AFter my hearty commendations, though here be no great cause of present dispatch to you; yet for the return of this Bearer, your Servant *Darrington*, having been long here; and also to let you understand of the Queen's Majesty's Proceedings with the Queen of *Scots* since her being in this Realm, and

and ſince my laſt Letters to you, I have taken this occaſion to return him to you. The Queen of *Scots* having long laboured the Queens Majeſty, both by Meſſages and Letters, to have aid of Her Majeſty againſt the Lords of *Scotland*, and by force to reſtore her to her Realm; her Majeſty could not find it meet in Honour ſo to do, but rather to ſeek all other good means to compaſs it with Quiet and Honor, wherein much travelling hath been ſpent. Finally, the Queen of *Scots* hath agreed that her matter ſhall be heard in this Realm, before ſome good Perſonages, to be deputed by the Queens Majeſty, to meet with ſome of the Lords of *Scotland*, about *New-Caſtle*, or *Durham*, or near this way, as ſhall be found fit, and ſo to be reported to her Majeſty. This way being now reſolvedu pon, and accepted of all parts, the Earl of *Murray* hath offered to come himſelf in Perſon, (if her Majeſty find it good,) accompanied with others of meet condition, to any place and at any time that her Majeſty will appoint; and becauſe the Lord *Herreys*, having long been here for the Queen of *Scots*, and lately gone to her, hath on his Miſtriſſes behalf required that ſpeed might be uſed in this matter; the Queens Majeſty hath by her ſpecial Letters required the Earl of *Murray*, that all expedition may be made, either for his own, or elſe that ſome others may come choſen, to be Perſons of Wiſdom and Dexterity, and void of all particular Paſſion in ſuch a cauſe as this is; and upon his anſwer of the Perſons that ſhall be thus appointed there, the Queen's Majeſty's will, with all ſpeed, ſend like fit Perſonages from hence to meet with them; and in the mean time, where they the Lords of *Scotland* had ſummoned a Parliament of their three Eſtates, to Aſſemble in this next of *Auguſt*, Her Majeſty hath required them to ſuſpend the holding of the Parliament, untill the Iſſue of this matter to be heard by her Majeſty, may come to ſome end. In this Meeting, the Queen's Majeſty doth not mean to charge the Queen of *Scots*, but will hear what the Lords can alledge for themſelves, to defend all their doings and proceedings, for impriſoning and depoſing their Queen, and other matters publiſhed by them, and thereof to cauſe report to be made to her to be anſwered; and likewiſe to carry ſuch matters as are to come from her againſt them; and upon hearing of all parts, as matters ſhall in Truth fall out, ſo doth her Majeſty mean to deal farther therein, as Honour will lead and move her to doe.

Whilſt theſe things have been in doing, the Queens Majeſty hath been advertiſed, though not from the Queen of *Scots*, that ſhe hath deputed the whole Government of her Realm of *Scotland* to the Duke of *Chaſtilherault*, thereby both to make a party (as may be ſuppoſed) betwixt him and the Earl of *Murray*; and alſo to be the earneſter to procure Forreign Aid for his Maintenance, whereof her Majeſty is informed there is great appearance, having obtained of the *French* King good numbers of Harquebuziers and others, ready to Embarque for *Scotland*; which being true, her Majeſty hath good cauſe to let the ſaid King underſtand, that it is againſt his promiſe, as your ſelf knoweth beſt. And ſo hath alſo the ſaid Queen aſſured her Majeſty, that ſhe will not procure any Strangers to come into *Scotland* for her uſe, untill it may appear what will enſue of this Meeting; but if the contrary fall out, either by her own means, or by the procuring of the ſaid Duke of *Chaſtilherault* in *France*; the Queens Majeſty will not only forbear to deal any farther for the benefit of the Queen of *Scots*, as hitherto her Highneſs hath done with all Honour and Sincerity, having had as great care of her cauſe, as ſhe her ſelf could have; but ſhall be juſtly moved to do otherwiſe then the ſaid Queen or her Friends abroad would wiſh. Thus much I thought good to impart unto you of theſe matters, to the end that if you (being there) find indeed, that the ſaid Duke doth obtain any ſuch Aid there to be ſent into *Scotland*, you may take occaſion to deal therein with the King, or with ſuch as you know fitteſt for the ſtay thereof.

The Queen is now removed lately from *Carlile* to *Bolton* Caſtle, a Houſe of the Lord *Scroops*, about 30 miles within the Land, fitter in all reſpects for her to lie at than *Carlile*, being a Town for Frontier and War; the Queens Majeſty doth cauſe her to be very well and honourably uſed and accompanied. And thus having no other preſent matter to write unto you, I thought good herewith to return your Servant to you, wiſhing you right heartily well to do. From the Court at *Endfield*, the 25. of *July*, 1568.

After the end of this Letter, your Servant *Wall* arrived here with your Letters to the Lord Steward, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and to Me, for anſwer to the Letter which we wrote to you; which Letter, after I had cauſed to be deciphered, I ſent to the Court to them, my ſelf being at my Houſe near *Waltham*, not well at eaſe, nor in caſe to goe to Court.

I long much to hear anſwers of Letters ſent by your Lackque, touching the matter of an *Italian*, whereof I doubt the Queens Majeſty is more careful to hear than ſhe doth here expreſs; at this time, I have received a Letter from an *Italian* there with you, who ſubſcribed his Name, who ſeemeth very importune to have anſwer, becauſe he may be entertained; and if he be the party of whom you write about a Month paſt, ſurely, as I did advertiſe you, the Queens Majeſty will in no wiſe hear of any ſuch offers, which ſhe thinketh are but chargeable without Fruit, although I had earneſtly moved her Majeſty to have adventured ſome ſmall piece of Money upon ſuch a Man; therefore I ſee no remedy but to pay him as well as may be with good words. And thus I wiſh you better to fare, than I did at the writing hereof.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

Your aſſured loving Friend,
W. Cecill.

SIR,

*BY yours of the 23*d.* of the laſt Month, for anſwer of mine of the 13*th.* of the ſame, I find that you have very diligently and circumſpectly travelled in the great dangerous matter, to ſatisfie the Queens Majeſty, whereof you gave before that intelligence; and though I perceive that you can come to no more underſtanding therein, for farther ſatisfaction of her Majeſty, yet ſhe is very well ſatisfied with your diligence and care; and ſo hath ſpecially willed me to give you knowledge of her allowance of your doings therein. Methinketh the parties which tell you ſuch pieces of Tales, if the whole were True, might as well tell you the whole as ſuch obſcure parts; which if they do not, you might well alleadge them to be but devices to breed Unquietneſs and Suſpition; and as I wrote before unto you, they might be tempted with offer of rewards, that the troth of the matter might be diſcloſed.

The Queens Majeſty, as I am informed (for preſently I am not at the Court, by reaſon of my Sickneſs) meaneth to have the matter between the Queen of *Scots* and her Subjects heard in this Realm, and compounded (as I think) with a certain manner of Reſtitution of the Queen, and that limited with certain Conditions, which how they ſhall be afterwards performed, wiſe Men may doubt; the Queen of *Scots* her ſelf, at length ſeemeth content to commit the Order of this Cauſe to her Majeſty; wherein if her Majeſtys own intereſt ſhould not be provided for, the World might think great want in her ſelf, which I truſt ſhe will regard.

I am willed by her Majeſty to require you to continue your diligence in Iniquiſition, what Preparations are meant or intended in that Country to be ſent into *Scotland*; and as you ſhall find any, to give ſpeedy knowledge thereof, as I know you would do if you were not thus advertiſed.

There is coming out of *Spain* a new Perſon to be Reſident Embaſſadour here, who is a Commendatory of an Order; in whom I wiſh no worſe Conditions, than I have found in this Man, for maintenance of Amity.

Our whole expectation (as yours there is) reſteth upon the event and ſucceſs of theſe matters in the Low Countries, which as they ſhall fall out, ſo are like to produce Conſequences to the greater part of Chriſtendom; and therefore, I beſeech God, it may pleaſe him to direct them to his honour, and quietneſs (if it may be) of his univerſal Church here in Earth; and ſo I end, being occaſioned to uſe the hand of another, my ſelf being very unable to Write, and fully wearied with inditing thus much: Fare you heartily well, from my Houſe in *Cheſter*, the 3*d.* of *Auguſt*, 1568.

Sir, This Bearer, Mr. *Hudleſton*, acknowledgeth himſelf ſo much beholden to you, as he is deſirous to return thither to ſpend his time, where he may ſhew himſelf thankfull to you, and to that end hath requeſted me to write to you by him; he hath required to be accepted into my Service, but I think him worthy of ſome better Maſter, and my ſelf am overburthened with Numbers, or elſe I would gladly have accepted him.

Yours aſſured,
W. Cecill.

SIR,

*MY late Sickneſs hath been cauſe of my rare Writing, and I am ſorry to hear of your lack of Health, which I truſt you have ere this time recovered.

Your Letters ſent by the *Frenchman* of *Southwark* came one day onely before *Cockborne*, who came alſo ſafely with your Letters on *Saturday* laſt; I have made the Queens Majeſty privy to both your Letters; and as to the unhappy News of *Flanders*, we had the ſame worſe reported by the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour here, than yours did there, who hath made Triumphant Story thereof, as far uncredible as any in *Amadis de Gaule*; for in the fighting continually one whole day, there was on *Ledowick*'s part ſlain and devoured 8000, and on the other part but eight, ſo every one of them killed ten hundred.

I underſtand that within theſe three days we ſhall have the report more Reaſonable; for I alſo hear that the greater Number of the Men ſlain, were of the Duk's part, which I wiſh to be true ✝ϑƐ3ℭ is in Words content to commit ⊞ *Dover* ↄ ϑ2✝173ꜱ∧A but yet x doth not omit to ſtir new Troubles in v.

Touching the ⊞∧ш 3 4 ϑ 2 J 49 whereof you have often writ, order is taken to deal with ☛ 2-| m ✝ϑ∧ꜱ: ∧ *Paris*; and ſurely methinks ſtill ſince the Informers will not be known of the particulars in more certainty, that theſe things are intended to bring us into their Play; but yet no diligence is to be omitted. I think the Duke of *Norfolk*, my Lord of *Suſſex*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, ſhall be Commiſſioners to Treat in the North betwixt the Queen of *Scots*, and her Subjects. And ſo I end.

Dunſtable 10. *Auguſt.* 1568.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, her Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

SIR,

SIR,

*THe ſufficiency of the Bringer hereof is ſuch, as I need not to write any thing to you by him of importance, to whom any thing may be well committed. He can beſt tell you upon what occaſion the Queens Majeſty ſendeth this Meſſage to the *French* King at this time, which becauſe it is long and of great importance, the Queens Majeſty would have you firſt Tranſlate it into *French*, and well digeſt it with your ſelf; ſo as you may very perfectly and readily expreſs it in ſuch ſort as it is conceived; and I think, if you would in the Tranſlating thereof diſtribute it into ſundry Members, by way of Articles, you ſhould the better carry it in your Mind, making thereby an account with your ſelf of the better delivery thereof; and you ſhall do well, to let ſome ſuch as favour the intention of the Queens Meſſage, to ſee the Copy of the Letter, whereby they may, per-caſe, being called to give advice to the King, further the cauſe, to the benefit of them of the Religion.

This day I received your Letters, of the date of the 20*th.* of this Month by *Glover*, who of late time dwelt in *Roan*, whom I take to be a good honeſt Perſon; but of the matter of the Jewels, whereof you wrote upon his report, I my ſelf know no certainty.

As for the occurrents of *Scotland*, you ſhall underſtand that where the Queens Majeſty hath determined with the Queen of *Scots*, to hear the whole matter, and (as it ſeemed) to the advantage of the Queen, ſhe took ſuch comfort thereof, as ſhe made the Earl of *Arguile* Lieutenant in one part, and the Earl of *Huntly* in another, and the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* over all; ſo as they forthwith leavied Forces, and by Proclamation threatned the Regent and all his, with Fire and Sword, who upon the Queens requeſt had forborn Hoſtility, untill the matter might be heard, and upon the 16*th.* day of this Month, the ſaid Regent beginning a Parliament, which was appointed ſix weeks before quietly, and holding the ſame without any Armes; about the 19*th.* word came to him that the Earl of *Arguile* was come to *Glaſco* with 2000, and the Earl of *Huntley* coming out of the North with a great power to join with *Arguile*, and ſo to come to *Sterling*, to ſurpriſe both the place and the King; upon which occaſion, the Earl of *Marray* brake up the Parliament, and ſent all the Power that he had to ſtay their joining together, and (as I heard) the Earl of *Huntley* is put to the worſe, and ſo fled homeward; hereof the Queen of *Scots* maketh great complaint to the Queens Majeſty, you may do well when you have done your great Meſſage, as you ſee cauſe, you may charge the Queen Mother with the Breach of Promiſe, if the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* be gone forwards towards *Scotland* with Power.

Biſſites, 27. Aug. 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

POSTSCRIPT.

I have boldly received from you ſundry Books; and I am bold to pray you to provide for me a Book concerning Architecture, Entituled according to a Paper here included, which I ſaw at Sir *Thomas Smith's*, or if you think there is any better of a late making of that Argument.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, Her Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

*YOur Lackquey arrived here on *Friday* in the Afternoon; and becauſe the Biſhop of *Reynes* hath not yet his Audience, I ſtay your Servant *Wall*, to bring the knowledge of that ſhall paſs.

The Embaſſadour ſent his Nephew *Willeob* to require Audience, and that it might be Ordered to have Her Majeſtys Council preſent at the Biſhop's *Miſſado*; Her Majeſty anſwered that they forgot themſelves, in coming from a King that was but Young, to think her not able to conceive an anſwer without her Council; and though ſhe could uſe the advice of her Council as was meet, yet ſhe ſaw no cauſe why they ſhould thus deal with her being of full years, and governing her Realm in better ſort than *France* was; ſo the Audience being demanded on *Saturday*, was put off untill *Tueſday*, wherewith I think they are not contented. The Cardinal *Caſtillon* lieth at *Shene* ⊞⊢⊓ ⊥◊ 37o⊓o —·73: ⊞⅃ ⊓9 A *Paris*, the rather to diſpleaſe ℌ⊬→⊤o-o4⊥4⊬ρ§o3̄ for *Callis*. I think xx°ϟ ○4ₑ ○ʌ23⊤-o3̄oʌₑϟ5. o—-o9ϫ⊔ʒ⊔9: ⋿⊏3:7⊷∩≠ΔЄ⊔-Є○ʌϟ5 for E *London* ⅃ 3 8 o Γ 2 ɹ demanded.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, &c. are gone to *York*, where the Diet ſhall begin the laſt of this Month.

It is ⊞ʌS·ϖ⊔⊓ſ: ϒ⓪ *Callice* e 3: ⊂ч⊙-ϥ⊬ 4 ϟ ϗo7⊔L V ◊o-5 9 o ʾ1 o 7 ϟₛ ⊓ 2 ɹʌ *London* ϟ⊓ 8 o N 3 c o◊ϟₑ·ϗϵʌ2ʌ703: ϫ ċ c ϒ ϟ ϟ ◊ ⋿ɹ3⋐⊤9⊻2⊥ᵐⁿ ⋕:o the contrary ϫ⊓⊓ϗo2ϒ shall be there any ℌ⊬⊂⊬⊥⊤⊥ ɹon◊ϟϑ··9: 7: 3 5 9o-o *Dover*, &c. The ſucceſs of the matters for good o ϖ ϟ⊥E⊟⊢⊓⊓⅃▣⌐⊓ 3: ⌊E u.

Sir, I pray Advertiſe me what you may reaſonably think of 3 9 2 ϟρ⊓Ωλϟ 5 35 ⊢W ɹʌ ϟ⊥ practices what ☉ or any like to him. I thank you for the Book you ſent me of Architecture; but the Book which I moſt deſired is made by the ſame Author, and yet entituled, *Novels inſtitutions*

per

per bien baſtir, per Philemont de L'orm. I thank you for your Placarts, and Inſtruments that you ſent me by your Lacquey.

Yours aſſuredly, as your Brother

Septemb. 27. 1568. POSTSCRIPT. W. Cecill.

And is well uſed by *A* the rather to diſpleaſe all Papiſts, I think he hath or ſhall ſhortly have ſuch Comfort for *E* as *Steward* demanded. It is not ment if *x* ſhould be proved guilty of the Murther, to reſtore her to V. howſoever her Friends may bragg to the contrary; nor yet ſhall there be any haſte made of her delivery, untill the ſucceſs of the matter of F and F be ſeen: I pray you, Sir, advertiſe me what you may reaſonbly think of Sir *Robert Staffords* practices with D or any like him.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

AFter the Letters of the Queen's Majeſty were cloſed up at *Biſſiter*, her Majeſty ſtayed your Son, that he might carry with him a Letter for the Marſhal *Montmorancis's* Wife, for thanks for favour to my Lord Chamberlain's Daughter, and for a token which her Majeſty now ſendeth by your Son, being a Ring with a pointed Diamond. I beſeech you cauſe the Letter to her to be indorſed as you ſhall think meet; for I know not whether ſhe be intituled Madam, Lady, Ducheſs of *Caſſoo*, or *Montmorancy* or otherwiſe. I write this upon the 29th being *Sunday* in the Afternoon, in *Rycot*, where the Queen's Majeſty is well lodged, to her great Contentation, as ſhe hath commanded me to write to you; lacking only the Preſence of your ſelf, whom ſhe wiſheth here until *Thurſday*, that ſhe ſhall depart from hence; of which Meſſage, I pray you take knowledge, and give her Majeſty thanks, for ſhe bad me to write thus very earneſtly; and ſo fare you well from your own Houſe, where alſo I am better lodged than I was in all this Progreſs. We are truly certified by our own Ambaſſadour from *Spain*, who is on the way through *France* to return, that the Prince is ſuddenly dead; but by what occaſion it is doubtfull,

Aug. 29. 1568. *Yours aſſuredly,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecill.

SIR,

I Have, as I lately ſignified unto you, ſtayed this Bearer *John Wall* your Servant to the time that this Biſhop of *Rhemes* ſhould have his Audience and be anſwered; he was heard on *Tueſday*, and at his departure was required, briefly to put in writing the ſumm of his Speech, which he did, as ſhall appear by the Copy herewith ſent unto you, and yet in his Speech he touched an offence in the latter end of your Meſſage, noting the Doctrine of *Rome* to be contrary to Chriſt's, wherein he amplifyed before the Queen's Majeſty, that ſeeing his Maſter holdeth the Doctrine of *Rome*, therefore your Majeſty ſhould repute him no Chriſtian, which Speech he ſaid, was hardly born by the King in an open Audience, whereunto ſome Anſwer hath been made, as you may ſee, to ſalve the matter, by turning the ſenſe, that the Doctrine of *Rome* was contrary to Chriſt's, in derogating, &c. Onely in this was ſome difference made, although indeed your writing was warranted by the Queen's Majeſty's Letter; and therefore no fault in any wiſe found in your Doings. I do ſend you herewith the Copy of the Biſhops writing exhibited, and the anſwer of her Majeſty thereto, which being put in *French* was yeſterday, before the Ambaſſadors were admitted to her Majeſty's preſence, read unto them by one of the Clerks of the Council, in the preſence of the Council; and afterward they were brought unto her Majeſty, who did confirm her former Anſwer, and ſo they departed without farther debate thereof. It was thought they would have uſed ſome Speeches concerning the Cardinal *Chaſtillon*, whom they find very well and courteouſly uſed here by the Queen's Majeſty's Order; but they have not hitherto ſpoken a word of him. At their firſt being here, on *Tueſday*, they told the Queens Majeſty, that they had newly received Letters out of *France*, by which they were given to underſtand, that *Martignes* purſued *Dandelot*, and overthrew all his Force, and made him to flie; which news was only heard and not credited; inſomuch, as the next day following, we heard credibly that *Martignes* had indeed purſued certain followers of *Dandelot*, at the paſſage of *Leyer*, which *Dandelot* had before ſafely paſſed with all his Forces, Footmen and Horſemen; and perceiving that *Martignes* had uſed ſome Cruelty upon a ſmall number of ſimple People that followed *Dandelot*, he returned over the Water with his Horſemen, and avenged the former injury upon *Martignes*, and from thence went to *Rhemes*; where finding certain of the Preſidents or Judges, which had given Order

to

to deſtroy all that could be found of the Religion, he executed their own Law upon ſome of them, and hanged ſome of the Judges; which News being brought unto us the day after he had given us the other for a farewell, he was this day welcomed with theſe; the rather becauſe they touched his own Town of *Reymes*; and I wiſh them to be true, to cool their heating of lying. The Cardinal *Caſtillon*'s Wife is come over, whom I think the Queen means to uſe very well. The Duke of *Chaſtilherault* comes hither to morrow to the Queen's Majeſty, but I think he ſhall not be permitted to go to the Queen of *Scots* very haſtily.

If by the next Letters it ſhall not appear, that you can have *Rowland* delivered, and your Letters reſtored, I perceive the Queen's Majeſty will be well content that ſome one of theirs ſhall be ſtayed in the like manner: And ſo I end,

Windſor, 1. Oct. 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

POST-SCRIPT.

I pray you ſend me word whether you thought ♑♐♓ diot ♐ 3 9 ♌ 2 ♑ ♏ ♊ 2 5. ♎ ♃ : ♍ 3 5. ♑ 30 ♑ ♌ 4 to be ſuſpected of the matter concerning the 4 ♑ 9 3 ♑ ♍ 9 : 3 ♈ 0 *A* or no. ♍♎ By the next, which ſhall be by my Lady your Wife, I will change my Cypher.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

THis preſent being the 18th, your Servant came with your Letters of the 12th, which I longed much for, not having of a great time heard from you. The Prince of *Orange* paſſing the and his proceeding cannot be unknown to you; and therefore I leave to write thereof.

The *French* Ambaſſadour promiſed once to write favourably in this poor Man's behalf, but this Morning he ſent his Nephew to me, declaring that conſidering he perceived much Favour ſhewed by us to the King his Maſters Rebels, he could not without ſome miſliking write in Favour of our Countrey-Men; I required of him whom, in particular, he could name as Rebels, that had favour of us; he would name none, I told him we accepted the Cardinal *Chaſtillon* as a Noble-Man, and a good faithfull Subject and Councellor to the King, for that upon Pride and inveterate Malice done to him by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, he was by him and his ſo perſecuted, as he could not live in *France* without danger of his Life, and I told him we had the more cauſe to favour him, and all ſuch, becauſe the ſaid Cardinal *Lorrain* was well known to be an open Enemy to the Queen's Majeſty, our Sovereign. So he departed with no ſmall miſliking, and I well contented to utter ſome round Speeches. The Queen's Majeſty is reſolved to ſet out certain of our Ships to *Britain* and *Guyen*, to preſerve our *Burdeaux* Fleets from depredations; whereupon I think there will be ſome miſliking uttered there to you, but conſidering the frequent Piracies already committed, and the menacing of the Pyrats to our *Burdeaux* Fleet, we can doe no other, and ſo you may anſwer. I think this Embaſſadour will advertiſe many devices of ſuſpitions, of our aiding of the Prince with Money, Shot and Powder; but the King ſhall never find her Majeſty to doe any thing therein to be reprehended, if in caſe of Merchandize for Salt or Wine, the Princes Miniſters can borrow things of our Merchants; I know not how to remedy ſecret bargains, where Merchandize is in uſe. The Treaty of *York* ſhall ceaſe for a while, for that ſome of the Commiſſioners on either ſide are ſent for hither, to confer with her Majeſty. The Queen of *Scots* Caſe appeareth not defenſibly by her own Inſomuch as they intend another Courſe, to make the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* their Head, and provide for themſelves. And ſo having no more at this preſent, I end with my hearty thanks for your kind accepting of my Friendly good will that I bear you.

Weſtm. 28. Oct. 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

IT ſeemeth long ſince I heard from you, truſting that my Lady and your Son came ſafely to you although their Paſſage was very hard at *Rye*, we hear many divers News of the Matters in *France*; But I give no credit, *untill you ſhall play the Biſhop, and confirm them.* Our Commiſſioners at *York* have heard the Queen of *Scots* Complaint, and the Anſwer of the other part; wherein they have forborn to charge the Queen with the Murther, upon ſome reaſonable Reſpects, not knowing what end they will make if they ſhould charge and prove her guilty; hereupon the Queen's Majeſty hath ſent for ſome on either part. Sir *Ra. Sadler* came hither yeſterday, and the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and the Lord

Herreys for the *Scotiſh* Queen came this day, and ſo ſhall *Liddington* and *Mackgill* for the Prince. It is mentioned to have a compoſition, whereto the *Scotiſh* Queen, as they ſay, is very willing, [illegible] *Dover* [illegible] But *A* and B, for the more part, are earneſtly diſpoſed [illegible] and if [illegible] as it is thought very probable, then ſo to be [illegible] for otherwiſe quietneſs will never long continue. The Queen's Majeſty finding her Subjects continually ſpoiled by the *French* upon the Seas, is forced to ſend Mr. *Winter* to the Seas with four Ships of her Majeſty's, and two Barks; I know how many Tales will be ſpred of his going; but truly you may avow that his going is wholly to preſerve our Fleet at *Burdeaux* [illegible] with [illegible] *A* hath agreed [illegible] to [illegible] and for the Son to have [illegible]. I hear ſay, that ſome of our Merchants in *London* have bargained with certain Merchants of *Rochell*, and thereabout, to buy a quantity of Salt, wherewith it is likely that the King there, when he ſhall hear thereof, will be very ſuſpicious; but in ſuch caſes Merchants muſt be permitted to make their Bargains, and ſo you ſhall have reaſon to maintain their doings. The Cardinal *Chaſtillon* ſheweth himſelf ſo quiet a Perſon, and in all his Languages ſo faithfull a Servant to the King his Maſter, as he meriteth great Commendations; he medleth in nothing here, but wholly occupied in exerciſe of his Religion; he continually lamenteth, that grave Counſellours perſuading Peace are not of more Power and Credit in the Court. Whatſoever this *French* Embaſſadour ſhall report of him, he cannot truly report any evil of him: I hear that *La Mot*, is on his way, at *Calis*, to come hither.

I think ſurely ſome of yours are on the way. I pray ſend me a Regiſter or Liſt of the Chieftains on the King's part, and alſo on the contrary. Sir, I do ſend you herewith a new Cipher.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

Yours aſſuredly, W. Cecill.

SIR,

YOur laſt Letters that came to my hands were of the 29th of the laſt Month; by which you ſignified to me the Advertiſements which you then had of the taking of *Anguleſme*; ſince which time ſundry Reports are brought hither of Battels that ſhould be betwixt the Parties, whereof lacking Advertiſements from your ſelf, I do give credit unto none, by reaſon of the diverſities of the Reports. On *Sunday* laſt *La Mot* was preſented by Mounſieur *de la Foreſt*, the former Embaſſadour, whom the Queen's Majeſty hath admitted as Embaſſadour for the *French* King, and ſeemeth to like well of his Wiſdom; whereof hitherto, for mine own part, I have not had any proof. The cauſe of the Queen of *Scots* is now to be heard here; for which purpoſe the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Suſſex*, are ſent for from *York*, and are to be here within theſe two days; and preſently the Earl of *Murray*, the Earl *Morton*, with certain other Noble men of his part, are already come; and on the Queen's part, the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and the Lord *Herryes* be at *London*, and do daily look for ſome other Commiſſioners to join with them; becauſe her Majeſty meaneth to have the whole Matter adviſedly heard, ſhe hath appointed an Aſſembly, not onely of her whole Council, but of all the Earls of the Realm, to be here the 18th of this Month; at which time her Majeſty meaneth to have this Cauſe of the Queen of *Scots* fully heard, and therein to take ſuch reſolution, and end, as ſhe ſhall be adviſed unto by her ſaid Council and Eſtates. The laſt Letters which you ſent unto the Queen, wherein, as her Majeſty ſaith, you made declaration of your Meſſage done to that King, concerning the Cardinal *Chaſtillon*'s being here, was by her Majeſty caſually let fall in the fire, and ſo burnt; whereupon her Majeſty being ſorry for that ſhe had not adviſedly peruſed it, willed me to write unto you for the Copy of the ſame Letter again, which I pray you to ſend me by the next. I would be glad to hear a brief, or, as they call it, a Liſt of the Names of the principal Perſons that have a Charge now in theſe Wars in *France* on both Parts, with the Contents, as near as you can, of their numbers.

After the writing hereof this preſent Evening, as the bearer hereof can tell, Mr. *Edmonds* came hither with your Letters to the Queen's Majeſty, by which I am ſatisfied for thoſe Reports that were made of the great Fights at *Anguleſme*; and of that which hath been here reported by the *French* Embaſſadour, of the overthrow of *Mouvans*, which I am glad is not true as he reported; and ſo finding nothing elſe to be anſwered, I have thought good to diſpatch this Bearer with this my Letter, to the intent we might the ſooner hear of your news, whereupon dependeth the whole expectation of the Chriſtian World.

Hampton-Court 16. Nov. 1568.

Yours aſſuredly, W. Cecill.

POSTSCRIPT.

Before Mr. *Edmonds* came you may ſee what I wrote of the [illegible].

To the Right Honourable Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

SIR,

*BY your last Letter sent to me by this Bearer your Servant, I perceived how good hap it was, for our satisfaction here, that your Letters came not away with the Report of the Victory, whereof the King there advertised you by a special Messenger, untill you had also knowledge of the truth thereof, by *Villeroys* coming from the Camp after the first Message; for like as the former part of your Letters made mention of a great Victory for the King, and an overthrow of the Prince's whole Infantry; So have many Letters been written hither from *Paris*, and other Places, according to the partial Affections of the Writers, in affirmance thereof, adding, for their confirmation, certan Solemnities by Processions, and such like, used at *Paris* for the same; nevertheless, I account the truth to be as in the latter part of your Letter you write, that there was no such manner of Battle, but certain Skirmishes, wherein there was no great inequality; and yet because I hear it also credibly reported, that the Prince of *Conde* lodged and kept the Field, where the Skirmishes were, I think his Losses were less than the others; whereof I think, within a while, to know the truth more particularly.

This Matter of the Queen of *Scots* began to be heard and treated on at *Westminster* the 25. of the last Month, since which time there hath been sittings five or six several days; and yesterday the Queen of *Scots* Commissioners, having Matter to answer, whereby the Queen their Mistress was charged with the Murther of her Husband; they alleadged that they would go no further, being so commanded by Letters from her, received since the beginning of this Commission; and have required to speak with the Queen's Majesty, of whom they pretend they will desire to have the Queen their Mistress come to the Presence of her Majesty, and answer these Causes her self; whereunto how they shall be answered, I cannot tell; but for that purpose, and others, her Majesty hath presently sent for her Council, who be here at present; and so shall the Queen of *Scots* Commissioners be to morrow; and hereafterward, as Matters shall fall out, I will advertise you farther, and so take my leave.

Hampton Court, Decem. 1568.

Yours assuredly,

W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France.

SIR,

*SInce my last writing by your Servant *Buffin*, I have forborn to write, because I thought both to hear somewhat more from you; and to have also somewhat here to write unto you. Since which time, I have received no Letters from you, but such as the poor Merchants of *Ireland* brought me, being dated the 25th of the last Month, which came hither on *Saturday* last, being the 11th of this Month; and considering the multitude of Tales reported here to us, of the conflict about the 18th. I was nothing satisfied with the said last Letters; because touching that matter they did refer me to your former, against which the *French* Embassadour here hath precisely given unto us News, in the Name of the King his Master, wholly to the disadvantage of the Prince; and therefore, I wish you had written thereof now at the latter time somewhat more particularly. I did of late write to you for the Copy of the Letter which you wrote unto the Queen's Majesty, touching the Speech that was uttered unto you by the King there, concerning the Cardinal *Chastillon*; for that, as I wrote unto you, the same Letter by casualty was burned before it was throughly read and perused, and hitherto I have not heard your Answer to the same. We have been here of late much occupied, in the Conference with the Commissioners of *Scotland*, wherein there hath been eight or nine several Sessions; the summ of the Matter is this, the Queen's Party began at *York* to accuse the Regent and his Party, whereunto they made their Answer and Defence; after which the Queen's Party, by replication, maintained their Accusation, and then the Conference there stayed; whereupon the Regent being here with the Queen's Majesty, vehemently charged, was driven, for his defence, to disclose a full Fardel of the naughty Matter, tending to convince the Queen as deviser of the Murther; and the Earl of *Bothwell* her Executor; and now the Queen's Party finding the burthen so great, refuse to make any Answer, and press that their Mistress may come in Person, to answer the Matter her self, before the Queen's Majesty, which is thought not fit to be granted, unrill the great Blots of the Marriage with her Husband the Murtherer, and the evident Charges by Letters of her own, to be the deviser of the Murther, be somewhat razed out or recovered; for that as the Matters are exhibited against her, it is far unseemly for any Prince, or chaste Ears, to be annoyed with the filthy noise thereof; and yet, as being a Commissioner, I must and will forbear to pronounce any thing herein certainly; although as a private Person, I cannot but with horror and trembling think thereof. In your Letters of the 25th you recommended unto me a Cause of your own between you and one *Brabrook*, wherein you write, that one *Tetterfall* your Attorney should have informed me; but herein I have not a good while now dealt wit hall, but whensoever any shall, I shall be glad to shew you any friendship to my power,

& ſic de cæteris. I am ſorry to underſtand of the ſickneſs of your Son, Mr. *William Norris*, and therefore I would be glad to hear from you of his Recovery, for indeed I do heartily like him and his Condition. I have alſo dealt with my Lord of *Norfolk*'s grace in your Matter, for your Right to the Lord *Dacres*'s Lands, wherein his Grace, at the Council Table, openly promiſed his favour.

I pray you, Sir, commend me to my good Lady your Wife; if there be any good Charte of *France*, made ſince Mr. *Oliver Trunket*'s Impreſſion, having no date; I would be glad to have one, to behold therein the particular Voyages and Paſſages of theſe contrary Powers: And ſo I end.

Hampton-Court, 14. Decemb. 1568.

Yours aſſuredly, as your own,

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

W. Cecill.

SIR,

THis Bearer your Servant came hither the laſt of *December*, with your Letters of the 25th and 26th of the ſame, wherein he uſed good diligence; and for the contents thereof, her Majeſty is very well ſatisfied with the diligence of your advertiſing, being before by reaſon of contrarious Reports in great ſuſpence what to think; for this *French* Embaſſadour now being here, uſeth an ordinary manner to write unto her Majeſty, in a certain general ſort of the News of that Country, as favourably as he may on the King's behalf, as reaſon is he ſhould; but yet not without danger of diſcrediting himſelf by reporting untruths. As I conjecture by your Advertiſements, it is likely that God hath already permitted ſome great effect to be wrought about this *Chriſtmas* time, by ſome Battle ſtricken betwixt the two Armies; and howſoever it is, I do not doubt but you will advertiſe; and therein the Will of God is to be obeyed with Thanks, or with Patience, as it pleaſeth him to give his Grace, or to chaſtiſe.

By your Letters alſo, it appeared that the Prince of *Orange*, at the writing thereof, was ſtill in the *French* King's Dominions; and yet the common Report at the ſame time was, that he was departed towards *Germany*, whereof the Duke of *Alva*'s Friends, in the *Low-Countries*, began to make ſome triumph. The Matter of the Queen of *Scots* remains in theſe Terms; upon the Accuſation produced by her Commiſſioners, againſt the Earl of *Murray*, they have for their defence ſhewed ſo much Matter, to charge her with the procuring of the Murther of her Husband, as thereupon Motion is made, on her behalf, for covering of her Honour, to have ſome Appointment betwixt her and her Subjects; which is communed of ſecretly by two or three manner of ways; that is to ſay, That ſhe ſhould affirm her reſignation of her Crown to her Son, as it hath been made, and live here in *England*. Or elſe her ſelf and her Son to join in Title, and the Earl of *Murray* to remain Regent: Or, thirdly, her ſelf to remain in Title Queen, and to live here in *England* ſecluded, and the Earl of *Murray* to continue Regent; which Matters have ſo many Pikes, as the venture is great to take hold of any one of them; nevertheleſs, in the mean time outwardly ſhe offereth to prove her ſelf innocent, ſo ſhe may be permitted to come to the Queen's Preſence, and anſwer for her ſelf; which is thought to be the more earneſtly required, becauſe it is alſo thought aſſured it will be denied; and now what is like to grow to be the end thereof, ſurely I cannot well gueſs; for as for my ſelf, I find my inſufficiency to wade ſo deep, and the violence of the Stream ſo great, as without good Company aſſiſting in Council, I dare not venture to make any paſſage. Here is a ſtay made of certain Treaſure that came out of *Spain* to paſs into *Flanders*, which we take to be Merchants, and not the Kings, as is alleadged; if it ſhall prove Merchants, we may be bolder to take the uſe of it, upon good Bonds, for an intereſt; and ſo wiſhing you and my Lady, and yours, a fortunate good year. I end,

Jan. 3. 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,

W. Cecill.

SIR,

I Heartily thank you for your laſt Letters of the firſt of this Month, wherein you did well deliver us from ſome perplexity, being by the *French* Embaſſadour here otherwiſe advertiſed, to the advantage of the Cardinaliſts; his Letters are dated the 30th of *December* from the King; and I marvel, to perceive by your Letters, that the Skirmiſh ſhould be the 23d. and the Advice ſhould not come to you before the 28th, for thereby it ſeemeth the Camp ſhould be ſo far off, as in four or five days Tidings could not come; but this I think may be ſaid, that evil News are brought to that Court ſlowly, at the leaſt they are uttered ſlowly. Of this Accident of Arreſt, you ſhall be by her Majeſty's Letters fully advertiſed; at the ſigning whereof, her Majeſty ſaid that ſhe would have

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ſent a Gentleman expreſly to the King; but ſhe conſidered that being ſent by Sea, the Journey in this Winter time will be very dangerous and uncertain; and to ſend him thorow *France*, where the Troubles are ſuch, as ſhe could not, (either without miſtruſt of the *French* King, becauſe the Party ſhould paſs thorow *Gaſcoigne*, and the Queen of *Navarr*'s Country, or without certain danger by Soldiers;) and thereupon you ſhall ſo advertiſe that Embaſſadour of *Spain*, and require him to make advertiſement accordingly; whereunto you may add, that her Majeſty hath thought of three or four meet Perſons to be ſent thither, for one of them to be an Embaſſadour Reſident; but none will be gotten, that with good Will will ſerve, in reſpect of Mr. *Man*'s ſtrange and hard handling; which things her Majeſty would have you ſet out more plainly to him, that the King may find that onely to be the Cauſe why there is no Reſident Embaſſadour there. And thus I end, having willed *Harcourte* to take ſome of the Proclamations, if they be ready printed in *French*.

Jan. 8. 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

POST-SCRIPT.

I find, in a Bill of Petitions, beginning from the 28th of *Auguſt* to *December*, ſundry Summs of Money preſſed by you for carriage of Packets, to whom I have not anſwered; and therefore, hereafter, I pray you write expreſly, of what you doe there, for avoiding of double charge.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

SInce the writing the other Letter, dated the 8th of *January*, my Lady cauſed her Servant to ſtay for a Paſport for two Geldings; and ſithence my other Letter, we have here News from *Flanders* ☿ ♃ 5. V. ⅄ ♑ ☌ | touching R and therefore we are in a continual expectation what were the very news of a matter that was reported to have happened the 23d of *December*. The more particulars you write hither, and the oftner, the more thankfull is your Service; and ſurely I ſee nothing ſo meet for us to underſtand, as to be often advertiſed from you, which conſidering, you may write in your Cipher, the oftner you hazard your Letters, the leſs is the peril. We have no News from *Scotland*, but that their Parliament is ended; and amongſt other things they have all aſſented, by Act, to decline the Queen of *Scots* obtaining to be lawfull, becauſe ſhe was privy to the Murther of her Husband. There were none of the Nobility abſent, but ſuch as were of the *Hambletons*. And thus I end my ſudden Letter, being in a great longing to hear from you.

January, 10. 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, her Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

W. Cecill.

SIR,

AFter, I had written my other Letters ſent in this Packet unto you, which I was to have ſent away by one of your Footmen; your Servant, this Bearer, *Henry Criſpe*, came hither upon *Thurſday* laſt with your Letters, dated the 22d of this Month; and perceiving him earneſtly diſpoſed to return unto you, I thought beſt to ſtay the ſending away of your Footman; and to ſend, as I do, this diſpatch by this Bearer, which is partly becauſe my former Letters ſhall ſeem to bear ſo old a date. And herewith I ſend unto you, which was not ready before, a Memorial, in the *Spaniſh* Tongue, of the Matters paſſed concerning this late Arreſt; which Memorial her Majeſty would have you procure with her Letters to the King of *Spain*; and therefore after you have peruſed it, I wiſh you ſhould retain a Copy thereof, either in *Spaniſh* or in *French*, for your better inſtruction; and that done, to uſe all the expedition you may for the conveyance of her Majeſty's Letters, and the ſaid Memorial to the King of *Spain*.

Since the finiſhing of the ſaid Memorial, you ſhall underſtand that *D' Aſſonleville* hath been here a good time, being not as yet accepted as an Embaſſadour; for that he hath no ſpecial Letters nor Commiſſion from the King, but from the Duke of *Alva*; And all that he can ſay for himſelf, is, That he cometh in the King's Name, as one of his Privy Council, and whatſoever he ſhall do, ſhall be confirmed by the King, before he will depart out of the Realm. He would alſo privately confer with the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, which hath been hitherto denied, for that it is meant that the miſ behaviours of the ſaid Embaſſadours ſhould be openly diſcloſed to *D' Aſſonleville*, thereby to let it appear how unmeet a Man he is to be a Miniſter for Amity here, which yeſterday was declared to *D' Aſſonleville* at my Lord Keeper's houſe, where he came to theſe of the Council following, my Lord Keeper, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of

Leiceſter, the Lord Admiral, my ſelf, Mr *Sadler*, and Mr. *Mildmay*; and that done, he ſeemed ſorry for things paſt, and yet preſſed ſtill to ſpeak with the Embaſſadour, which was not then granted by us, for that we did intend that reſolution ſhould grow from her Majeſty, which though it be not yet known, I think he ſhall not be denyed. In theſe matters we have cauſe to be ſomewhat ſlow to ſatisfie them, leſt they ſhould according to their accuſtomed manner, grow too Audacious; what will be the end thereof, I cannot judge, but I truſt it will appear that they have begun upon a wrong ground, and as it falleth out, I think they ſhall be found to be behind hand with us. Yeſterday word came to *London*, that all the *Engliſh* Fleet, which are feared ſhould have been Arreſted in *Spain*, came home ſafe; and this day I have heard for certainty that *Hawkins* is arrived at *Mounts Bay*, with the Queens Ship the *Minion*, having in her the Treaſure which he hath gotten by his Trade in the *Indies*, and by rigor of the *Spaniards* near *Mexico* was forced to leave the *Jeſus* of *Lubeck* upon a Leek, which alſo he deſtroyed, that they took no profit thereof; hereafter I will write unto you, as I ſhall learn the farther truth of this matter, with what cruelty he was uſed, under pretence of Friendſhip, and of a compact made betwixt him and the Vice-Roy of the *Indies*, and Pledges delivered on both ſides for the performance thereof. The Queen of *Scots* was removed from *Bolton*, by my Lord *Scrope*, and Mr. Vice-chamberlain, on *Wedneſday* laſt; ſo as I think on *Monday* or *Tueſday*, ſhe ſhall be at *Tetbury*, where the Earl of *Shrewsbury* is already, and there ſhall take the charge of her; and with him ſhall Mr. *Henry Knollis*, Brother to Mr. Vice chamberlain, remain to aſſiſt him. Of late the Queens Majeſty underſtanding out of *Scotland*, that the Queen of *Scots* Faction there had publiſhed ſundry things, being very falſe and ſlanderous, (meaning thereby to withdraw the Earl of *Murray*'s friends from him, and to bring the Queens Majeſty doings into ſome queſtion,) whereof we alſo be credibly informed, the Queen of *Scots*, by her Letters, was the very Cauſe; thereupon Her Majeſty ordered to have the contrary notified upon her Frontiers, for maintenance of the Truth, as by the ſame you ſhall underſtand, which I ſend you herewith in Print. The Advertiſements which you gave both to my Lord of *Leiceſter* and me, of the ſecret cauſe of the King's going to *Metz*, ſeemeth to be of ſuch importance, as it is found very needfull to provide with ſpeed ſome remedy, and ſo we here for our part, will doe our beſt as ♄ ♅ ♍ ♃ ♅ ♅ ♅ ſerve, which you may conſider ☽ ♍ ☽ ☽ ♀ ☿ ♄ ♃ ♃ conſidering the 4 4 ♅: ☉ ☽ ☌ ♐ ♃; and therefore I pray you attempt all the means you can to adviſe all parts that ſhall take the harm. I have no more to write to you, meaning to expect within three or four days, ſomewhat from you, and then I will write by one of your Footmen; and ſo I take my leave.

The *French* Embaſſadour hath been informed of the ſtay of our Ships at *Rhoan*, and on *Thurſday* laſt my Lords of the Council ſent Mr. *Hampton* to him to move him, that they might be releaſed within 15 days, or elſe we muſt doe the like; his anſwer was, that he would doe his beſt, and he truſted they ſhould be, imputing the cauſe to our ſufferance of the Prince of *Conde* his party on the Sea to make Port-ſale in our Havens, which ſurely is not by us permitted; and therefore for his ſatisfaction, we did Yeſterday write Letters to all Officers of Ports, to prohibit utterly the vent of any Commodities brought in by ſuch Men; and beſides this, the Embaſſadour hath required that you would be earneſt with the King for the releaſe of our Ships, which we told him was not neglected by you, and ſo, I doubt not, but you doe your beſt therein.

This day the Embaſſadour ſent unto me his Secretary to complain, that the Currier of *Calis* carrying his Packet from hence ſhould be ſearched, and certain Packets of Letters taken from him, which I told him was true; and the cauſe thereof ſuch, as we had more reaſon to complain thereof than he; for true it is, that the ſaid Currier having but one ſmall Packet of the *French* Embaſſadour's, under pretence thereof, had carryed with him two great Fardels of Letters of the Merchants of the *Low Countries*, who were here Arreſted with their goods, a matter alſo whereof the ſaid Embaſſadour was forewarned; and ſo is the matter to be proved by the Letters of the ſaid ſtrangers, which I at preſent have in my cuſtody; and ſo the Poſt was permitted freely to depart with all manner of Letters, which he had of the ſaid Embaſſadour. And ſo I pray you to make anſwer therein, as you ſhall ſee cauſe, for ſo is the Truth, and no otherwiſe.

Hampton-Court, *Jan.* 30. 1568. *Yours aſſuredly*,
W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, *Sir* Henry Norris, *Knight*, *the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour*, *Reſident in* France.

SIR,

OF late I have received three ſeveral Letters from you, the firſt of the 11. the ſecond of the 13. and the laſt of the 15. of *February*, although that of the 13. of *February* was written to be in *January*, but I am ſure to be miſtaken. By the firſt it appeared, that you could not obtain of Mounſieur *Morviller* the names of any Ships or Merchants of that party which were ſtayed here; although they pretended the ſtay of ours at *Rhoan* to be for that cauſe. In the ſame Letter you make mention of two Diſcourteſies, or as I may rather ſay, Injuries done unto you, the one by taking *Rogers* your Servant, the other by impriſoning the Phyſician to my Lady your Wife; of which two matters, you may ſee by the anſwer made

made to the *French* Embaſſadour, I have made mention. The ſecond Letter of the 13*th.* which was brought to me by this Bearer, containeth matter of burthening you by the Queen Mother for ſoliciting the Queens Majeſty, to take ſome enterprize for *Callis* or *Rochel*, wherein I think your Wiſdom ſufficient to ſatisfie your ſelf what to think; for if you had ſo done, as I know not what you have, it were not unlike, but they there would invent and ſet abroach for their Advantage, the like matter, if the circumſtances were theirs, as they be ours. And where you are charged with conveyance of the Rebels Letters (as they call them) in your Packets; I think the ſame and the former part are fed with one humour, which is, that though you doe not in this ſort, yet they ſurely would ſo doe in the like; wherefore I wiſh you to be no ways troubled herewith, but as the end of the Verſe is, *Contra audentior ito*; and yet to hold this Rule, to be a Miniſter of good Amity betwixt the Princes, *uſque ad aras*, that is, as far forth as it be not againſt the Honor of God, and the Safety of the Queen our Sovereign.

By your Letter of the 15*th.* which was Written after you had cloſed up the Packet brought by this Bearer, you advertiſed me of the News which you had of Monſieur *Genget*; and of the joining together of the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke *Pipanſme*, whereof, ſaving your Advertiſements, otherwiſe we hear nothing, but rather the contrary, being ſpread ſo by the *French* Embaſſadour here, with Affirmations of great credit. In the Latter end of your Letter of the 13*th.* it appeareth you had not then ſent away the Queen's Majeſty's Letters to the King of *Spain*, whereof I am very ſorry; for Her Majeſty maketh an aſſured account, that they had been in *Spain* by this time; which I ſee you did not, becauſe the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour was not at Court but at *Paris*; for remedy whereof, all ſpeed poſſible would be uſed to ſend them by a ſpecial Man to the Embaſſadour at *Paris*, with ſome excuſe to him of ſending the ſame ſo late. You ſhall underſtand that Monſieur *D' Aſſonleville*, who came onely from the Duke of *Alva*, hath been here of long time, hovering to have had acceſs to the Queen as an Embaſſadour, which Her Majeſty would not allow of, nor would ſo much prejudice her ſelf in reſpect of the unkind uſage of the Duke of *Alva*; and yet nevertheleſs allowed unto him as much conference as he would with her Council; to whom although he did open, as we think, the ſumm of his Negotiation, yet he pretended to have ſomewhat more to Her Majeſty, if he might have Audience of her, which otherwiſe, he ſaid he could open to no body.

As to that which he opened to the Council, which was a requeſt to have the Mony releaſed, and the Arreſt ſet at Liberty; it was anſwered, that the Money belonged to Merchants, and that he could not deny, but added that it was meant to have been lent unto the Duke of *Alva* in the *Low Countries*, and ſo as they termed it, deſigned to the King's uſe; as to the reſtitution of the Money, and putting the Arreſt at Liberty, ſhe would neither deny nor grant the ſame to him, conſidering he lacked Authority to make ſufficient contract thereupon; but when the King himſelf ſhould ſend one ſufficiently authorized, both to underſtand, and to redreſs the injuries done by the Duke of *Alva* to Her Majeſty's Subjects; it ſhould well appear that the King ſhould be reaſonbly ſatisfied on Her Majeſty's behalf, and Amity and Peace ſhould be conſerved according to the Treaties. And beſides this, it was added, that ſeeing the Duke of *Alva* began the Arreſt firſt, it was reaſon they ſhould alſo begin the Releaſe, and ſo in the end *D' Aſſonleville* appearing to be much miſcontented, was licenſed to depart, and ſo is gone, having uſed all good gentle Speech that could be, during his being here; notwithſtanding the report made of his great Bravery made at *Callis* before his coming, which either was not true, or elſe purged his choler upon the Seas coming hither. Thus having, as time could ſerve me, enlarged my Letter, I end with my hearty thanks to you for the Charts of *France*, which I perceive are of the like as I had ſome before, ſo as I think there is no newer Printed.

Weſtm. March 7. 1568. *Yours aſſuredly, as your own,*

W. Cecill.

POSTSCRIPT.

I would gladly know whether the Paper you ſent me, containing the Emperor's anſwer to the *French* Kings demand, be to be allowed as true.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight*, &c.

SIR,

BY the Queen's Majeſty's Letters you ſhall perceive in what ſort the *French* Embaſſadour hath ſought to frame a Tale of Slander againſt you, Her Majeſty hath anſwered for you, and as long as no other thing can be produced to touch you, it is reaſon that Her Majeſty ſhould anſwer for you, as ſhe doth. Your Servant *Madder* came ſafely hither four days paſt, and I have heard from my Lady, of *Hart*'s taking, and the Queen's Majeſty's Letters from him. Whereof as I know, upon her Advertiſement to you, you will uſe ſome roundneſs of Speech by way of complaint there; ſo have we here not forborn to charge the Embaſſadour with theſe diſ-courteous dealings, who promiſes earneſtly to write to the King thereof. The *French* Embaſſadour giveth out ſtore of News of the overthrow of *Mongomery*, the taking of his

his Brother, of *Gonliſs* Death, of the Duke of *Bipons*'s ſickneſs; of his want of Money to go to the Field, but we heard of many contraries to theſe; and ſo I wiſh you your Heart's deſire.

Weſtm. 14. March, 1568. *Yours aſſuredly,*

W. Cecill.

To the right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOur Servant *Crips* came hither yeſternight, as I perceive, conſtrained to follow and accompany Monſieur *de Montaſſyer*, who this day was brought to the Queen's Majeſty's Preſence to report the Victory which God hath given to the *French* King by a Battel, as he termed it, wherein was ſlain the Prince of *Conde*; whereunto, as I could conceive, her Majeſty anſwered, that of any good Fortune happening to the King, ſhe was glad; but ſhe thought it alſo to be condoled with the King, that it ſhould be counted a Victory to have a Prince of his Bloud ſlain; and ſo with ſuch like Speech, not fully to their Contentation. Before the coming of your Letters, we could not firmly believe the reports of the Prince of *Conde*'s Death, but now the Will of God is to be interpreted in this, and all things, to the beſt.

I am ſorry to ſee you ſo troubled, whereof her Majeſty is ſo informed, as ſhe told the *French* Embaſſadour, that if he will not procure the King his Maſter to cauſe you and yours to be otherwiſe entreated, ſhe will revoke you; in the mean ſeaſon I pray you keep your former Courage, *& contra audentior ito.* I have been, and yet am, not in ſure Health, as your Son can inform you, whereby I am not able to write any long Letter; when *Madder* was here, I gave him a Memorial of ſundry things, of which I truſt he hath by this time informed you at length. We have heard nothing from *Rochel* ſince this re-encounter at *Cognac*; but from *Paris* we hear, that ſaving the loſs of the Prince's Perſon, the other part hath the greater loſs in Numbers; and that the Admiral did defeat forty Enſigns of Monſieur's Army that offered to beſiege him in *Cognac*, hereof ſhortly the Truth will be known. I note that this 13th of *March* laſt paſt had two ſundry great effects; for upon that day, when the Regent of *Scotland* ſhould have fought with the Duke of *Chaſtilherault*, they did notably accord the ſame day in this ſort, that the Duke acknowledged the young King, and went with the Regent to *Sterling*; and with him, beſides other Noblemen, the Lord *Herryes*, who had been here a vehement Commiſſioner for the Queen of *Scots*. Beſides it is accorded, that for redreſs of all private quarrels, there were four Noblemen named of either party to end all, who ſhould come to *Edenburgh* the tenth of *April*, to treat thereupon; and this was unwilling to the Queen of *Scots*, who muſt needs be greatly perplexed therewith; what will follow, I know not, but the Regent is now well obeyed; the ſame day we ſee what was done in *Poytiers*, wherein God's Judgments are not to be over much ſearched.

I ſend you within the Queen's Majeſty's Letter, a paper in a new Cypher to [19] [1] [0] ♐ ♉ 29: 3 ♐ 9. [19] ♈ *le* ♌ ☉☉ ♊♑ 7. ♒ 95 which he deſireth foraſmuch as all Power legal to be ☌ to t ☊ıIA8 ♐99 which I pray you doe.

And thus I find my ſelf not able to indure any longer writing, and therefore end,

Weſtm. 6. April, 1568. *Yours aſſuredly,*

W. Cecill.

SIR,

AFter I had cloſed up this other Packet, I had occaſion to ſtay the bearer, partly by indiſpoſition of my Health, and alſo within a day after, by reaſon of the coming of your Son *John Norris*, with your Letters of the 15th of this Month, who gave us here to underſtand of certain diſcomfortable News which were told him at *Abeville*; and as it appeareth, were in great haſte ſent before him by the Marſhal *de Coſſe* to the *French* Ambaſſadour, containing an abſolute Victory by the King's Brother, in a Battle beſide *Cognac*; in which it was written, that the Prince of *Conde*, and the reſt of the Nobility with him, ſaving the Admiral and *Dandelot* (who were fled) were all ſlain; and this News being here diſperſed abroad, I thought good to ſtay the ſending away of this Bearer, untill we might better underſtand what to think truth herein; which being now four days, and therein no Confirmation of the aforeſaid News, but a doubtfull maintenance of them, whereby it is thought that either no part was true, or not in ſuch ſort as was reported; and therefore knowing the neceſſity of your Man's Service, I do return him unto you. We underſtand certainly out of *Scotland*, that there hath been an accord by certain Articles made betwixt the Regent and the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* and his Party, wherein the Obedience to the King is acknowledged, and a Surceaſe untill the tenth of *April*, at which time the Duke and eight more choſen on both parts, ſhall meet at *Edenburgh*, to conferr the Eſtate of the Queen of *Scots*, how ſhe ſhall be reputed; and likewiſe of recompences for the loſſes on both parts

ſuſtained

ſuſtained in theſe Civil Wars, and for performance of this Treaty, the Duke, the Earl of *Caſſels*, and the Lord *Herryes*, remain with the Regent, untill they put in their Sons for Hoſtages; and the Regent in the mean time intendeth to uſe his force to ſubdue the Out-laws upon our Frontiers.

I received Letters even now out of *Ireland*, by which it is written of the defeat of four hundred *Iriſh* and *Scots*, onely by ſixſcore *Engliſhmen*; I ſhall continually hearken for your Letters, to declare to us the Truth of this great Tale of the Battail of *Cognac*. We hear that the Count *Meighen* is newly departed and fled into *Germany* upon fear.

27. *March* 1568.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

POSTSCRIPT.

The time ſerveth me not to write to you of your ſelf, for your motion of leaving that place.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, &c.*

SIR,

SInce the coming hither of *Harcourt*, who came hither on St. *George* his day, as it ſeemeth with good haſte, we here have been much unſatisfied, for that we could not imagine what to conceive to be the cauſe that in ſo long ſpace we heard not from you; having in the mean time ſo many divers Tales, as we were more troubled with the uncertainty, than glad of the News; and to add more grief, we could not hear from *Rochel* ſince the Re-encounter, untill now by a Merchant that came hither within theſe two days paſt, by whom we are more aſcertained than before; by him we underſtand, that the loſs of the Prince is more in reputation than in deed, for that now the whole Army is reduced to better Order than it was before. The Vidame of *Charles* is come to *Plimouth*, and his Wife, as it is thought, not being well liked of amongſt the Nobility, becauſe he married ſo meanly; indeed it muſt needs be ſome reproof to him to come away when ſervice is requiſite. Since the accord made in *Scotland*, the 13*th.* of *March*, at *Eaſter* laſt, the Duke of *Chaſtilherrault* and his part, hearing as it is thought, of the Death of the Prince of *Conde*, and by Bruit, that the Admiral and all that Party were utterly ſubverted, did go back from their Agreement, which was, to acknowledge the young King and the Regent; whereupon as we hear, the Duke himſelf, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*, the Lord *Herryes*, and the Lord *Roſbim*, are committed to the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, what will follow I know not; God ſtay theſe Troubles that increaſe ſo near us; I think you do hear from Mr. *Killigrew*, who is ſent to the *Palſgrave* of the *Rhine*, and ſo I end.

April, 27. 1569.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill,

POSTSCRIPT.

Sir, to avoid ſome length of my own Writing, I do ſend you herewith the ſumm of the Negotiation lately with the *French* Embaſſadour, and thereto have adjoined the Copy of the Proclamation, that is meant to be made by the Queen's Majeſty, which is mentioned in the other writing; and a Copy alſo of a clauſe contained in the *French* King's Proclamation; by all means you may well underſtand that which hath paſſed in this matter, and ſhape your own Speech there accordingly,

W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, Embaſſadour in* France.

SIR

YOu have much ſatisfied us here with your Letters ſent by Mr. *Madder*, who is able to explicate the affairs very ſenſibly; and now I have thought good to addreſs to you *Hartcourte*, knowing that he is very ſerviceable unto you. And as for any news to make recompence to you, I have not; and glad I am that our Country doth not yield any ſuch as *France*; and yet in the way of Chriſtian Charity, I do lament the misfortune of *France*, marvelling that a Country that hath had ſo many Wiſe Men, able to offend other Countries, hath none to deviſe help for themſelves. I wiſh that you would learn of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour there, whether he ſent the Letters which you delivered to him from the Queen's Majeſty. There is ſome ſecret means made hither, to come to accord with the *Low Countries*; and therein I ſee the moſt doubt will be in deviſing aſſurance how to continue the accords. Our Navy hath been ready theſe fourteen days at *Harwich*, to go with the Merchants Fleet of Wool and Cloth to *Hamburgh*; and our Fleet that was appointed to *Rochel* is, as we think, there, by means of the Eaſterly winds that have hindred and ſtayed the other Fleet. God ſend them both a good return, for they are no ſmall offence to our Neighbours, that to *Hamburgh*, to the Duke of *Alva*, and the other to the *French*. The *French* Embaſſadour continueth a Suitor, that no Embaſſadour be ſent to *Rochel*; and that our Merchants cannot forbear, ſpecially for Salt, which cannot be had in other places,

places, although even now great likelihood is of ſufficiency to be had, within theſe 12 Months in *England*.

The Earl of *Murray* proceedeth ſtill in uniting to him the Lords that were divorced from him; and ſpecially of late, the Earl of *Arguile* is reconciled to him, and the like is looked for of the Earl of *Huntley*. I have no more, but to end with my Commendations.

Greenwich, 15. *May*, 1569.

Yours aſſured at command,
W. Cecill.

SIR,

YOur laſt Letters that came hither to my Hands, were written the 17. by which amongſt other things, you wrote of the Bruit, of the impoiſoning *Dandelot* by the means of an *Italian*, of which matter we were here advertiſed almoſt ten days before; the report was in part before he was ſick, ſuch aſſurance have theſe Artizans of their Works; the will of God be fulfilled, to the confuſion and ſhame of ſuch as work them, and ſuch great Iniquities. We have certain News from *Rochell*, that *Dandelot* being opened, the very poiſon was manifeſtly found in him. The Queen's Majeſty of late, was very credibly advertiſed by ſight of Original Letters, of Perſons of no ſmall Reputation in that King's Court, which have entreated of the matter, whereof heretofore your ſelf hath alſo advertiſed concerning the ♎ ♀ ♄ *D* and ☽ ♊ 8 ♈ ☉ ♂ ☾ for transferring ♑ 4 4 ♀ ♎ 9 8 ♐ ♑ 3. And now Her Majeſty would have you uſe all good means that you can poſſible, to learn ſome more truth hereof, and thereof with ſpeed to advertiſe her Majeſty; for it is ſo preciſely denyed on the other part here, as nothing can be more. The *French* Embaſſadour continueth complaining of lack of Reſtitution in General; yet I aſſure you he never is refuſed Reſtitution upon any particular demand; where, contrarywiſe, our Merchants are daily evil uſed at *Rhoan*, and ſpecially *Callis*; and as it ſeemeth, the Governour of *Callis* regardeth not the Embaſſadour's Speeches or Promiſes here; or elſe it is Covenanted betwixt them to Boulſter out their doings.

Original Letters intercepted by Perſons of Credit in the French *Court, of Advertiſement concerning the Queen of* Scots *and Duke of* Anjou.

That the ſaid Scotiſh *Queen ſhould transfer her Title on the ſaid Duke.*

To learn more Truth hereof, and advertiſe with ſpeed.

This preciſely denyed by the other ſide.

Mr. *Winter* departed from *Harwich* the 19*th*. of *May*, and came to *Hamburgh* the 23*d*. remained there untill the 28*th*. and returned ſafe to *Harwich* the firſt of *June*, all in good ſafety with the Queens Ships, leaving two there to return with our Merchants. It is found that all the Ships in the Country dare not deal with ſix of the Queens, being armed as they are; motion is made of accord betwixt us and the *Low Countries*. The Earl of *Murray* hath no reſiſtance in *Scotland*.

Greenwich, 4. *June*, 1569.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

POSTSCRIPT.

SIR, It is now accorded, that three of the Merchants ſhall paſs over to *Rohan*, to prove what Reſtitution the *French* will make there, and the like ſhall be here. Becauſe I doubt your ſlack Servants, I do preſently ſend away this Bearer; otherwiſe I would have ſtaid him to have ſeen what manner of News this Embaſſadour hath to declare upon *Tueſday* next, at which time he hath required to be heard. I am ready, as I told your Son, Mr. *William Norris*, to doe any thing in my power to pleaſure you in your particular Cauſes or Suites here, as the laſt Term, I did deal for you in ſuch as I was required.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

SIR,

YOur laſt Letters are of the 8*th*. of *June*, brought by a Merchant reſiding at *Rohan*; and now our daily expection is to hear, either of the joining of the Duke *Bipont* with the Admiral, or elſe that they have been kept aſunder by fight; we have no News here, being contented with continuance of quietneſs, which we think to poſſeſs, except the motions of the contrary ſhall come from thence, whereof we have great cauſe to fear, and the like to prevent. Upon a Reprizal made by Mr. *Winter* here of certain *Portugals* Goods; we hear for certainty, that the King of *Portugal* hath Arreſted the goods of our Merchants there, whereof will follow ſome Jarr, which we think our Foes will increaſe. The Queen of *Scots* hath ſent one *Borthick*, by whom at his requeſt I wrote Yeſterday, and her Secretary *Rowlye* into *France*, to procure from the King and his Brother *D' Anjou*, ſome ſatisfaction to the Queen's Majeſty, for avoiding of the Opinion conceived of her tranſaction with Monſieur *D' Anjou*; how they ſhall well ſatisfie her Majeſty, I cannot tell, but, as of late I wrote to you, her Majeſty would have you explore, by all means that you can, what hath been in Truth done heretofore in that Caſe, beſides the Advertiſement; for her Majeſty hath ſeen Letters paſſed betwixt no

mean

mean Persons of Authority there, being adversaries to the Religion; by which it manifestly appeareth, that such matters have been secretly concluded; and yet the more Tryals are made hereof, the better it is. We have at length accorded with the *French* Embassadour here, as you shall see by a Copy of writing herewith sent you; and so I take my leave of you. I wish that you would always when you send any with your Letters, write what you impreſt to them for their charges, for I make full allowance to them all; and so with my hearty Commendations to You and my Lady, I end. Our Progress is like to be to *Southampton*.

Greenwich, 18 *June* 1569.

Your assured Friend at command,
W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France.

SIR,

*THis Bearer Mr. *Borthick*, Servant to the Queen of *Scots*, hath required me to have my Letters unto you, to signifie the cause of his coming, wherein I can certifie, of my knowledge no other than thus; the Queen of *Scots*, of late time, amongst other things, to move the Queen's Majesty to be favourable unto her in her causes, offered to doe any thing reasonable to satisfie her Majesty, concerning her surety in the right of this Crown, as she now possesseth it to her self and her issue; whereupon answer was given, that though there was no need, for the Queen's Majesty's Assurance, to have any Act pass from her, yet as things were understood, the Queen of *Scots* was not now a Person able or meet to contract therein; for it was understood that she had made a Concession of all her Title to this Crown, to the Duke of *Anjou*; with which answer we find the Queen of *Scots* much moved as a thing devised by her Enemies in *France*; and thereupon she advertiseth the cause to be of the sending of her Servants into *France* to the King his Brother, Uncles, &c. to make perfect Testimony in what sort this surmise is untrue; and so as I am informed, this is the occasion of the coming of Mr. *Borthick* this Bearer, who truly I have found always a good Servant to the Queen his Mistress, and a tractable Gentleman at all times; and so I pray you accept him upon my Commendations.

Westm. 16. *June*, 1569.

Yours assuredly,
W. Cecill.

To the right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France.

SIR,

*YOur Advertisement of the Duke of *Bipont* came hither so speedily, as untill seven days after the *French* Embassadour could not understand thereof; but when he did, he used no sparing to divulge it abroad; where the Count *Ernest* of *Mansfelt* is we cannot as yet understand; but from *Rochel* we hear that he is well allowed of the Army, and not inferior in knowledge to the Duke. The will of God must be patiently received and obeyed; and what shall ensue hereof to his Glory, we must if it be good, affirm it to be beyond our deserts; if otherwise, not so evil as we have deserved. Of late about the 15. of *June*, a Rebellion began in the West part of *Ireland* about *Cork*; wherein we care not for the force of the Inhabitants, so they be not aided with some *Spaniards* or *Portugals*, whereof we are not void of Suspicion; and therefore we do presently send certain Captains with a Force by Sea from *Bristoll* to *Cork*, meaning to provide for the worst as reason is.

Our *Rochell* Fleet is safely returned with Salt, and I think the Merchants have not as yet brought their whole Accomplement. Upon your last Advertisement of the delays used in giving you Pasports, I did peremptorily admonish the *French* Embassador, that if he did not procure you some better expedition at the King's hands there, he should have the like measure here; and therefore I think you shall somewhat, whereof I pray you advertise me; and so I take my leave.

Greenwich, 3. *July*, 1569.

Yours assuredly,
W. Cecill.

POST-SCRIPT.

An unfortunate Accident is befaln to my Lord of *Shrewsbury*, being first stricken with a Palsey, and now stricken lamentably with a Phrensie; God comfort him; it is likely the Queen of *Scots* shall remove to *Belvoir*, in the charge of my Lord of *Bedford*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France.

SIR,

AS my leiſure is ſmall to write much, ſo I have not much matter to write unto you at this time; but only to ſend away this Bearer your Servant unto you, becauſe I think in this time you have cauſe to uſe them all. Your Son, Mr. *John Norris*, I think ſhall be the next by whom you ſhall underſtand all our matters here better than I can expreſs in my Letters; and therefore I do forbear to write divers things at this preſent unto you, which by him you ſhall more certainly underſtand; only at this time I wiſh that you could find the means to ſend ſome truſty Perſon to [illegible] there to underſtand the certainty of the matter, whereof you did laſt advertiſe her Majeſty concerning the [illegible]. For herein it is neceſſary to be better aſcertained, than by reports, leſt ſome may inform you of things to move us here, to enter farther than will be allowable. Your Conſtancy in opinion for the maintenance of God's Cauſe, is here of good Councellors much liked, and in that reſpect I aſſure you, I do eaneſtly commend you.

To ſend a truſty Perſon to Marſellies.

Yours aſſuredly,
W. Cecill.

Greenwich 11. July, 1569.

POST-SCRIPT.

I pray that I may be commended to my good Lady, whom I ſee void of Fear of Wars, for Love of your Company.

To the right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſador, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

YOur laſt Letters brought unto me by the *French* Ambaſſadour's Secretary were of the 9th of this Month, the Advertiſement whereof being in Cyphers contented me ſo much, as I wiſh you could by the next make me good aſſurance of the truth thereof; and if the ſame be true, methinketh the contrary Party ſhould not forbear to take advantage of the time. This day the *French* Embaſſador had to dinner with him the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, my Lord Chamberlain, and my ſelf; having invited us four or five days paſt, where my Lord of *Leiceſter* and I had privately reported the miſuage of you by them of your Houſe by the Pariſians, who ſeemed to be ignorant thereof, imputing the ſame to their inſolency, reporting, for Example, their late boldneſs in executing of the two Merchants which the King had pardoned, whereof your ſelf alſo of late wrote unto the Queen's Majeſty. Afterward he entred more privately with me in diſcourſing of the Cauſes why you were miſliked there, to be only for the intelligence which you had with his Maſter's Rebels; a matter as he ſaid, if he ſhould attempt the like here, he knew that I would ſo miſlike, as he could not be ſuffered to remain here as an Embaſſadour. I told him that for any thing to me known therein, he did as much here to his Power; but we had no ſuch cauſe of Suſpicion as they had, and therefore he heard nothing of us. I confeſs that I thought you as well willing to the cauſe of Religion as any Miniſter the Queen had, and I liked you the better, neither would I ever conſent that any other manner of Perſon ſhould be ſent to be our Embaſſadour there. In the end, he required me to write earneſtly unto you, by way of Advice, that you would forbear your manner of dealing with the King's Rebels; and I told him that ſo I would, and durſt aſſure him that you would deal with none whom you could account as Rebels; percaſe you would wiſh well to the King's good Servants, that were afflicted for their Conſciences; and ſo after ſuch like advi[illegible]s, we went down to dinner. When I conſider by whom I ſend this Letter, I mean your Son, I find my ſelf enſured of writing, being alſo as he knoweth, oppreſſed at preſent with buſineſs, I am bold to end, with my heartieſt Commendations to you, and my Lady; I thank you for your good entertainment of Mr. *Borbick*, for he had written thereof very well.

20 *July*, 1569. W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

SInce the time that we firſt ſent the Merchants to *Roan*, to confer with the Marſhal *de Croſs*, for reſtitution to be made on either ſide, we never heard from them but once, at which time they advertiſed us, that the Merchants pretended ignorance of thoſe things which the Embaſſadour here had alledged, both in the King's Name, and in his; nevertheleſs he entreated them well, and cauſed them to ſtay untill he might ſend and have anſwer from the King, which they did; and ſince that time we have not heard of them, but making report thereof to the Embaſſadour, he would not ſeem to believe our Merchants; pretending the miſtaking of the Marſhal's words; and ſo in the end by his frequent Sollicitation, the Queen's Majeſty hath accorded, by advice of her Council, in ſuch manner as you perceive by

by a Copy hereof in writing ſent herewith; the like whereof is ſent at this preſent unto the ſaid Merchants remaining at *Roban*. In which accord, you ſhall ſee a diviſion of the Matters in queſtion according to their natures; That is, for things plainly and openly Arreſted and ſtaid, to be reſtored within a time, without Suit in Law; the reſt of the things to be reſtored, by Order of Law, with favourable expedition; whereas the Embaſſadour would have had the Accord made, that all things, of what nature ſoever they were, being proved to have been taken by any the Queen's Subjects; or any other that ſhould be proved to have brought the ſame in any Port or Creek of this Realm, that immediate Reſtitution or Recompence ſhould be made for the ſame, whereby you can gueſs what Matters he meant to have drawn to their advantage, by ſuch large words. Thus much of this Matter I have thought good to write unto you for your Information; and for the enlargement thereof. I have at preſent written to the Merchants, to advertiſe you of their Proceedings. We have Report come to us from *Callis*, that the King there is to come to *Paris*, and that his Brother, with his Army, is at *Orleance*, with many other things to the advantage of the Prince of *Navarr*; but hereof I make no certainty nor account, untill I may hear from you. You ſhall, perchance, hear of ſome Troubles in *Ireland*, which alſo may be by our ill-willers increaſed; and therefore I have thought good to impart unto you briefly the ſtate of thoſe Matters, *Fitz Morris* of *Deſmond*, one that pretendeth Title to the Earldom of *Deſmond*, hath traiterouſly conſpired with divers Rebels in the South-Weſt Part, with one *Mac Cartemore*, late time made Earl of *Clancarty*, to withſtand the Authority of the Queen's Majeſty; and pretendeth to make a change of Religion, being provoked thereto by certain Friers, that have offered to get him aid out of *Spain* and *Poreugal*; and upon comfort hereof, hath with a Rebellious number over-run divers Parts in the Weſt; and eſpecially made great Spoil upon certain Lands belonging to Sir *Warham St. Leger*, near *Corke*. And beſides this, have procured the Earl of *Ormond*'s younger Brethren to commit like riotous Acts, pretending, on their part, that they do the ſame, not of any diſobedience to the Queen, but to maintain their private Titles and Lands againſt Sir *Peter Carew*, whom indeed the Lord Deputy there findeth very ſerviceable againſt them; and in that reſpect, it ſeemeth, they would cover their Diſorders; but thanked be God, the Brothers powers are diſperſed, and they driven into deſert Places; and the Deputy was the 27th of the laſt Month in a Caſtle of Sir *Edward Butler*'s, which was taken by force, and from thence marched with his Army againſt the other Rebels, who alſo fled from him. And ſo, although indeed it be a matter be pitied, to have any ſuch Diſorder to be begun, yet with God's goodneſs there is great likelihood of due avenge to be had of them all; and no ſmall profit to grow to the Queen's Majeſty, by the Forfeitures and Eſcheats of their Lands, wherewith the better Subjects may be rewarded. The *French* Embaſſadour hath been here this day, and ſhewed the Queen's Majeſty, that the King is come to *Paris* to levy Money for increaſe of his Army, and that there are coming ſix thouſand more *Switzers* to his Service.

The 25th of the laſt, the Earl of *Murray* began a Convention at St. *John*'s Town, and meaneth to ſend, as I think, the Lord *Lydlington* hither with hi Mind concerning the Queen of *Scots*; and ſo I end with my hearty Commendations, both to your ſelf, and my Lady.

Otlands, 3d *Aug.* 1569. *Yours aſſuredly*,

W. Cecill.

POST-SCRIPT.

[1] ☉ ☿ ♃ ♄ ♀ ♂ ♃ here is very deſirous that [1] ☿ ☽ ☿ x 7: 3 ♃ ♃ 4, might be ♂ ♅ ♃ ♂ a ♀ hither.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

*YOur laſt Letters brought hither to my hands, came by Mr. *Huddleſton*, whom ſurely I think you ſhall find an honeſt Servitor; I have no Matter preſently to write of, but to take occaſion to ſend away this Bearer your Servant, and I wiſh to hear from you of ſome good ſucceſs at *Poictiers*; I do lye in wait for the *Italian*, of whom you lately made mention in your Lettes, that is ſent hither to attempt his devilliſh Concluſions. Out of *Ireland*, ſince my laſt, I have heard nothing of any moment, but, I truſt, all ſhall be in quiet there; and ſo is the State of this Realm alſo, howſoever any other ſhall report, having a Diſpoſition of malicious Propheſying. In *Suffolk*, a lewd Varlet, not diſpoſed to get his Living by Labour, motioned a number of light Perſons to have made a Rout in manner of Rebellion, to have ſpoiled the richer Sort; but the Matter was diſcovered, and the Offenders taken before they did attempt any thing more than had paſſed by Words, ſo as thereby they are puniſhable, but as Conſpirers by Words, and not as actual Rebels. The Convention of St. *John*'s Town in *Scotland*, was diſſolved about the ſecond of this Month; and on *Wedneſday* laſt, came hither one *Alexander Hume* from the Regent, with Letters, declaring that he had an univerſal Obedience in *Scotland*, and that the States there, would not conſent to any thing concerning the Queen of *Scots*'s Reſtitution, by any manner of Degree; wherewith her Majeſty is not well pleaſed, becauſe ſhe hath a Diſpoſition to have her out of the Realm, with ſome

tollerable conditions to avoid peril, which is a matter very hard, at the leaſt to me, to compaſs; I think you ſhall hear ſomeways of an Intention of ☌ ☍ □ △ and ☉ ☌ ☿. Certainly, if the Queen's Majeſty may or ſhall be thereto perſwaded, I think it likely to ſucceed, it hath ſo many weighty Circumſtances in it, as I wiſh my ſelf as free from the Conſideration thereof, as I have been from the intelligence of the deviſing thereof, I thought not good to have you ignorant, I know it hath not allowed of it.

Sir, I thank you for the *French* Story which you lately ſent me by *Huddleſton*; the next that ſhall come to you, I think will be Mr. *William Norris*.

Yours aſſuredly,

Fernham, 13. *Auguſt*, 1569. W. Cecill.

POSTSCRIPT.

Immediately after your laſt ſervant departed with Letters to you, making mention of our accord with the *French* Embaſſadour, came the two Merchants, *Patrick* and *Offly*, to *London*, with an accord propounded by the Marſhal *de Croſs*, but not accepted, for that thereby was required a general reſtitution of all things, which on our part indeed cannot be; and now the *French* Embaſſadour will not be here on *Wedneſday*, to enter into a new Communication. I ſend you a late Proclamation, which you may impart there as you as liſt.

SIR,

★ ALthough the Bearer hereof, Mr. *Norris*, your Son, is well able to ſatisfie you of all our Occurrents here, both becauſe of his continual attendance about the Court, and for his underſtanding; yet in one only thing I am moſt fit to inform you, that his ſtay here of long time hath been principally by my occaſion, whom I have at all times of late, when he hath deſired to come over unto you, moved to ſtay, upon expectation to have ſome matter of more weight to be by him imparted unto you; but finding the ſame not ſo to fall out, and perceiving him the more importune to reſort unto you, ſince the repair of *Harcourte*, by whom he underſtood of your Sickneſs, I have thought it good no longer to defer him, and therefore without any other great matter, but to ſend him where he would be, he now cometh, and if I ſhould enter into writing of any particular things here paſt, he is as well able to expreſs the ſame of his own knowledge, as I am by writing; and therefore you ſhall juſtly hold me excuſed, if I forbear my writing, having ſo ſufficient a Perſon to make report of all things, as well ſuch as are meet for Letters, as alſo not Meet, for ſome reſpects. Of the matters of *Ireland* he ſhall make you full report. Of *Scotland* he can doe the like; of our Trade to *Hamburgh*, he is not ignorant; of the matters betwixt us and *France* for Arreſts of Merchandizes, I have made him Privy; and for the matters in this Court, he hath ſeen and underſtands as much thereof as I doubt not but ſhall ſatisfie, ſo as he ſhall ſerve you at this time inſtead of many long Letters: And ſo I end, with a good hope that he ſhall find you well amended, whereof I ſhall alſo be glad to hear, wiſhing that the ſame might be joyned with the winning of *Poictiers*, of which we here live on all ſides, in no ſmall expectation, though with ſundry meanings.

Southampton, 9. Sep. 1569.

Your aſſured Friend at Command,

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

W. Cecill.

SIR,

★ SInce your Son's departing from *Southampton*, I have deferred to write untill this time, perceiving ſome likelihood of ſome greater matters to enſue, and yet the event thereof draws out at ſome length, which hath moved me to deferr the ſame untill now; and doubting that otherwiſe rumors may be brought unto you, I have thought good to ſend away this bearer. You ſhall underſtand, that according as your Son was able to inform you, the Duke of *Norfolk* departed towards *London* about the 16th of this Month, promiſing to return to the Court within 8 days; the Queen's Majeſty having ſhewed her ſelf towards him offended with his dealing in the marriage, was newly offended with his departure; but being by me aſſured (as I earneſtly thought) that he would return, her Majeſty was quieted, contrary hereunto, notwithſtanding that he wrote on *Thurſday* the 23d. that he would be at the Court before *Munday*, yet he went away ſecretly from *London* to *Reninghale* that ſame night, whereof we had no knowledge untill *Sunday* in the Morning, that his own Letters written on *Friday* at night at *Reninghale* came hither, by which he ſignified the cauſe of his departure to be a vehement fear, that he conceived by reports made to him, that he ſhould be committed to the Tower; and therefore he did withdraw himſelf, to have means to ſeek the Queen's Majeſty's Favor, which he offered to doe as a quiet humble Subject. Hereupon the ſame *Sunday* Mr. *Edmund Garret* was ſent to him, who found him at *Reninghale* on *Monday* at Night, in a Fervent Ague, ſo as the Duke required reſpite,

untill

untill *Friday*, with which anſwer Mr. *Garret* return'd, and therewith the Queen's Majeſty was offended, and began by reaſon alſo of other lewd Tales brought to her Majeſty, to enter into no ſmall jealouſie, and therefore ſent again Mr. *Garret*, with a peremptory Commandment, that he ſhould come notwithſtanding his Ague; and ſo even now, whilſt I am writing, I have word, that Mr. *Garret* coming on *Thurſday* at night, found him ready to come of his own diſpoſition, and ſurely is now on the way, whereof I am glad; firſt for the reſpect of the State, and next for the Duke himſelf, whom of all Subjects I honoured and loved above the reſt, and ſurely found in him always matter ſo deſerving. Whilſt this matter hath been in paſſing, you muſt not think but the Queen of *Scots* was nearer looked to than before; and though evil willers to our State would have gladly ſeen ſome troubleſome Iſſue of this matter; yet God be thanked, I truſt they ſhall be deceived. The Queen's Majeſty hath willed my Lord *Arundel*, and my Lord of *Pembrook*, to keep their Lodgings here, for that they were privy of this Marriage intended, and did not reveal it to her Majeſty; but I think none of them ſo did with any evil meaning; and of my Lord of *Pembrook*'s Intent herein, I can witneſs that he meant nothing but well to the Queen's Majeſty; my Lord *Lumly* alſo is reſtrained, the Queen's Majeſty hath alſo been grievouſly offended with my Lord *Leiceſter*, but conſidering he hath revealed all that, he ſaith he knoweth of himſelf, her Majeſty ſpareth her diſpleaſure the more towards him; ſome diſquiets muſt ariſe, but I truſt not hurtfull, for that her Majeſty ſaith, ſhe will know the truth, ſo as every one ſhall ſee his own fault, and ſo ſtay. Thus have I briefly run over a troubleſome paſſage full of Fears and Jealouſies, God ſend her Majeſty the quietneſs that ſhe of her Goodneſs deſireth. My Lord of *Huntington* is joyned with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in charge for the *Scotiſh* Queen's ſafety. This 3d of *October* the Duke is come to Mr. *Paul Wentworth*'s Houſe, where Sir *Henry Nevill* had charge to attend upon him; I hope as I know no offence of untruth in him, ſo the event of things will be moderate; and ſo for my Part, I will endeavour all my Power, even for the Queen's Majeſty's Service.

I know there will be in that Court large Diſcourſes hereupon, but I truſt they ſhall lack their hope. The Plague continueth in *London*, the Term is prorogued untill *All-hallontide*.

All the former part of this Letter hath been written theſe three days, and ſtayed untill the Duke's coming.

October 3d. 1569. *Yours aſſuredly,*

W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

EVen when this Bearer was departing, I heard that *Crips* your Servant, was come from you as far as *Amiens* or *Abberville*, and there was fallen ſick, but whether he hath any Letters of yours or no, I cannot tell; I do mean to ſend one thither to ſee his Eſtate, and to bring your Letters, which will come very late; and therefore I think we ſhall alſo have ſome later from you as ſoon as they ſhall come to my Hands. This Bearer ſeemeth to be in Religion good enough, but yet you know how he politickly ſerveth the *French* King. Howſoever any evil bouts ſhall come thither, at this preſent all the Realm is, as yet, as at any time it hath been, and no doubt of the Contrary, and yet the Duke of *Norfolk* is in Cuſtody, and ſo are the Earl of *Arundel*, and Lord *Lumley*, but the Lord Steward onely keepeth his Chamber in the Court, and I truſt ſhall ſhortly doe well; and ſo I end.

Windſor-Caſtle, 10. Oct. 1569 *Your aſſured Friend,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, her Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecill.

SIR,

AS you have with Grief written your Adviſes, ſo they have with Grief been received of us, and yet in all theſe accidents of the World, we muſt accept with Humbleneſs, the Ordinances of Almighty God, and expect his farther Favour with Patience, and with Prayer, and interceſſion to move the Majeſty of God to draw his heavy Hand over us, which is provoked by our Sins. Of late matters here, by the Queen's Majeſty's Letter you ſhall farther underſtand, which being as you ſee long, I know you will well conſider and adviſe how to expreſs the ſame to the *French* King in the *French* Tongue; wherein we have this diſadvantage, that their Miniſters ſpeak in their own Tongue, and we in theirs. Whatſoever you ſhall hear by lewd reports from hence, aſſure your ſelf that I know no cauſe to doubt, but that all things are and will continue quiet. The Queen of *Scots*, I truſt is, and ſhall be ſo regarded, as no trouble will ariſe thereof; the Duke of *Norfolk* doth humbly accept the Queen's Majeſty's dealings with him;

him; and I know of none that are thought to have favoured his part, but either they plainly alter their Opinions, and follow the Queen's; or if they do not so inwardly, yet outwardly they yield to serve and follow her Majesty's Order. Before you sent us your Letters which you received from *Spain* concerning *Ireland*, we had knowledge of the same from the same Place, and much more, and have made Provision to our Power. These your sinister Accidents in *France*, will cause some that were in a slumber here to awake; and so beseeching you to pardon me, if my Letter be hasty and very short;

Windsor-Castle, 26th Oct. 1566. *Yours assuredly*,

W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France.

SIR,

THis Bearer, your Footman, having brought your Letters hither a good while since is desirous to return, though I think both the Season of the Year and the Weather will not suffer him to make much haste, yet I have thought good to let you partly to understand of the state of things here. About the midst of the last Month, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, assembling themselves with some Companies (after refusal to come in to the Lord President) came to *Durefme*, where they have made Proclamations, in their own Names, for Reformations of the Disorders of the Realm (as they termed it) and for restitution of the ancient Customs and Liberties of the Church, and so directed the same generally to all of the old and Catholick Religion. In their Companies they have Priests of their Faction, who, to please the People thereabouts, give them Masses, and some such trash of the Spoils and Wasts where they have been; and upon the sudden having levyed of all sorts (as it is thought) of Footmen about four thousand, simply appointed for the Wars, and of Horsemen about a thousand, wherein indeed all their strength is; and with these numbers (before the Earl of *Sussex* could gather numbers meet to resist them) they came down to *Todcaster*, *Ferry-brigs*, and *Doncaster*, being twelve Miles, or thereabouts, wide from *York*, and were not indeed resisted, untill at *Doncaster* the Lord *Darcy* of the *North*, with certain numbers, which he was leading to *York*, did very valiantly repulse a number of them; hereupon they are retired to *Richmondshire*, and know not what to enterprise by their stragling in this sort. The Earl of *Sussex* is at *York*, where Sir *Ralph Sadler* is, and hath levied the power of *York-shire* against them; the Lord *Hunsdon* is sent to *Berwick*, and to the Borders, to levy the like there; Sir *John Forster* to doe the like in his Marches, the Lord *Scroope* also in his Wardnery, the Earl of *Cumberland* and the Lord *Wharton*, to join with their Forces in *Westmerland*, and that side; and besides, the Lord Admiral with the Forces of *Lincoln-shire*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, with other numbers of *Nottinghamshire*, *Darbyshire*, *Warwick-shire*, and other parts of the North, are appointed Lieutenants of the Army, who are to join with Lord of *Sussex*; and to do further as shall be found meet. And by this means you shall hear shortly, I doubt not, of the confusion of this rebellious Enterprise, who, as you may perceive, by the Queen's Majesty's Proclamation, are proclaimed thorough the Realm, as they have behaved themselves. The Queen's Majesty hath, besides, ready upon all occasions an Army of fifteen thousand near to her own Person. The Queen of *Scots* is removed from *Tutbery* to *Coventry*, where attends on her the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, and *Huntington*. Under the Conduct of the Army of the Southern Parts is the Viscount *Hereford*, with the Power of *Staffordshire*, very well appointed; and divers Gentlemen of credit and Service of the Court, and other Places, of themselves, are gone thither to serve under the said Lieutenants.

In company with those said Rebels are not many Gentlemen of name, but *Norton* an old Man, who carrieth the Cross, *Markinfield*, *Swynbourne*, and an Uncle of the Earl of *Westmerland*, named *Christopher Nevill*; all the Realm, and all the Nobility, besides these only two Rebels, are as obedient as ever they were, and surely so like to be, whatsoever our ill-will ersmay report.

2 *Novemb.* 1569. *Yours assured*,

W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France.

SIR,

I Have forborn these two or three daysto write unto you, because I could not by occasion of some sickness use my own hand, and also because I would not detain here any longer this Bearer Mr. *Rogers*, who is both serviceable for you, and desirous to be returned thither. I have thought good to dispatch him towards you, who can inform you of such News as we have here; and that he may the better doe it, I have imparted to him such things as I think meet for you to know; and for that I am not well able at present to write any more, I trust you will be for this time satisfied with such declaration

claration as this Bearer ſhall make unto you. Thus fare you heartily well. From *Windſor* the 10. *Nov.* 1569.

I think long to hear from you, becauſe I have not received any Letters from you ſince the tenth of the laſt Month, which *D'amons* brought; but I doubt not but ſome of yours be on the way, whereby we may underſtand how things paſs there. Since the writing hereof, came yeſterday your Lackquey with Letters of the of wherein you make mention that *Lodowick* the Count *Naſſaw* ſhould be ſlain, which I truſt is not ſo, becauſe of other Letters which I have ſeen, that came hither by the way of *Rochell*, that teſtifie nothing of his death, but great praiſe of his Service, the day of the Battle. At this preſent I am unable to write, by reaſon of ſome Sickneſs, as this Bearer can report. Herewith I ſend you a Copy in writing of ſuch things, as after long debate betwixt the *French* Embaſſadour and us hath been here accorded; which I wiſh may be as well performed on their part as they have promiſed. pray you, Sir, commend me to my good Lady, and your Sons.

12 *Novemb. at night.* *Yours aſſuredly,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecill.

SIR,

THough I think this Bringer will deliver you my Letter, yet I know not with what readineſs he will impart to you our State here; and therefore have thought good to advertiſe you thus much, that, thanked be God, our Northern Rebellion is fallen flat to the ground, and ſcattered away. The Earls are fled into *Northumberland*, ſeeking all ways to eſcape, but they are roundly purſued; Sir *John Forſter* and Sir *Henry Percy* in one company, my Lord of *Suſſex* in another. The 16th hereof they broke up their ſorry Army, and the 18th they entred into *Northumberland*, the 19th into the Mountains, they ſcattered all their Footmen, willing them to ſhift for themſelves; and of a thouſand Horſemen there fled but five hundred. By this time they be fewer, and I truſt, either taken, or fled into *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Murray* is in good readineſs, to chaſe them to their ruine; yeſternight came Mr. *Madder*; and upon the next Letters from my Lord of *Suſſex*, I will ſend away *Crips*, or ſome other. The Queen's Majeſty hath had a notable Tryal of her whole Realm, and Subjects, in this time, wherein ſhe hath had Service readily of all ſorts, without reſpect of Religion.

Windſor, 24. Decemb. *Yours aſſuredly,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecill.

SIR,

I Have long time determined to ſend away this Bearer, your Servant, *Henry Crips*, but my delay hath grown of a deſire that I had to ſee ſome good iſſue of this Rebellion, which as it hath had a time of declination, and is now ſuppreſſed; ſo could I not well before this time ſend this Bearer away, who now bringeth her Majeſty's Letters unto you, by which you ſhall underſtand how her pleaſure is, That you ſhould impart the events thereof in that Court; and indeed hither to we have no certain and manifeſt Proofs, that it ſhould have any other ground, but as it is expreſſed in her Majeſty's Letters; nevertheleſs, we have diſcovered ſome Tokens, and we hear of ſome Words uttered by the Earl of *Northumberland*, that maketh us to think this Rebellion had more Branches, both of our own and Strangers, than did appear; and I truſt the ſame will be found out, though, perchance, when all are known in ſecret manner, all may not be notified. Of all other Occurrents, I know your Son, Mr. *William*, and other your Servants here doth advertiſe you; and therefore I pray you to bear with my ſhortneſs, for I am almoſt ſmothered with Buſineſs. We look to hear of the apprehenſion of more of the Rebels; I ſend you Extracts of our Letters out of the North, as of late time they have come.

Windſor Caſtle, 7. *Jan.* 1569. *Yours aſſuredly,*

To the Right Honourable Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecill.

Advertiſements from Lyexham, 22 *Decemb.*

THe two rebellious Rebels went into *Liddeſdale* in *Scotland* yeſternight, where *Martin Elwood*, and others, that have given Pledges to the Regent of *Scotland*, did raiſe their Forces againſt them; being conducted by black *Ormeſton*, an Out-law of *Scotland*, that was a principal Murtherer of the King of *Scots*, where the Fight was offered, and both Parties alighted from their Horſes; and in the end, *Elwood* ſaid to *Ormeſton*, he would be ſorry to enter deadly feud with him by bloodſhed; but he would charge him and the reſt before the Regent, for keeping of the Rebels; and if he did not put them out of the Country, the next day he would doe his worſt againſt them; whereupon the two Earls were driven to leave *Liddeſdale*, and to fly to one of the *Armeſtrionges*, a *Scot*, upon the Batable on the Borders between *Liddeſdale* and *England*; the ſame day the *Liddeſdale* Men ſtole the Horſes of the Counteſs of *Northumberland*, and her two Women, and ten others of their Company; ſo as the Earls being gone, the Lady of *Northumberland* was left there on foot at *John* of the Sides houſe, in a Cottage, not to be compared to many a Dog-kennel in *England*; at their departing from her, they went not above fifty Horſe, and the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, to be the more unknown, changed his Coat of Plate and Sword with *John* of the Sides, and departed like a *Scotiſh* Borderer. The reſt of the Rebels are partly taken in the Weſt Borders of *England*, and partly ſpoiled by the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Borderers.

By Letters of the 24th.

The Rebels be driven to change their Names, their Horſes and Apparel, and to ride like *Liddeſdale* Men. The Regent of *Scotland* will be this Night upon the Borders of *Liddeſdale*.

The Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Scroop*, and Mr. *Leonard Dacre* have ſhewed themſelves very Honourable and diligent in their Service, at the Rebels entring into the Weſt Marches; and upon the ſcaling of the Rebels, there be great numbers of them taken there.

There be in every of the Marches againſt *Scotland*, ſundry Bands of Horſemen, and ſhot laid, if they ſhall enter into the Realm again.

By Letters of the laſt of December.

The Regent of *Scotland* is gone from *Jedworth* to *Edenburgh*, and hath taken the Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſix of his Men with him. Before his departure from *Jedworth*, he ſent for the Gentlemen of *Tividale*, to come before him, where all came ſaving the Lord of *Fernehurſt*, and the Lord of *Buckhugh*, whereupon the Regent rode towards them, but they hearing thereof ſuddenly rode away. *Robert Collingwood*, *Ralph Swynſon*, with others of their Company, were taken in Eaſt *Tividale*, and delivered to the Regent, who re-delivered them to their takers, and charged them for their ſafe keeping; *Egremont Ratcliff*, with certain with him, remain about *Liddeſdale*. And it is thought the Counteſs of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, *Norton*, *Markenfield*, *Swynborne*, and *Tempeſt*, are removed out of *Liddeſdale* to the Lords of *Fernehurſt* and *Buckhugh*.

SIR,

I Doubt not, but the Report of the cruel Murther of the Regent in *Scotland* will be diverſly reported in thoſe Parts; and diverſly alſo received, by ſome with gladneſs, and by ſome with grief, as I am ſure it ſhall be of you; the manner of it was thus (as I have been advertiſed:) The 22d of the laſt Month, the Regent coming thorough the Town of *Lithgo*, which is in the mid-way between *Sterling* and *Edenburgh*, having in his Company about a hundred Perſons, was ſtricken with a Courrier about the Navel, with the Pellet coming out about his Huckle-bone, which alſo ſlew a Horſe behind him; and of this Wound he dyed the next day afterward within Night; the Murtherer was one *Hambleton* of *Bothwell-Hall*, who lay ſecretly in a Houſe to attempt this Miſchief, having ſhut the doors towards the Street in ſuch ſort, as no Man could enter on the foreſide to take him; and ſo he eſcaped on the back-ſide, where he had a Horſe to ſerve his turn, although he was purſued; what is like to follow miſerably to that Land, I dare not judge; but do fear that the death of ſo good a Man will prove *Initium multorum malorum*. At the writing hereof, I know not what is done or intended; but ſome write from thence, That the Earls of *Marr* and *Morton*, and other Friends to the young King, are come to *Edenburgh*, and do in the King's Name preſerve the State, and do purpoſe to have the Land ruled by four Regents; and one to be a Lieutenant for the Wars, to execute their Directions; a Matter more probable in Talk than in Effect; as I ſhall hereafter underſtand more, ſo will I write. It happened at this time, Sir *Henry Gates*, and the Marſhall of *Berwick* were at *Edenburgh*, having been at *Sterling* with the Regent, the Friday before, for the demanding in the Queen's Majeſty's Name, of the Earl of *Northumberland*, and other the Rebels, and by direction of the Regent they attended at *Edenburgh*, for Anſwer to be given the day of his death, which now is, as our Lawyers call it, *ſine die*. Mr. *Randolph* went from hence towards *Scotland*, the 29th upon knowledge of the hurt, and doubt of his Life. The ſame day alſo, came *Monſinet* to her Majeſty's Preſence, with the *French* Embaſſadour, bringing

bringing his Letters dated the 27*th.* of *December*, at which time I think they understood not of the stay of our Rebellion. The summ of *Monslovet*'s Message consisted upon these two Heads, request for Restitution and Liberty of the Queen of *Scots*, and a Declaration of the King's Inclination to Peace with his Subjects, and their disguising with him by Treating and Suing for Peace, and yet amassing of new Forces in *Almaine*, and seeking also to surprise the King's Towns, as *Burdeaux*, and other like; whereupon the King requireth the Queen's Majesty not to favour his Rebels, if they should seek any farther Succours from hence, as they have done, as Persons unworthy of any Favour. They have made great instance to be answered for the first matter, but the Queen's Majesty hath hitherto deferred them; but I think upon *Monday* next they shall have Audience. I forgot to shew you, that in the request for the Queen of *Scots*, he desired Liberty to go to her, and from thence to pass into *Scotland*, which thing would not be granted unto him. Upon the death of the Regent, the Earl of *Sussex* and Mr. *Sadler* were admonished to stay there, for that it was thought good that Mr. *Sadler* should have gone from thence into *Scotland*; but they both being come upon former Licence near the City on the way, upon desire to see Her Majesty, came hither Yesterday unlooked for; and although in the beginning of this *Northern* Rebellion her Majesty sometimes uttered some misliking of the Earl, yet this day she meaning to deal very Princely with him, in presence of her Council, charged him with such things as she had heard, to cause her misliking without any Note of mistrust towards him for his Fidelity; whereupon he did with such Humbleness, Wisdom, Plainness, and Dexterity, answer Her Majesty, as both she and all the rest were fully satisfied, and he adjudged by good proofs to have served in all this time Faithfully, Stoutly, and so Circumspectly, as it manifestly appeareth, that if he had not so used himself in the beginning, the whole *North* part had entred into the Rebellion.

Usque ad 3. Febr.

We have now Letters out of *Scotland*, that the Nobility which favoureth the young King have assembled themselves, and made a Reconciliation of divers Persons that had particular Quarrels one against another; and as they pretend, they will all join firmly in the revenge of the Murther, and defence of their King: The Lord *Grange*, who keepeth the Castle of *Edinburgh*, is reconciled to the Earl *Morton*, and become one of this Bond, and so doth *Liddington* also offer to be another. The Duke of *Chastilberault* is straiter kept than he was before; and it is commonly reported, that the *Hambletons* were the workers of this Murther; thus much being known of certain, that the Murtherer was a near Kinsman of the Duke's, and that the peece wherewith he murthered the Regent, and the Spare-Horses whereupon he escaped, did all belong to the Abbat of *Arbroth*, the Duke's second Son, and the Murtherer was received into *Hambleton* the Dukes House; all which I trust, God will see revenged. The Rebellion moved in the West parts of *Ireland* this last Summer, being also cherished with comfort out of *Spain*, is fully suppressed; and the Country reduced to such Quietness and Obedience, as the like hath not been in those parts these many years, the heads being all taken and reduced to Obedience, saving one onely, named *James Fitz Maurice*, who wandreth in the deserts without any succour, making means to be received to Mercy, but he is of so little value, as it is refused unto him. For your own revocation from thence, I am not unmindfull, but have attempted the same; and so mean to continue it, as I hope you shall shortly receive comfort.

Usque ad 5. Febr.

This day the 6*th.* of *Febr.* the *French* Embassadour came with *Monslovet* to Her Majesty, to require answer to their demands, which were three. First, to have the Queen of *Scots* delivered and restored; Secondly, that *Monslovet* might repair to the Queen of *Scots*; Thirdly, that he might repair into *Scotland*: To all these Her Majesty, having her whole Council in her Presence; that for the first, she said, she had used the Queen of *Scots* with more honour and favour, than any Prince, having like cause, would have done; and though she was not bound to make account to any Prince of her doings, yet she would impart to the King, her good Brother, some reasonable consideration of her doings, and so she ended her Answer to that. The other two requests depended so upon the first, as she said she could not accord thereunto; and so though she used good loving Speech to satisfie him, yet in brief they departed without obtaining their requests, as shortly you shall understand more at length by the next Messenger, and Letters, which in this behalf shall be sent unto you. We here that two Ships of War of St. *Malloes*, under the conduct of the Lord *Fleming*'s Brother, arrived in *Don Briston*'s *Frith* the tenth of *January*, and have as I think, victualled the Castle of *Don Briston*, whereof will follow some farther Annoyance to *Scotland*. And thus I am forced to end for the present, by reason of multitude of other affairs.

Hampton-Court, *Feb.* 7. 1569. *Yours assuredly*,

W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident with the* French *King.*

R I R,

*After all the other Letters in this Packet were ſealed up, your honeſt Servant, Mr. *Rogers* arrived here with your Letters, of the contents whereof, concerning the crazed ſhaken Treaty of Peace betwixt the King and his Subjects, I had plainly heard four or five days paſt from *Rochel*. Your intelligences accord with the like, as I have received lately from *Rochel*, and as you do expreſs to us the dangerous practices of our Adverſaries there, ſo I aſſure you the ſame are not by Counſellours here neglected, although I can give no aſſurance how they ſhall be avoided; and yet I would not doubt, but with God's goodneſs, their whole deſigns ſhould prove fruſtrate if our Councels might take place. I have named to the Queen's Majeſty two to be your Succeſſors, both to be well liked, if their livelihoods were anſwerable to their other qualities; the one is Mr. *Francis Walſingham*, the other is Mr. *Hen. Killigrew*, who is indeed in livelihood much inferior. If I can procure that either of them, or ſome other might relieve you, I aſſure you there ſhall not lack any good will in me.

Hampton-Court, 7. Febr. 1569. *Yours aſſuredly,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecill.

S I R,

*Your laſt Letters are thus come to my hands, *Crips* came with thoſe of yours the 9*th*. then *Neal* with thoſe of the 25*th*. of the laſt Month, and Yeſterday came the *French* Embaſſadour's Secretary with thoſe of the firſt of *March*; by all which is manifeſt the inward natural care that you take for the Queen's Majeſty, and therein her Highneſs accepteth your Zeal and Duty moſt thankfully. And yet I know not by what means Her Majeſty is not much troubled with the Opinion of Danger; nevertheleſs, I and others cannot be but greatly fearfull for her, and do, and will do, that in us may lie to underſtand, thorough God's aſſiſtance the attempts; as for [1] ☉ *D* many here, and the moſt of this Council think the peril no leſs, but rather greater, if ♈ ☌ ☿ ☌ *D* foraſmuch ſhould ♄ ☉ 7: ☽ ☍ ♃ 9: ☍ li [10] [11] ſince the Death of the Regent, the Borderers have maintained our Rebels, and invaded *England*; wherefore for which purpoſe my Lord of *Suſſex* is now ordered with any Army to invade them and make Revenge; whereof the *Scots* hearing, do make all means they can to be reconciled, but they muſt feel the Sword and the Fire-brand; and becauſe I will end my Letter, I will deliver to this Bearer a ſhort Memorial of Words to ſerve him for informing of you of the things of our State; and ſo with my moſt hearty Commendations, I end, being ſorry that as yet I cannot perfect my intent for your return.

Hampton-Court, 22. March, 1569. *Your aſſured Friend,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France. W. Cecill.

S I R,

*BY the Queen's Majeſty's long Letter you ſhall perceive Her Majeſty's meaning in ſuch ſort, as I need not to repeat or enlarge the ſame; and the ſooner that Her Majeſty may have anſwer hereof, the better ſhe will be content, eſpecially if the anſwer ſhall be good.

I ſend to you the Copies of the Advertiſements of my Lord of *Suſſex* Journey into *Scotland* the 17. of *Apil*, and returning the 22. his Lordſhip entred the 27 to beſiege (as I think) *Hume* Caſtle, for the ſame hath been the receptacle of all the Rebels; but at the writing hereof, I am not aſcertained what his Lordſhip hath done. Of late the Biſhop of *Roſs* cauſed one of his Servants ſecretly to procure the Printing of a Book in *Engliſh*, whereof before eight leaves could be finiſhed, intelligence was had; which Book tendeth to ſet forth to the World, that the Queen of *Scots* was not guilty of her Husband's Death, a Parable in many Mens Opinion; next, that ſhe is a lawfull Heir to the Crown, and herewith ſuch reaſons inſerted as make unſound concluſions for the Queen's Majeſty's preſent State. Beſides this, a notable lie is there uttered, that all the Noble Men that heard her Cauſe, did judge her Innocent; and therefore made ſuite to Her Majeſty, that ſhe might marry with my Lord of *Norfolk*. With theſe and ſuch like Enterpriſes, Her Majeſty hath been grieved with the ſaid Biſhop, whereupon ſhe hath the longer kept him from her Preſence; but I think he will be ſpoken withall to Morrow, and ſo within two or three days, it is likely he ſhall have acceſs to Her Majeſty. The Secretary in *Scotland* hath ſo diſcovered himſelf for the Queen of *Scots*, as he is the inſtrument to increaſe her party, having ſuch credit with *Grange*, who keepeth *Edinburgh* Caſtle, as the Duke of *Chaſtilherault*, the Lord *Herries*, &c. are now at Liberty, and thereby the party for the King is diminiſhed, you can judge what is meant to be done; and I wiſh Her Majeſty to take ſuch a way herein, as may preſerve her Eſtate, the device and execution whereof is found upon con-

conſultation, very difficult; and yet in all evils the leaſt is to be choſen. My Lord of *Worceſter* and my Lord of *Huntington*, are choſen Knights of the Order. I cannot procure any Reſolution for your Revocation, untill it may be ſeen what will fall out there of the War betwixt the King and his Subjects, whereof daily there is expectation of ſome Iſſue; and the *French* Embaſſadour doth conſtantly affirm that the Peace ſhall follow: And ſo I end,

Hampton-Court, 4th of May, 1570. *Yours aſſuredly,*

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident with the* French *King.*

W. Cecill.

A Note of a Journey into Tividale *by the Earl* Suſſex, *her Majeſty's Lieutenant in the North, begun the* 17th *of April,* 1570, *and ending the* 22d. *of the ſame.*

*THe 17th of *April*, 1570. the Earl of *Suſſex*, and the Lord *Hunſdon*, Governour of *Berwick*, with all the Garriſons and Power of the Eaſt Marches, came to *Wark*, and entred into *Tividale* in *Scotland*, the 18th. at the break of the day, and burnt all Caſtles and Towns as they went, untill they came to the Caſtle of *Moſs*, ſtanding in a ſtrong Marſh, and belonging to the Lord of *Fernhurſt*, which they burnt and razed, and ſo burnt the Country untill they came to *Craling*. The ſame day Sir *John Foſter*, with all the Garriſons and Force of the middle Marches, entred into *Tividale* and *Expeſgate* Head, 16 miles from *Warke*, and ſo burnt all the Countrey, untill they came to a ſtrong Caſtle called in the poſſeſſion of the Mother of the Lord of *Fernhurſt*, which he burnt and razed, and ſo burnt all other Caſtles and Towns, untill he came to *Craling*, where both Companies met, and ſo went up the River of *Tivit*, and burnt and threw down all the Caſtles and Towns upon that River, untill they came to *Jedworth*, where they lodged.

This day the Lord of *Cheſford*, Warden of the middle Marches, with the principle Men of his kind, who never had in Perſon received the Rebels, nor Invaded *England*, and yet had evil Men that had done both, came in to the Lord Lieutenant, and ſubmitted himſelf, and offered to abide Order for his Mens Offences, whereupon he was received as a Friend, and he and all his were free from any hurt.

The 19. the Army was divided into two parts, whereof the one did paſs the River of *Tivit*, and burnt and razed the Caſtle of *Fernhurſt*, and all other Caſtles and Towns of the Lord of *Fernhuſt*, *Hunſhill*, and *Bedroll*, and ſo paſſed on to *Minto*; and the other part of the Army burnt in like ſort on the other ſide of the River *Tivit*, untill he came to *Hawick*, where it was intended to have lodged that Night, for that the Bailiffs had the ſame Morning offered to receive the Army, and had therefore their Town aſſured; but at the coming thither of the Army, they had unthatched their Houſes, and burnt the Thatch in the ſtreets, and were all fled, ſo as no Perſon could well enter for ſmoak, which cauſed lack of Victuals, Lodging, and Horſe meats; and therefore the fire began by themſelves in the Straw, burnt the whole Town, after ſaving *Don Lamoreck's* Caſtle, which for his ſake was ſpared, and all the Goods of the Town in it. The 20th. The Army went to *Branſhaw*, the Lord of *Bucklough's* Houſe, which was wholly overthrown with Powder, and there divided and burnt, on the North the River of *Tivit*, more into the inland, all the Caſtles and Towns in that Countrey, which belonged wholly to the Lord of *Bucklough* and his Kinſmen, and returned that night to *Jedworth*. The 21ſt. the Army divided, and one part went to the River of *Bowbear*, and burnt all on both ſides of that River; and the other part went to the River of *Caile*, and burnt all on both ſides of the River, and met near to *Kelſow*, where the Lord Lieutenant lodged that night, of purpoſe to beſet *Home* Caſtle in the night, and the Lord of *Hunſdow* and the other part went to *Warke*, to bring the Ordnance thence in the Morning, which was diſappointed by the negligence of ſuch as were left in charge, who ſuffered the carriage Horſes to return after the Ordnance was brought thither; ſo as for lack of Horſes to draw the Ordnance, the Army was forced to return to *Berwick* the 22d. all which time there was never any ſhew of reſiſtance. And the ſame time the Lord *Scroope* entred into *Scotland*, from the Weſt Marches, the 18th. *&c.* during which time the Marches in all places were ſo guarded, as the *Scots* that did not ſhew themſelves to offer fight in the field, durſt not offer to enter into *England*; ſo as in the Abſence of the Army there was not one Houſe burnt, nor one Cow taken in *England*, and it is conceived by ſuch as know the Enemies part of *Tividale*, that there is razed, overthrown, and burnt in this Journey, above fifty ſtrong Caſtles and Piles, and above 300 Villages; ſo as there be few in that Countrey that have received the Rebels, or invaded *England*, that have either Caſtle for themſelves, or Houſes for their Tenants, beſides the loſs and ſpoils of their other Goods, wherein nothing is reckoned of that was done in the other parts by the Lord *Scroope*, for that it was not done within the County of *Tividale*, &c.

The Rode of the Lord Scroope, *Warden of the Weſt Marches of* England, *into* Scotland.

Who the 17th. of *April* at ten of the Clock at Night, with three thouſand Horſe and Foot, came to *Elleſingham* on the *Wedneſday* at Night, and burned that Town in the Morning, being from *Carlile* twenty Miles.

On *Thurſday* he burned beſides *Hoddom* the *Maymes*, the Town and all the Houſes, which is the Lord *Herry's*, and from *Carlile* ſixteen Miles.

That day they burned *Trayle-trow*, which is the Lord *Maxwell's*, from *Carlile* ſixteen Miles.

They burned the Town of *Reywell*, which is the Lord *Copland's*, and the Lord *Homeyn's*, from *Carlile* eighteen Miles.

They burned the Houſe of *Copewell*, and the Demeſne of the Lord *Copland's*, from *Carlile* nineteen Miles.

They burned the Town of *Blackſcieve*, which is the Lord *Maxwell's*, from *Carlile* twenty Miles.

Item, The Town of *Sherrington* of the ſame, Twenty Miles.

Item, The blank end of the ſame Lords, twenty Miles.

Item, The Town of *Lowzwood* of the ſame Lords, twenty Miles.

Goods taken the ſame Rode, one thouſand Neet, and and one thouſand Sheep and Goats.

Of the *Scots* are taken one hundred Horſemen, within a Mile of *Dumforeſt*. Some ſay that *Sirynborne* is taken.

SIR,

*BY Letters from my Lords of *Suſſex* and *Hunſdon* of the 29th of *April*, it is advertiſed that the Caſtle of *Hume* being beſieged by them, and the Battery laid the 27th of *April*, the day following the Captain ſent out a Trumpet to deſire a Parley, which was granted; the Caſtle deſired Licenſe to ſend a Meſſenger to the Lord *Hume* to know his Pleaſure what they ſhould doe, whereupon it was agreed a Meſſenger ſhould paſs; and one was ſent with him to ſee that delay ſhould not be uſed; the Meſſenger at his return brought Commiſſion from the Lord *Hume* to deliver the Caſtle ſimply, without condition, truſting to their Honours for a favourable dealing with his Men; whereupon the Caſtle was received, and all the Armour and Weapons, and the People Licenſed to depart without Bag or Baggage; and now the ſame remaineth newly fortified to the Queen's Majeſty's Charge, more ſtronger than it was before, to the intent the Rebels may not have their refuge thither as they had before. By other Letters of the firſt of *May*, from my Lord of *Suſſex*, it is advertiſed, that the moſt part of the March of Eaſt *Tividale*, *Eſdale*, *Eweſdale*, *Wawcopdale*, and other parts upon the Borders from the Eaſt to the Weſt Seas, affirm their continuance of Obedience to their King, deſire the amity betwixt both Realms, offer to ſpend their Lives in the reſiſting of any Foreign Power that ſhall offer the diſturbance of either; refuſe dependance upon the *French*; offer to depend upon the Queen's Majeſty; and in their Actions have refuſed to receive the Rebels, or to aſſiſt the invaders of *England*, the like whereof all others do offer that acknowledge that Authority. The contrary party openly receive the Rebels, maintain the Invaders of *England*, ſhare in their Actions and ill meaning to *England*, and ſeek Dependance and Maintenance of the *French*. The Earls of *Marton*, *Murray*, and *Glencarne*, with others of the King's Council, prepared to be at *Edinburgh* the 29th of the laſt, whereupon the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* and *Huntley* went to *Lithgo* the 28th, to ſtop their meeting; and the 26th *Morton* went out of *Edinburgh* with a thouſand Men to meet the other Earls a By-way, and ſo came together that Night to *Edinburgh* with all their Forces, or to fight for it, in which time the Lords of *Hume* and *Liddington* be entred the Caſtle with *Grange*; ſo as it is likely they will try ſhortly by the Sword which ſide ſhall have the Authority. *W. Cecill.*

SIR,

*IT may pleaſe you to be advertiſed, according to my Lord Lieutenant's direction, I entered into *Scotland* on *Tueſday* at Night laſt, the 18th of this *April*, and on *Wedneſday* at night encamped at *Hoddeſengham*, within *Hoddom*, diſtant from *Carlile* 18 Miles, and within *Scotland* 12 Miles, and on *Thurſday* in the Morning I ſent forth *Simon Muſgrave*, appointed by me as General of the Horſemen, to burn and ſpoil the Country, and to meet at a place called *Cambretryes*, and the ſaid *Simon* burnt the Towns of *Hoddome* and the *Maynes*, *Troltrow*, *Rovel* and *Calpoole*, the Town of *Blackſhaw*, *Sherrington*, the Banck end, within three Miles of *Drumfrieſe*, *Lowgher*, and *Lowgherwood*, and *Heckleſengham*, which Towns were of the Lands of the Lord *Herryes* and *Maxwell*, the Lord of *Cockpoole*, and the Lord of *Holmends*, and as the ſaid *Simon* and his Company came to old *Cockpoole*, there was the Lord *Maxwell* with his Force, and the Inhabitants of *Drumfrieſe* aſſembled, and skirmiſhed with the Couriers, and compelled them to return unto the ſaid *Simon*; and then the ſaid *Simon* marched unto the Town

of

of *Blackshaw* with his Company, where the Lord *Maxwell* was in order and his Forces; and the said *Simon* and *Fargus Graime*, with the number of a hundred Horsemen, did give the Charge upon the said Lord *Maxwell*, and made him flee and his Company also; in which Fight there were a hundred Prisoners taken, whereof the principal was the Alderman of *Drumfriese*, and 16 of the Burgesses thereof, the rest were Footmen; the Chase was followed within one Mile of *Drumfriese*, after which conflict, the said *Simon* returned to *Blackshaw* aforesaid and burnt it, and seized a great Number of Cattle, and delivered the same unto certain Gentlemen and others to convey unto me; and he, the said *Simon*, Rode with a hundred Horsemen to burn the Banck-end, *Lowgher*, and *Lowgherwood*; and as the said Gentlemen, with their Company, came to a strait place near unto Old-*Cockpool*, the said Lord *Maxwell*, the Lord *Carlile*, the Lords of *Holme-ends*, *Closburne Lorgg*, *Hempsfeild Cowhill*, and *Tenoll*, with the number of four hundred Horsemen, and six hundred Footmen, charged them very sore, and forced them to alight and draw their Company to a strong Place, to abide the charge of their Enemies; and so they remained untill the said *Simon* came unto them, and alighted, and put his Company in Order, and set his Horses between his Company and the Sea, and so stood in order to receive the Enemy; and in this sort continued Charging, and receiving their Charges, the space of three Hours. I being at *Cambretreys*, aforesaid, a place before appointed between me and the said *Simon* for his relief (being distant from him three Miles) understanding of some distress sent my Band of Horsemen, with my Brother *Edward Scroope*, and a hundred and fifty shot with Mr. *Awdley*, and Mr. *Herbert* to their relief; and the said *Simon*, upon the coming of the said Band of Horsemen and shot, gave the Enemies the Charge with all his Forces, whereupon they fled; in which flight there was taken a hundred Prisoners, whereof some were of the petty Lords of the Country; but the Lord *Maxwell*, the Lord *Carlile*, the Lord *Johnson*, and the rest before named, escaped by the strength of the Lord of *Cockpool*'s House, and a great Wood, and a Mooras that was near there adjoining; and so the said *Simon* repaired to me with his Company, and so we returned home. And thus for this time, I commit you to the Almighty.

Carlile, 21. April. 1570.

Yours assured to Command,
H. Scroop.

POSTSCRIPT.

Drumlangrick's Servants and Tenants, whom I had given charge that they should not be dealt withall, for that he favoured the King's Faction, and the Queen's Majesty's, were as cruel against us as any others. Sir, I have written to my Lord Lieutenant for 500 Men, but for fourteen days; and with them, I will undertake to march to *Drumfriese*, and lie in that Town, and burn and spoil it, if the Queen's Majesty think it good; for the open receipt of Her Majesty's Rebels is there manifest.

SIR,

MY leisure serveth me, as I was wont to have it; all my time at command of others, and none for my self, and little for my private Friends. By the Queen's Majesty's Letters you may perceive the state of things here; God send Her Majesty a good issue of this *Scotish* matter, wherein to the entry is easie, but the passage within doubtfull, and I fear the end will be Monstrous.

By your Letters of late time, it hath seemed, that your Opinion was, for the Queen's Majesty to be delivered of the *Scotish* Queen; but surely, few here amongst us conceive it Feasible with surety.

My Lord of *Sussex* useth his charge very honourably, and Circumspectly, upon the Frontiers; where indeed he hath made revenge, and that onely almost upon the guilty.

I do send you herewith a Printed thing or two, sent me from *Scotland*; and so take may leave, wishing for your own sake, that Peace might be seen there, so as you might bring it; for which purpose, I trust surely, Her Majesty will send one for you.

May 23. 1570.

Yours most assured,
W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris *Knight, the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour, Resident in* France.

SIR,

THis Bearer came hither with good speed. I do send you herewith a Note of my Lord of *Sussex* his last Letters from *Berwick*; I do also send you in Writing, the Copy of that which the *French* Embassadour lately sent thither, containing the summ of that which lately passed here betwixt the Queen's Majesty and him, wherein truly, he hath not much differed from that which was accorded.

The Bishop of *Ross* departed on *Friday* last, to the *Scotish* Queen, to deal with her, that some of her part might come hither out of *Scotland*, to Treat of her Causes, and that Arms might cease on both sides.

Since

Since his going thither, the Queen's Majesty understandeth of a Practice that he had, two days before his departure, with a Noble-man of this Realm, being a professed Papist, contrary to his manner of dealing with the Queen's Majesty: whereupon, her Majesty is not a little moved against him; and therefore, I think, she will not deal with him at his return.

We look daily that Peace will there be made, though we see not how it shall continue: But, I trust, thereby you shall be revoked, and, I think, Mr. *Walsingham* shall come in your Place. I have no more at this present.

I received yesterday a Letter from *Paris*, of the 19th of *May*; but I did, before that, receive another of the 24th.

Hampton-Court, *June* 8. 1570.

Yours assuredly,
W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, *Sir* Henry Norris, *Knight*, *the Queen's Majesty's Embassadour*, *Resident in* France.

By Letters from Berwick, *June* 3.

THe Marshal of *Berwick*, being at *Edinburgh* with certain Forces, dealt with the Earls of *Grange* and *Liddington*, to procure a Surcease of Arms; which taking no effect, he went, with the Noble-Men of *Scotland* that joined with him, to *Glasco*, from whence the Duke, and his Associates, fled upon their setting forth. From thence the Marshal sent to the Bishop of S. *Andrews*, and the Lords who were in *Dumbarton* Castle, to parley with them, to procure an abstinence of Arms; who appointed to meet them the next day, at a Village half way betwixt *Glasco* and *Dumbarton*: where mishng them at the time appointed, went nearer to *Dumbarton*, whereof he sent them word; and thereupon they returned his Messengers, and appointed to meet and speak with him out of the Castle, so as he would bring but one or two with him, and to put away his Company: And assoon as he had so done, and that he was within their shot, they sent him word, to look to himself, and that they would not come to him; and as he turned his Horse, divers Harquebusiers laid for the purpose, shot at him, and they discharged a Falcon at him out of the Castle, but he escaped without hurt. Hereupon, the Noble-Men which were with him burnt the Countrey thereabouts that belonged to the *Hamiltons*, burnt the Town of *Hamilton*, and razed the Castle of *Hamilton*, and two other principal Houses of the said Duke's, one in *Lithgo*, and another called *Kennel*; they have also thrown down the Abbot of *Kilwrening*'s House, and, in effect, all the principal Houses of the *Hamiltons*, and have dealt with no other Persons, but with an *Hamilton*; and so our Marshal is returned to *Berwick*, &c.

SIR,

*YEsterday did *Crips* arrive, with your Letters from *Argenton*; and two days before, came *Rogers*.

The Queen's Majesty takes the King's Answer doubtfull, for his sending of Forces into *Scotland*; and therefore hath caused the *French* Embassadour to understand, and to advertise the King, That if the King will send Forces thither, she will take her self free from her Promise of delivering the Queen of *Scots*: of which matter, I think, he will advertise the King; and as you have occasion, you may take knowledge thereof. For already her Majesty hath revoked her Forces out of *Scotland*, leaving onely in *Hume*, and *Fast-Castle*, a small Garrison, where our Rebels were most maintained, when they invaded *England*, untill her Majesty may have some amends for her Subjects losses.

My Lord of *Sussex* hath fully avenged their Wrongs; but yet our People have not recompence.

Mr. *Drury* the Marshal, with a thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, hath so plagued the *Hamiltons*, as they never had such Losses in all the Wars betwixt *England* and *Scotland* these forty years.

The Queen's Majesty hath hurt her foot, that she is constrained to keep her Bed-Chamber; and therefore the *French* Embassadour could not yesterday have Audience when he required, but is willed to write that he hath to say. I am sorry that your Servants, when they come, tarry so long here as they dy; for it not my fault. And so I end,

Oatlands, *June* 22. 1570.

Yours assuredly,
W. Cecill.

POSTSCRIPT.

The Earl of *Southampton* lately being known to have met, in *Lambeth*-Marsh, with the Bishop of *Ross*, is, for his foolish audacity, committed to the Sheriff of *London*, closely to be there kept. The fond Lord *Morley*, without any cause offered him, is gone, like a Noddy, to *Lorrain*.

SIR,

SIR,

*I Stayed this Bearer two days longer than firſt I intended, becauſe the *French* Embaſſadour required Audience, affirming, That he had Anſwer from the *French* King, wherewith the Queen's Majeſty would be ſatisfied. And yeſterday he was here, and ſhewed her Majeſty the *French* King's Letters to him; and thereof gave her Majeſty a Copy, which I have; and do ſend to you herewith an Extract of a Clauſe tending to the Matter, the Letter being of it ſelf long, and full of good Words, purporting his deſire to have the *Scotiſh* Queen reſtored, and Concord eſtabliſhed betwixt the two Queens. The Letter is dated the 10th of *June*; and I note, that your Letter is dated the 15th. And by his foreſaid Letter, the King writeth, That he will, within two days, ſpeak with you at *Alanſon*.

Now how the King's Promiſe will be kept, a ſhort time will declare; or how, if he break it, there ſhall be ſome Cavillations found, wherein, I doubt, that they will ſeek Illuſions, for that we do yet keep *Hume*-Caſtle, and *Faſt*-Caſtle, which are kept with not paſt fourſcore Men; and burning the Houſes of the Lord *Hume*, the Warden, who aided our Rebels with his Forces to invade, burn, and ſpoil *England*, and therefore is, by the Laws of the Borders, anſwerable to the Subjects of *England*: It is reaſon they be kept, untill he will return, or authorize ſome for him, to make Anſwer, or to take Order with the Complainants; which being done, the Queen's Majeſty will readily reſtore them. Thus much I have thought meet to impart.

Oatlands, June 25. 1570. *Yours aſſuredly,*

W. Cecill.

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

SIR,

*I Am thrown into a Maze at this time, that I know not how to walk from dangers. Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and I, are ſent to the *Scotiſh* Queen, as by the Queen's Majeſty's Letters you may ſee: God be our guide; for neither of us like the Meſſage.

I truſt, at my return, when Mr. *Walſingham* ſhall be returned, to help you home. Your ſufficient is ſufficient to impart unto you all our Occurrents: And ſo I end, from

Reading, September, 26. 1570.

Your aſſured Friend,

To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Norris, *Knight, the Queen's Majeſty's Embaſſadour, Reſident in* France.

W. Cecill.

Sir Edward Cecill *to Mr. Secretary* Conway.

My very good Lord,

IT hath pleaſed your Lordſhip to write me three Letters lately: the one, a particular Liſt of Officers, that ſhould be ſent from hence; the ſecond, for Mr. *Hopton*; the third, an acknowledgment onely of the receipt of my Letter to your Lordſhip. The firſt I have put in execution, and have written to your Son, Sir *Edward Conway*, to give them all notice of your Lordſhip's care of them; and to let them know, how welcome any one ſhall be to me, that you think fit to be imployed. For one of them, called Enſign *Rainsford*, I had ſet him down, becauſe I received your Lordſhip's direction from himſelf. For Mr. *Hopton*, I have written unto him, according to your deſire, with your Letter incloſed. Concerning the laſt, I give your Lordſhip many humble thanks, for having expreſſed the acceptance by your Anſwer. Touching your Buſineſs here, the State hath been as contrary to us, as the Wind: For though they ſee a great Action likely to be performed to their own good, with little coſt to themſelves; yet they deſire to be ſo wiſe, as to make benefit both ways, and not to balk any Advantage, which makes them ſtand ſo ſtiff upon the denying of us Officers and Soldiers by Election, and will yield to ſend none but whole Companies, onely to abate ſo much upon the repartitions. But Sir *William St. Leger*, and I, have utterly refuſed their Offer, as a Propoſition againſt his Majeſty's Service: for by this ignorant Winter-War our Companies are grown half new Men, having loſt moſt of our old; and of thoſe new Men, the half are ſick beſides; ſo that his Majeſty ſhould be beholden to them, rather for Names, than Men: And again, for the Officers, and Soldiers, it is like they ſhould be moſt of them the worſt in the Regiment from whence they are to come: Whereas, if we might have had thoſe Officers we made choice of, which were but ten Captains, and other inferiour Officers, to the number of thirty, they might have been

been fit for Imployment upon a double Enemy. And I could wiſh, that whenſoever his Majeſty ſhall be once furniſhed with good Officers, it would pleaſe him to make account of them, as theſe Men doe, who have had long experience, and known their value.

It pleaſed my Lord the Duke, to write to me a Letter, and to let me know he had choſen me his Officer, to attend, and obey him, in this Journey: an Honour too great for me, becauſe I did never expect it; but nothing ſhall excuſe my Faults, ſaving my Life. And, among many other Directions, he commanded me to provide for the Army ſuch neceſſary things as cannot be had in *England*; whereof I have thought of many, which, I fear, I ſhall not have the time to get. In my care belonging to theſe Proviſions, I have conſidered the uſe of our ſmall Pieces of Ordnance here, which they call Drakes, that ſhoot 70 Muſquet-bullets: They will be of great uſe in this Service, both in regard of the quick Landing, and of the paſſing of ſuch mountainous Places, as perhaps, we may meet withall, and likewiſe in reſpect of the little hope we have to get any good Muſquetiers, or, at leaſt, any great ſtore of them: But they are in ſuch favour here, as we can obtain none from hence, and ſo are forced, by a general Conſent, to buy ten of them here that were provided for the King of *France*; and the Reputation they carry is ſuch, as they are ready Money every where: They coſt not much more than 400*l.* Sterling, and, I hope, they will prove the profitableſt Pieces that were ever uſed in the Quarrell of his Majeſty's Friends. We have likewiſe conſidered, of what Service a Company of Fire-locks would be to the Action; but the time is ſo ſhort, we cannot raiſe them. Howſoever, we are promiſed of the States to have leave for a Company of Harquebuſiers, which are of ſuch uſe, upon all Occaſions, that we cannot miſs them; and we have choſen a brave and worthy Gentleman, his Majeſty's Servant and Subject, who is willing to leave any Service for this, being the Service of the King. If they ſhould have been raiſed in *England*, his Majeſty muſt have paid for the Horſes, Arms, Saddles and Piſtols, and yet not find any able to have ſerved in that kind.

The Wind (as yet) holds contrary, which hath made me ſend this by Sir *Henry Vane*, who goes a way that I dare not paſs. But (I hope) if the Wind ſerve, not to be many days behind him, to receive your Lordſhip's Command more particularly, which I will obey, as

Hague, June 2. 1625. *Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,*

Ed. Cecill.

POSTSCRIPT.

MY Lord, now, in this time of neceſſity for the getting of good Muſquetiers, there are many hundred to be found in *England*, that have ſerved in this Land, which, by Proclamation and Promiſe of Money in hand, or more Pay, will eaſily diſcover themſelves; whom ſome of the new Men (to be releaſed) will be glad to ſatisfie, without charge to his Majeſty.

Sir Edward Cecill *to the Duke.*

My moſt Excellent Lord,

THere are ſome Letters of mine that had come to your Lordſhip's hands a good many days ſince, had not the Wind been contrary, and withſtood their Paſſage: The ſubſtance whereof was onely to ſhew you, how thankfull I hold my ſelf to your Excellency, for ſo great and infinite a Favour as it hath pleaſed your Excellency to think me worthy of: But, as it is a Favour that will ſet me on work all the days of my life, ſo is it greater than I can ever deſere; howſoever, my Reſolution is, to doe my beſt. And I humbly beſeech your Excellency to believe, that with my diligence, and the beſt underſtanding I have, I will ſeek nothing but to pleaſe you, and to honour you; and if God ſay Amen, to make the World ſpeak of your Deſign, as much (I hope) as ever our Nation hath given Cauſe. And for the Faults of my ſelf, and thoſe I ſhall bring with me, they ſhall not be excuſed, but with our Lives, and Blouds; for, I hope, I ſhall bring none, but ſuch as know what to doe, and, when they come to it, will Bite ſooner than Bark. I do promiſe my ſelf, your Excellency will have no cauſe to doubt, or repent you of your Favours; for I know what Men have done, and what they can doe, in my Occupation. But God is God, and Men are but Men.

All my diſcouragement is, that the States anſwer not his Majeſty's Expectation, being fearfull (eſpecially, ſince the loſs of *Breda*) to part with any of their old Officers, or old Soldiers; but my hope is now better, for we have put them to another Reſolution, by anſwering all their Objections. By this Diſpoſition of the States to the keeping all their old Soldiers, I wiſh your Excellency will be pleaſed to be as carefull in your choice, as you are deſirous of great Deſigns; for otherwiſe, the Honour, and the Charge, will both be caſt away, as your Excellency may perceive in ſome of our latter Expeditions; ſeeing that although there are many called Soldiers in the World, yet but a few there be that are ſo: For, ſo long a Man muſt live in the Profeſſion, to enable him ſufficiently, that many grow unable to perform what they know, before they have attained to the knowledge of what to perform; the knowledge of War being the higheſt of Humane things that God ſuffereth Man's Underſtanding to reach unto.

I have

I have according to your Excellency's Command, made as many proviſions as I can, for the ſhortneſs of the Time, of ſuch things as cannot be gotten in *England*: And I could have wiſhed, I had known of this imployment but ſome Months ſooner; for then I could have ſaved his Majeſty ſomewhat, and have added many things that would very much have advanced the Service. For, in our Profeſſion, the preparing of things belonging to the War doth more ſhew a Man's Experience and Judgment, than any thing elſe, by reaſon the firſt Errours are the begetting of many more, that afterwards cannot be avoided. Your Excellency may be pleaſed to inform your ſelf of all the Exploits and Undertakings of our Nation, that none of them hath ſuffered (for the moſt part) more, than through the negligence of Proviſions, as in Victual, Munition, Boats for Landing, and for the receiving of ſick Men, to keep the reſt from Infection. In this point of Proviſion, it is not good to truſt upon a particular Man, for gain is a corrupter where the care is not publick. And in ſo great an expedition, one muſt doe with living Men, as they doe with the Dead; there muſt be Overſeers and Executors to have a true intent well performed.

I have preſumed to write thus much, to ſhew my Thankfulneſs to your Excellency, and my great Affection to his Majeſty's Service, whereof I am infinitely poſſeſſed. I hear your Excellency is in *France*, but my Prayers to God are to ſend you ſafe and happy Home, for the World holds you the ſoul of advancing his Majeſty's Affairs, wherein his Honour is ingaged, as it is eſpecially in this Action, being the firſt, and a Great One.

And as for my ſelf, who am now a Creature you have made, I know not what I ſhall doe when I come to *England*, being your Excellency's ſhadow only.

I have here attended the Wind, and ſince I cannot force it, I am glad of the opportunity to ſend the Letters by Sir *Henry Vane*, who goes over Land, a paſſage I am not capable of, having been ſo long their Enemy. But I hope God will ſend me ſoon after, leaving Sir *William* St. *Leger* here for the diſpatch of that which remains. I have written more particularly to my Lord *Conway*, which I dare not ſet down here, for fear of being too tedious, and knowing his Lordſhip will give your Excellency an account of it. And ſo, in all Humbleneſs and Duty, I pray God ſend your Excellency Honour, and length of Life for his Majeſty's Affairs, and for the Happineſs of

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble, Faithfull, and Obedient Servant,

Hague, June 3. 1625. Ed. Cecill.

Sir Edward Cecill *to the Duke.*

My moſt Excellent Lord,

THe occaſion of my boldneſs in preſenting your Excellency with theſe Lines, is, for that contrary to my expectation, I hear that there is a Commiſſion a drawing to make Sir *Horace Vere* a Baron of *England*. It is ſtrange to me at this time to hear it, for that I know not what Worth there is more in him, than in thoſe that are equal in Profeſſion, and before him in Birth. If your Excellency have made choice of me to be your Second in this Journey of ſo much Charge and Expectation, and to make me leſs than I was, what courage ſhall I have to doe you Service? Or what Honour will redound to your Excellency? But although I write it, yet I cannot believe it, for that I know you of that Judgment and Nobleneſs, that you will rather add to your faithfull Servants, although they beg it not, than to diſgrace them, and make them leſs. Therefore I will continue my belief, and reſt,

Your Excellency's moſt Humble and devoted Servant,

July, 19. 1625. Ed. Cecill.

Sir Edward Cecill *to the Duke.*

My very good Lord,

HOw much my Affection and Ambition hath been to ſerve your Lordſhip before other Men, I hope I ſhall not need now to expreſs, conſidering it hath been clear and manifeſt to your own Tryal, whereof I do bear ſtill the Teſtimony, and the continuance in mine own Heart. But in your Nobleneſs it will not appear impertinent to your Lordſhip, that I put you in mind, how much I ſuffered in the Diſgrace my Enemies caſt upon me, about the imployment for the *Palatinate*, when I was under your protection; whether I ſuffered for mine own ſake, or for your Lordſhip, I know not: howſoever of this I am aſſured, the greateſt cauſe I gave them, that had leaſt Reaſon, was becauſe I ſought not them, but your Lordſhip only. And for the ſucceſs, you may ſee by the Miracles the imployment hath brought forth, that it was carried another way, rather for private Malice, than for any great Zeal to the Advancement of the publick Cauſe.

Now my Lord, for your own Honour, and for the upholding of your Servant, make me ſo happy, if there be any imployment for Men of my Profeſſion, (as there is opinion,) that I may be the Man by your Lordſhip's means, wherein you ſhall make me your obliged, as I am now your affectionate Servant; for which you ſhall be aſſured of as thankfull a Heart, as any breaths in the whole World. In the enjoining of which kind of ſervice, though you are accounted the moſt happy among great Men, yet you cannot have too much of it. I could remember your Lordſhip of His Majeſty's gracious Promiſe, for my imployment before any other, in the preſence of the Prince and your Lordſhip, and that I am the firſt General His Majeſty ever made, and that I had no ill ſucceſs in the perfecting of that Service; yet for all this, I will onely truſt in your Nobleneſs, if you reſolve to make me your Creature.

And if it ſhall pleaſe His Majeſty to hold me worthy of this Honour, I will undertake to ſave his Coffers (as I have heretofore done) the ſixth part of the Emploiment's charge and coſt, that any other Man ſhall require, who makes not a computation for the managing of it, by a ſufficient expence of his own.

I will not write more at this time, but to wiſh your Lordſhip as much happineſs as your Heart can deſire, and that you will give me an occaſion to ſhew how much I am, and will be,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithfull and affectionate Servant,

From our Army, Novemb. 20. Ed. Cecill.

Sir Edward Cecill *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

THis Gentleman, Sir *George Blundel*, hath now clearly quitted the Service of the States, for this eſpecial reaſon (as he aſſures me,) to be the more abſolutely employed in your Excellency's Service. This I know, his Friends here that love him (which are many) are very ſorry to part with him, for there is no Melancholy where he goes. And therefore, conſidering the condition of this place, we ſhall be great loſers, being upon a Melancholy place, and Service, ill Payed, ſick of all Diſeaſes in the World, in a place that is next Neighbour to Hell, if the Book Printed ſay true, which ſaith, that the Low-Countreymen are next Neighbours to the Devil. And I am ſure, we are now ſeated lower than any part of theſe Countries; for the Waters are above us, and about us, and we live in more fear of them, than of the Enemy; for we may be drowned at an hours warning, if we doe not continually work againſt it; and yet, if it ſhall pleaſe your Excellency, this is a Seat for a Winter War. Many more Inconveniencies we are daily ſenſible of, of which I have endured ſo much, as I dare ſay, without Vanity, that few of my Rank and Fortune have ſuffered more, or longer than I have done in theſe Countries; having ſerved theſe 27 Years together without intermiſſion, and all this for no other end, (for I am 900*l.* a Year the worſe for the Wars,) than to make me able to ſerve my Prince and Countrey, when occaſion ſhould be offered.

But ſince the time is come, that Opinion doth ſo govern, as ſtrangers get the Command, and new Soldiers are employed, which was never heard of before amongſt Men of our Occupation. It is high time for me to retire, and wiſh I had been of any other Profeſſion than this; for if long Service can get no Honour, nor Reward, nor Imyloyment, but the contrary, it would touch a Man's diſcretion to be more and more Unfortunate. All my comfort is, that I ſhall have the Honour and good Fortune in my Retreat, to draw neareſt to your Excellency's Service, if not in my Profeſſion, (which I deſire above all,) yet in ſomething whereof your Excellency may make uſe of me: For I am Ambitious of nothing more, than to prove my ſelf by Action, and not by Recommendation,

From our Army at Wallike, Decemb. 4.

Your Excellency's moſt Faithfull, Devoted, and Humble Servant,

Ed. Cecill.

Sir

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON'S Letters, &c.

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Marqueſs of* Buckingham.

Right Honourable,

BY the diſpatch of the Fourteenth of this preſent (which I ſent by *Johnſon* the Poſt,) I advertiſed your Honour at large in the two ſeveral Lettters of the Occurrents of theſe parts, and therewith ſent a Copy of my ſecond Propoſition, which I made the day before in the Aſſembly of the States General, touching the Buſineſs of *Cleves*, and *Juliers*, in conformity to your Honour's Letters of the 30*th.* of the laſt.

The anſwer thereunto was deferred untill Yeſterday, and then brought me onely by word of Mouth from the States by *Mounſieur Magnus* of *Zealand*, and *Monſieur Zuleſtein* of *Utrecht*, and was to this effect; That the States having ſent my former Propoſition of the third of *December* to their ſeveral Provinces, from which this later did not differ in ſubſtance, ſave onely in reſpect of the time for the Reſtitution of the Towns, which was prolonged for the ſpace of a Month, all they could doe according to the conſtitution of their Government, was, to ſend this my ſecond Propoſition likewiſe unto Provinces, which they had done the day after I made the ſame; and untill they receive more expreſs order from their Principals, they were to reſt upon their former Anſwer. Wherein they declared their good Intentions to accommodate this Buſineſs, ſo it might be with ſafety to themſelves, and ſatisfaction of their Neighbours. And herein they were to expect the Reſolution of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, from whom the time did not yet ſerve to know his mind: Mean while they humby beſeech His Majeſty to make a gracious Conſtruction of their Proceedings.

I was the day before with Monſieur *Barnevelt*, (who is Preſident this Week,) to ſollicite their Anſwer, who excuſed himſelf upon the ſmallneſs of their number, many of the States being abſent, and of two Provinces all the Deputies: So as to give a determinate Reſolution according as was required, they could not; and to make Anſwer in general terms, ſince His Majeſty reſted not ſatisfied with the former, he doubted another of the ſame kind would not pleaſe him. So as, it ſeems, this Meſſage in place of an Anſwer in Writing, proceeded of his Counſel.

By diſcourſe both with him, and thoſe which came unto me upon this ſubject, I find their Diffidence of the Purpoſe of the *Spaniard* rather increaſed than otherwiſe, upon the news of Leavies intended on the Arch Duke's ſide, to the number of 9000 Foot, and 1000 or 1200 Horſe; and their delay in taking a determinate reſolution, no way diſſuaded, but rather counſelled by all other Princes, who have intereſt in this Buſineſs. Their Embaſſadour at *Paris* having advertiſed them by reiterated Letters, that *Don Pedro di Sarmientos* his offer to His Majeſty, touching the Execution of the Treaty of *Xanten*, is abſolutely diſavowed by both the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. And this *French* Embaſſadour *Monſieur de Maurier*, having made it appear unto them, that at *Bruſſels* they have the ſame conceit of it, as a thing done without Authority. Beſides, the Princes of the Union have written lately expreſs Letters to the States, wherein they perſuade them to extraordinary Vigilance upon the *Spaniards*, and particularly in this Buſineſs of *Cleves*, and *Juliers*; the tranſlated Copies of which Letters I ſend your Honour herewith. And the Prince of *Brandenbergh* being young himſelf, and having his Council divided in Opinion, doth nothing abſolutely without reference to this State; and when I put them in mind, how they themſelves were the Authors and Framers of the Treaty of *Xanten*, they ſtick not to ſay plainly, *Tempora mutantur & nos:* So as I am daily more and more confirmed in my former Opinion, that there is no way left to accommodate this Buſineſs, but by a private Agreement between the Princes Pretendents. But *Strickius*, the Agent of *Brandenbergh*, being abſent at *Cleves*, I do not hear how this Negotiation proceeds.

Amongſt the particularities which paſſed in diſcourſe between *Monſieur Magnus* and my ſelf, I inſiſting upon Reſtitution of the Towns, as the means to prevent an imminent War upon the Quarrel, he asked to whom they ſhould reſtore them, unleſs the Princes were agreed, and that they might know which of the Princes ſhould receive him, and whom they ſhould have for their Neighbour; whereby it appears, this courſe will on this ſide remove all Difficulties.

It is advertiſed hither by *Monſieur Langrack*, the States Embaſſadour at *Paris*, that the apprehenſion they had in the Court, to have this Buſineſs ended without the *French* King's Intervention, cauſed *Monſieur de Refuges* to be Summoned to make another Journey expreſly hither, in regard he had formerly the managing thereof, notwithſtanding that *Monſieur de la Nove* was already named for this extraordinary Embaſſage; but *Refuges* excuſing himſelf upon his Indiſpoſition, ſent all his Memorial of what paſſed when he was here in the Treaty of *Xanten*, with his private Opinion upon the whole matter, to ſerve as an Inſtruction to *la Nove*.

By the other Letters, of the 28th of this preſent, *Stilo Nov. Monſieur Langrack* hath given this State many important Advertiſements; as firſt, that he hath obtained of the *French* King a continuance of the ſuccours of the 3 Regiments of Foot, and 2 Troops of Horſe of that Nation for one year longer, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the *Spaniſh*, and Arch-Dukes Embaſſadours, who adviſed the recalling of them upon occaſion of the preſent troubles in *France*. That there is Order given and Aſſignation for 120000 Crowns towards the Arrearages of their Pay. That a reſolution is taken in that Court, by the Advice of the new Counſellours, contrary to the opinion of the old, to proſecute the Princes by War, and maintain the King's Authority henceforward by Force. That to this effect, the King deſires the State ſhould perform their Promiſes of ſending towards the River of *Burdeaux* 5 Men of War. That he likewiſe requires of them in conformity of the laſt Treaties betwixt the Crown and this State, an Aſſiſtance of Men to the number of the *French* which are here in Service, under ſome good Commander; but the *French* themſelves the King will not have, for fear when they ſhall come into *France*, of their revolting to the Princes. That he demands free paſſage through theſe Countries, down the *Mauſe* and the *Rhine*, of 3000 Soldiers, with their Arms, which are levied by the Count *John Giacomo Belioyoſa* in *Luke-Land*, and thereabouts, and ſhipping to tranſport them into *France*.

All theſe Particulars were moved unto him (as he writes) by the Marſhal *de Ancre*, to which he adds, that the King is ſo much incenſed againſt the Duke of *Bouillon*, for ſeeking to this State for Protection; whereof by Letters I advertiſed your Honour, in my Laſt, that there is a reſolution taken to declare him *Criminel de leſe Majeſtate*.

Theſe *Graunts* are ſo ſcanty, (the continuance of the *French* Troops in the Service of the State being but for a Year only, and the payment of them arriving only to the tenth part of what is already due,) that they here interpret them to proceed from the *Marſhal de Ancre Pourtenir* (as they ſay) *le bee en Leau*, and the Demands are ſo large and extravagant, that they are thought *iniquum petere, ut æquum ferant*; whereby, on the one ſide to keep this State in devotion to the *French* King, and on the other, to prevent the like requeſts of the Princes: For there is ſmall appearance, they will give paſſage to ſo many Men through their Countries Armed, and commanded by an *Italian*, who had born Arms againſt them, and is married into the Arch-Duke's Countrey. And when it comes to queſtion, of ſending Forces of their own thither, it is like they will find as good Excuſes for that point, as they have hitherto done for the ſending of the Ships now three Months ſince promiſed, and ſtill ſollicited: For howſoever the chief Perſons here have been long particularly intereſted and ingaged (as your Honour knows) by near dependance on this Crown, I find them of late very much alienated, in conſideration that it is ſo much governed by *Spain*, which in the end, they apprehended, will turn to the ruine of this State.

In *France* they are jealous of this coldneſs, and have of late expoſtulated the matter with *Monſieur Langrack*, as if they here did incline to the Princes, there being a Bruit raiſed in *Paris*, that Count *Maurice* would go in Perſon to their aſſurance, whereof the Queen Regent was very ſenſible; but I do not find here, that there was any Ground for that Report.

Here hath been lately a Fame ſpread and nouriſhed by ſuch as deſire to weaken the Correſpondence between his Majeſty and this State, that his Majeſty is in near Terms of Matching our Prince with *Spain*. Which Report is now the more credited, by an adviſo out of *Spain*, from a ſecret Miniſter this State entertains, under colour of ſolliciting Merchants Cauſes. That this Match hath been there, by order of the King of *Spain*, debated in the Inquiſition, and judged neceſſary, in regard it would ſerve for Introduction of Popery into *England*.

This I find to be the *Remora* of my chief Affairs with this State, my preſſing the Reſtitution of the Towns in *Cleves* and *Juliers*, being thought by many of theſe jealous People to hang on this Thread, as a thing very acceptable, and agreeable at this Time, to the King of *Spain*, and much advantageous in this preſent conjuncture to his Affairs; and my inſiſting upon ſending of Commiſſioners to his Majeſty, in the buſineſs of our Merchants, they apply the ſame way, as if the opinion which would be conceived of this Embaſſage, (howſoever Merchants Affairs were pretended, the chief intent was to play *Davus in Comœdia*) ſhould according to the uſe of *Nitimur in Vetitum*, rather kindle, than quench the deſire of the *Spaniard*, and draw the Match to a more ſpeedy Concluſion.

At my laſt being with *Monſieur Barnevelt*, I did expoſtulate the States delay of ſending Commiſſioners to his Majeſty upon this Occaſion, as it neither anſwereth to Sir *Noel Carone*'s Word and Promiſe to his Majeſty, nor to that which from his Mouth, I did advertiſe your Lordſhip of the States Inclination in general, and the Reſolution, in particular of thoſe of *Holland*. To which he anſwered me, that with much difficulty and oppoſition he had obtained the aſſent of *Holland*, and that now the matter reſted with *Zealand*; but he doubted, that his Majeſty reſtoring the old Company of Merchants, would make a ſtay of any farther proceeding, as now leſs requiſite; howſoever, that Sir *Noel Carone* had advertiſed, that notwithſtanding this Change, he thought the ſending of Commiſſioners very neceſſary.

The Queſtions here, about Religion, reſt in the ſame ſtate as I advertiſed your Lordſhip in my laſt, the Aſſembly of *Holland* being ſeparated untill the end of *February*, *ſtil. no.* when they are to meet again. Mean while a proviſional Order is taken, that the *Contra-Remonſtrants* ſhall continue their Preaching in

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our Engliſh Church, which they have accommodated with Scaffolds, to make it more capable of their number.

There was much queſtion, in this Aſſembly, whether his Excellency ſhould be preſent, or no: but in the end, he was called by the major part of Voices, contrary to Monſieur *Barnevelt*'s Opinion, and his Authority over-ſwayed the Matter in favour of the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, for the continuance of their Preaching, which it was propounded to hinder by ſome violent Courſes.

By Example of this Place, there is the like proviſional Order taken for Preaching at the *Brill*, and *Rotterdam*; and certain of the Burghers are eſtabliſhed in *Tergow*, who were put from their Trade and Commerce, for their expoſtulating with the Magiſtrate upon this Quarrel.

I have been ſpoken unto by divers particular Perſons well affected in this Cauſe, to procure a Letter from his Majeſty to his Excellency, whereby to comfort and encourage him in his Zeal, for the maintenance of the true Doctrine, and the Profeſſors thereof, againſt theſe Noveliſts and their Opinions, Which I moſt humbly refer to his Majeſty's Wiſdom, (in caſe he judge the Office neceſſary,) whether it be fit to be done by Letter or by Meſſage; the former of which will be of greater Vertue, but the latter leſs ſubject to croſs Conſtruction of the Arminian Faction, which your Honour knows how potent it is here amongſt thoſe who have chief Rule in this State. Thus I humbly take leave, ever reſting.

Hague, Febr. 24. 1616. *Stil. Vet.*

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithfully to be Commanded.

Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

My moſt Honourable Lord,

IMmediately upon receipt of your Lordſhip's Letter concerning Sir *John Ogle*, I moved the Prince of *Orange* not onely for his leave for Sir *John* to go into *England*, but likewiſe for his Letters of Recommendation, whereby to give your Lordſhip Subject, upon ſome ſuch Teſtimonies of his Excellency's good ſatisfaction, to ſet him upright in his Majeſty's Favour, both which he granted unto me: though againſt the firſt, he alledged the Abſence of all the Engliſh Collonels; and touching the latter, he called to mind old Matters; which notwithſtanding (upon what I undertook for Sir *John*'s future Intentions) he was content to forget. I did once again upon Sir *John*'s Inſtance, put his Excellency in mind of his diſpatch, wherein I found no difficulty. Since I find Sir *John* hath changed his purpoſe of going, and his Excuſe will be made at his intreaty by his Excellency, who hath ſince let me know, Though he would not deny me his leave, yet he is better content, in regard he is ſo ſlenderly accompanied with Collonels, in a time when the State had need of their Service, with his ſtay. So as Sir *John* hath the Obligation to your Lordſhip of a favourable Recommendation; and for his not prevailing himſelf of his leave when it was granted, I muſt leave to himſelf to render a Reaſon. For my part, having accompliſhed, what I find by your Lordſhip's Letter, to be agreeable both to his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and your Lordſhip's, I thought it my Duty to advertiſe, That there is an ancient Difference between Sir *Horatio Vere*, and Sir *Edward Cecil*, about the Extent of their Commands; whereupon followeth a great Inconveniency, to the Diſhonour of our Nation, which (as it appears when they were laſt in the Field before *Reez*) are divided hereby, and march, and lodge in ſeveral Bodies, and Quarters. Much endeavour hath been formerly uſed in theſe Parts to reconcile them, but all in vain, by reaſon of ſome ill Inſtruments, who wrought upon both their Diſcontents, to ſet them farther aſunder. Now, they are both in *England*, and are both written for, to come over; It were a Work worthy of your Lordſhip to make them underſtand one another better; and what they will not yield to of themſelves, to over-rule by his Majeſty's Authority. I may not conceal from your Lordſhip, that I am intreated by the Prince of *Orange* himſelf to doe this Office, both with his Majeſty, and your Lordſhip, wherein he would not be ſeen himſelf, becauſe having dealt between them fruitleſly heretofore, he doubted of the like ſucceſs now. But when their Agreement ſhall be made, he will acknowledge his Obligation to your Lordſhip; and for the better proceeding therein, I ſent your Lordſhip a Copy of an Order formerly ſet down betwixt them, with the Tranſlate of Sir *Horatio Vere*'s Commiſſion, (both which I had of his Excellency,) and likewiſe the beginning, and proceeding of their Difference, as I have collected the ſame in brief out of other Men's Reports.

The Projects I ſent unto your Lordſhip with my laſt, of a *Weſt-Indian* Company having been propoſed to the States of *Guelderland* for their ratification, (who have the leading Voice in the Aſſembly of the States-General, and were ever leaſt forward in that Buſineſs,) hath thus far their Allowance, that they will concur therein with the reſt of the Provinces. But withall I do underſtand, they have given their Deputies ſecret Charge not to give way thereunto, in caſe they find it prejudicial to the Truce. Which makes the Matter evident, that the Project of the Company (though it be never ſo advanced) will ſtand or fall, according to the proceeding of the Truce; the expiration whereof approaching ſo near, and

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here being Advertiſements from *Paris*, that a French Gentleman, one *Belleavium*, (who was lately employed hither to the Prince of *Orange*, about the Difference betwixt him and the Prince of *Conde*,) had ſecret Inſtructions to ſound the States, how they ſtood affected to the renewing thereof. I have uſed all diligence to know how far he went, and am well informed, he hath done nothing therein of conſideration: only this paſt between him and his Excellency.

He telling his Excellency from Monſieur *Deſdiguieres*, and ſome of the French King's Council, how acceptable the extraordinary Embaſſage intended from hence will be in that Court, thereupon perſuaded a ſpeedy embracing the Opportunity.

From whence (ſaid his Excellency, after his round manner,) cometh this alteration?

To ſpeak plainly (ſaid he) they fear in *France*, you will renew the Truce without them, and therefore, by your Embaſſadours, they would interpoſe themſelves.

He are good Advertiſements both from *Bruxels* and *Paris*, that the Spaniards Intent is not to renew the Truce, but to have a Peace propoſed with theſe plauſible Conditions; That the King of *Spain* will pretend nothing in the Regiment of theſe United Provinces, nor require any thing of them in the Point of Religion, but leave all in Terms as it now ſtands, with recognition onely of ſome Titular Sovereignty, which he cannot in Honour relinquiſh.

This is already propoſed to *France*, as a glorious Work, to eſtabliſh a ſetled Peace in theſe Parts of the World, but with this Condition; That if it be not embraced here, then *France* ſhall refuſe to give any farther Support or Countenance, of which it is here believed, that *Spain* hath already obtained a firm Promiſe in that Court. And that either the like Overture is already made, or will be within few days, to his Majeſty.

Under which doth lie hidden many Myſteries, much to the Advantage of the *Spaniard*, and prejudice of this State: for the very Propoſition of a new Treaty will diſtract them here very much, in regard of their unſettledneſs, and aptneſs upon any diſpute to relapſe into Faction, beſides many Conſiderations of Importance, belonging properly to the Conſtitution of their Government; but the acceptation of the old, by renewing of the Truce upon the former Terms, for ſo many years, more or leſs, as ſhall be thought fitting, will in my poor Opinion (notwithſtanding it is not ſlenderly grounded) take place, without much difficulty. The importance of this Buſineſs hath made me give your Lordſhip this trouble, and your Lordſhip may be pleaſed to let his Majeſty underſtand, as well that little as is done by Monſieur *Belleavium*, as what they here receive to be farther intended by the *Spaniard*. So I moſt humbly take leave, ever reſting

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithfull Servant,

Hague this 10th of *June*, 1620.

Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudely Carleton *to the Duke.*

Moſt Honourable,

I Obſerve in ſuch Letters from the Prince Electour to her Highneſs, with the ſight of which ſhe is pleaſed ſometimes to favour me, a miſunderſtanding betwixt him and his Uncle, the Duke of *Bouillon*, who groweth weary of his Gueſt, doubting leſt in his Conſideration ſome danger may be drawn upon his Town of *Sedan*, and the Jealouſie the Prince conceiveth, what may be done with him in caſe of a Siege, (againſt which that is no Place to make long reſiſtance;) beſides the Diſcomforts of living in another Man's houſe, and being ill looked on, makes him wiſh himſelf any where elſe, but chiefly here, where he is as much deſired, as miſſed by her Highneſs, his Children and Family; and where the Prince of *Orange*, and the States, (apprehending very well his preſent danger, and incommodity,) will give him very willingly his wonted Welcome. Your Lordſhip may be pleaſed to make thus much known to his Majeſty: And if your Lordſhip can ſo diſpoſe of the Matter, that with his Majeſty's good liking he may return hither again, I know nothing your Lordſhip can doe more agreeable to her Highneſs, though ſhe doth wholly ſubmit her Affections and Deſires to his Majeſty's Pleaſure.

The Wars were never warmer than they are already, and now likely more and more to kindle in theſe Parts: The Siege of *Oſtend*, by thoſe which were preſent there, and are now in *Berghen*, being eſteemed Sport in compariſon of the Fury is uſed in diſputing the Out-Works of that Town. Where on *Monday* laſt in the Night an Aſſault was given, and maintained ſix hours by the *Spaniards*, upon a half Moon kept by the Dutch on the North-ſide; out of which they were three ſeveral times repulſed, with the loſs of betwixt 3 and 400 Men of their beſt, and on this Side under 40. All that they gained being (after the ſame manner as their former Attempt on the other Side, wherein Collonel *Hynderſon* was ſlain) to lodge in the foot of the Work. Two of our old Captains, Sir *Michael Everard*, and *Lovelace*, (hurt in that, and the like Aſſault, given on that Side within few days after,) are both dead of their Wounds within theſe two days. One at *Dort*, the other at *Rotterdam*, whither they were retired to be cured: which is imputed by the Chirurgions to ſome Malignity is uſed to the Bullets: but that is not to be believed

believed amongſt Chriſtians; yet I have ſeen ſome brought hither ſhot by the Enemy, ſufficient to break all Quarter.

We ſhall have now, queſtionleſs, many and ſharp Encounters in the Field; Count *Mansfelt* being on his way hitherwards with his Army, much weakned during his abode in the Frontiers of *France*; but of Strength ſufficient to march through the open Countries of *Henault*; and *Brabant*. Which Courſe he takes directly with intention to come to *Breda*. And where, by computation, he ſhould be by *Monday*, or *Tueſday* next at the fartheſt, unleſs he be overtaken by *Don Gonzales de Cordova*, or met with by the Count *Hemic Vandenbergby* or the Marqueſs *Spinola*, in any of which there is ſmall appearance. *Cordova* going forward at leiſure with 16 Pieces of Cannon, and the 18th of this preſent, when *Mansfelt* paſſed a Bridge at *Marpent*, over the *Sambre* in *Henault*, (which was the onely Paſſage of difficulty, and that, as our Advertiſements here ſay, he croſſed without reſiſtance,) being ſome hours March behind him, who having three Field-Pieces onely, and ſmall Store of Baggage, and in effect his whole Army on Horſeback, may make great expedition.

If *Vandenburgh* ſtir, he will be followed by the Prince of *Orange*. And the Marqueſs *Spinola* cannot go ſtrong enough to encounter him, without raiſing his Siege at *Bergben*, which though he ſhould doe, the *Campaigne* is large enough, and *Mansfelt* lightly laden, to take and leave at pleaſure, it being in his power (if his way to *Breda* be ſtopped) to fall down towards ſuch Places as the States hold in *Flanders*.

The States furniſh him with 6000 *Florins*, for the time of three Months they entertain him and his Army. In which ſpace, the Service they hope to draw from him, is, the raiſing the Siege of *Bergben*, by cutting off the Convoys betwixt *Antwerp* and the Spaniſh Leaguer, which can no longer continue in the Place it now remains, than it can keep the way of *Antwerp* open, by which only their Victuals and Munition is conducted.

This time of three Months expired, there is ſmall appearance of longer entertainment of *Mansfelt* by this State, who doth then purpoſe to retire to the Duke *Chriſtien* of *Brunſwick*'s old Quarter at *Liptade*: Where they intend to Winter their Army, and augment the ſame againſt the next Spring, to return again into *Germany*, if the Peace of thoſe Parts be not concluded, or ſome miſchance do not happen in the mean time. Which Reſolution of theirs, for ſuch it is, (as I am very well informed,) deſerves the more to be cheriſhed, by how much the more diſreſpect is ſhewed his Majeſty's Embaſſadour in the *Palatinate*, by burning and ſpoiling her Highneſs Jointure even in his view, (as *Don Gonzales* did whilſt he remained in thoſe Parts,) and ſince beſieging his Majeſty's Garriſon *Heidelbergh*; before which Place, we underſtand here by Letters of the 14th, from *Franford*, that Baron *Tillie* began his approaches the 12th of this preſent.

I have not heard what is the iſſue of Captain *Brett*'s Buſineſs, but hope the beſt. Colonel *Hynderſon*'s Regiment was given, upon the firſt News of his Death, to Sir *Francis Hynderſon* by the Prince of *Orange*, with which the States are much diſpleaſed, as contrarying their Act. And I have lamented my ſelf to them, as a wrong done my Lord of *Buckleugh*, and his Majeſty, in his behalf: which they promiſe me to repair, as they poſſibly may be able. And I preſs them to it, by thoſe means which your Lordſhip will find contained in an Abſtract of a Letter I wrote lately to his Excellency, chiefly to this purpoſe.

Her Highneſs having received a fair Preſent from the Prince her Brother, doth render his Highneſs Thanks, by the incloſed. I know not ſo great a Lady in the World, nor ever did, (though I have ſeen many Courts,) of ſuch natural Affections: An obedient Daughter; a loving Siſter; and a tender Wife, whoſe care of her Husband doth augment with his Misfortunes.

Your Lordſhip cannot therefore ſhew your care of her more, than by bringing them again together with the ſooneſt. Of which I beſeech your Lordſhip, that with the ſooneſt I may know what hope there is, and that (if your Lordſhip pleaſe) by Mr. *Aſkburnham*, whoſe return with a favourable diſpatch is daily expected. Thus I moſt humbly take leave,

Hague, Auguſt 23. 1622. *Your Lordſhip's moſt humble, and moſt devoted Servant,*

Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

Moſt Honourable,

NOT to give your Lordſhip the trouble of often Letters, I render an account of his Majeſty's Commandments by the ſame hand I uſually receive them. One I had lately by an expreſs Letter from his Majeſty, accompanied with another from your Lordſhip, touching my Lord of *Buckleugh*, to demand full ſatisfaction of the States, for all his Lordſhip's Pretentions, and to that effect to procure Inſtructions and Commiſſion to be ſent to Sir *Noel Caron*, to end this Buſineſs.

To

To which effect I have moved both his Excellency and the States, and whilſt they were treating thereof, Collonel *Brogue* arrived here out of *Scotland*: with whom they are now handling to put him to Penſion, and to give my Lord the Command of his Regiment in lieu of his Pretenſions. Which when they come to calculate, my Lord will find a ſhort reckoning of them; and to ſend Accounts out of their Accountant's hands, and refer them to others, they will never be moved.

Wherefore if the Courſe they now take can be gone through with, (which Collonel *Brogue* doth moſt unwillingly hear of,) it will be then in my Lord's choice, whether he will remain ſatisfied or not. And within few days I hope to return my Lord's Secretary with advertiſement of what is done. Mean time I aſſure your Lordſhip, nothing is omitted in my Endeavours to procure him that which may be moſt to his contentment.

In the preſent condition of Publick Affairs, your Lordſhip knoweth well, how at this inſtant we have all *buone Parolle* out of *Spain*, and *Carrivi-fatti* of all the reſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: In ſo much as theſe Low-Country Troops, under the Governance of the Infanta, aſſiſt in the blocking up of a poor Town, all which remains of his Majeſty's onely Daughter's Jointure in the *Palatinate*. And the Emperour not content with having chaſed her Husband out of the Empire, in the Propoſition of the *Diet of Ratisbone*, makes this one Article, to make War upon theſe Provinces, becauſe (amongſt other Quarrels) they give refuge to the Prince *Palatine*. Where will this Perſecution ceaſe? And what Place in the World, to which they are driven from hence, (and is eaſily gueſſed in all their extremity, whither they will be forced to flie,) is not ſubject to the ſame Quarrel? Within this Week that I now write (betwixt *Sunday* and *Sunday*) we were here in that State, if God had not prevented it, this Country had been too hot for them to remain in; and it had been a happineſs for them, if they could have got a poor ſcheveling Boat to have tranſported them elſewhere. This Bearer, my Nephew, will inform your Lordſhip more particularly thereof.

Now, *de agendis*, there reſts no more, than queſtion of maintaining the Army of *Mansfelt* and *Brunſwick*, which is lodged at the preſent in a Place out of which it can hardly march, and more hardly be removed. If it have Pay and Countenance, it may doe good Service in *Germany*; if not, I will tell your Lordſhip what I conceive may be the conſequence. It will be hedged into *Eaſt-Frizeland* by *Tilli*, (whoſe Troops already draw that way,) *Cordova*, and *Anhalt*, againſt which, keeping it ſelf within that Countrey, it will be able to make reſiſtance, as the poor Peaſants thereof did heretofore againſt the Spaniſh Army, by reaſon of the difficulty of acceſs. From this State it will have all aſſiſtance; and though it be kept in by Land, it will have the Sea open betwixt *Griets* and *Norden*, (both which Places are in *Mansfelt*'s poſſeſſion,) a Haven fit for a Fleet of *Gallions*. If by that means they, with correſpondency with this State, may ſupport themſelves, it will be very ill for many important Conſequences: If they and this State (which will be forced to run a Fortune together) be overcome, much worſe; for what can keep the reſt of *Europe* from ſubjection to the *Auſtriacs*? We ſee how in *Terra firma* the *Wallons* joined to *Spaniards*, both make and maintain their Conqueſts: Join the *Hollanders* to them by Sea, they will reap the like Service by them. The fruit we have reaped heretofore of the Shipping of theſe Provinces, both for defence in the Year 88, and Offence in the *Cadiz* Journey, ſheweth what a ſtrong addition this is to a greater Power.

My moſt honourable Lord, I am ſo full of ſuch like Speculations, that theſe have broken out *ex Plenitudine Cordis*, ſurcharged with grief to ſee, in *Plenitudine temporis*, that to come to effect in the Publick Affairs which was diſcovered long ſince by the Emperour's intercepted Letters, ſent by the *Capuchine* into *Spain*, and to hear the Judgment made every where, that the publick Oppoſition of the Spaniſh Embaſſadour (*D' Ognates* words) to the Emperour's proceeding *de facto*, is but a patelinage, with ſecret underſtanding to abuſe his Majeſty's goodneſs. Of which it lyeth yet in his Majeſty's power to vindicate himſelf; but there is no time to ſpare. I humby crave pardon for this liberty of Diſcourſe I uſe with your Lordſhip, who am,

Hague, 31 *Jan.* 1622.

Your Lordſhip's, moſt humble, and moſt faithfull Servant,

Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace.

THE general knowledge the Queen of *Bohemia* received from your Grace, by my Nephew, of the Diſpoſition of our Affairs at home, ſince his Highneſs, and your Grace's return out of *Spain*, upon the true underſtanding you have bred in his Majeſty of the *Spaniſh* Proceedings, being more particularly, both for the State of the Matter and the Manner, fit to be held here in diſpoſing theſe Men to ſuch Overtures as are neceſſary; expreſſed unto me by Sir *George Goring*, with ſpecial caution of Secrecy and Celerity.

I have

I have thought fit to set down at large (whilst it is fresh in my Memory) an Opportunity as properly given unto me this day by the Prince of *Orange*, (who is the only Person of Power and Confidence we have here to treat withall) as I hope your Grace will judge it seasonably taken.

And that was an occasion of Business concerning a Mutiny at *Breda*, which drew the Council of State (where I have my Seance) to the States-General, with whom we found the Prince. That Business ending in good time gave him a long hours leisure with me afterwards in his Garden, which he himself desired of me, because somewhat was farther to be digested between us concerning the English Troops, which shewed themselves most in this Mutiny: And hereupon the consideration of the necessity of this State, and impossibility of giving their Troops full contentment, gave us subject of farther Discourse, both of the means of better payment they have here at home, and the helps they might conceive from abroad, which making appear unto me to be coldest from *England*, as long as our Match with *Spain* is still in Treaty, he asked me bluntly (after this manner,) *Qui as' il de vostre Mariage?* I told him, it was now at a stay upon this Point, That the restitution of the *Palatinate* must be first concluded. And that the Queen of *Bohemia* was not only well comforted with this assurance, but pleased her self with a farther conceit, that the opportunity was never fairer for this State to regain the King her Father's favour, and return to the ancient support of his Crowns, which by the way of gratitude for her good usage, since she had her refuge into these Parts, she could not but admonish his Excellency of, and advise him not to let it slip. This he did not so suddenly lay hold of, as not first to cast many mis-doubts, as if the alienation were too great, and his Majesty too much wedded in Affection, if not in Alliance to new Friends, to be so soon reconjoined to his old, as their Necessities did require.

Here I took occasion to play my own Part, and to remember unto him how things had passed within the compass of my experience, from the beginning; letting him know what Friendship his Majesty had shewed this State, in the making their Truce; what Sincerity, in rendring their Cautionary Towns according to Contract, when they were demanded; what Affection, in supporting their Affairs during their late domestick Disputes; what care, in setling our *East-Indian* Differences; finally, what Patience in conniving at all the Misdemeanours, and Insolencies of their Sea-men, without seeking Revenge.

And hereupon concluded, that I found them here in the same Errour as Men are which put first from Land to Sea, and believe the Land passes from them, not they from the Land, in that the Alienation, which hath long been nourished betwixt his Majesty and this State sprang originally from them.

First, by *Barnevelt*, and his faction of Arminians, carrying the State to new Alliances, with the Hans-Towns, and otherwise by themselves, refusing so much as the knowledge of them to my Predecessour in this place, Sir *Ralph Wynwood* with much Scorn and Contempt.

Next, by a harsh and peremptory stile, used in all we had then to doe with them, savouring rather of Pride and Presumption, than any due respect or desire of Friendship.

Lastly, by a precipitate course taken at Sea by their Ships of War and Merchants, against His Majesty's Subjects, making prize of some, shouldering others out of their places of Trade, and entring in the *East-Indies* into open hostility, avowed by a publick Act of the States General. This ill course begun and pursued for some years continuance, breeding a deserved distaste in His Majesty on this side; and on the *Spanish* part fair Overtures of Friendship, being continually made and confirmed by the tender of a Match of a potent Prince. None can marvel that His Majesty did embrace the same, unless it should be expected of him, that for Love of this State, how ill soever deserving, he should lend a deaf Ear to all other friendships that did not concur with the Interest of this State. And the remembrance of these things not being so old as to be worn out, they might here very well conceive, that the suspition of Alienation and Dis-affection, is as strong on our side for their giving the cause of our leaning another way, as on theirs, for the effect which hath since followed. And now the Cause is removed, the Effect may possibly cease in like manner, if we may have good assurance, that breaking with our new friends upon the occasions now presented, we might fasten after the wonted manner with an old; and the King be satisfied in such doubts, he may upon good reason cast, and know certainly what to trust to. To this conclusion he answered, (confessing first their many Obligations to his Majesty, both for his Favour and Sufferance,) that nothing could be more certain, than the Affection of this State to a Prince embracing their cause of opposition to *Spain*. And if His Majesty could take that Resolution, he might dispose of them, their Lives and their Fortunes. I told him, that more (in a case of this importance, when there was question of alteration of the whole course of a great Prince's Affairs) would be required than bare Professions and Protestations; and the rather, because he knew I was not ignorant, how many Billets, and Papers have been heretofore brought hither by * Madam *Servelans* and others, tending to *Truce*, or Peace, and how much such a matter was thirsted after by their Frontier Provinces, which being free for them to take or leave, after their own humours; it was not likely His Majesty would discharge them of their Burthen, to pull it upon his own Shoulders. But to enter into the common cause of defence, and add a powerfull hand in supporting them, might be feisable in the present conjuncture, upon good assurance he should never be left single in the Quarrel. Whereunto he answered, that true it was,

* *An old Popish Gentlewoman of this Town, who by Pass-port on both sides, trots so often to and fro betwixt this and* Bruxel, (*where she hath private access to the* Infanta) *that she is known by the Title of* la Maquerelle de la Trefue.

was, the woman I named, and divers others, had been tampering heretofore about ſuch Treaties, and that he had continually put their Papers into his Pocket, and ſo ſuppreſſed them, (with conſent of ſome of the States, of whom he was moſt confident,) leſt ſuch Propoſitions, being brought into their publick Aſſemblies, might have driven them into Diſtraction, and diſpute one with another, according to their ſeveral Affections, either to Peace, or War, and thereby ſlacken their Contributions, wherewith they pay their Army, and by conſequence expoſe them to the Mercy of the Enemy.

And that this courſe of his being finally diſcovered by the Marqueſs *Spinola*, and *Petkius*, their purpoſe now was (as he is privately advertiſed from *Bruxels*) to ſteal over ſome Perſons hither by the uſual means of Paſs ports for Merchants and Travellers, to make ſome ſuch like Propoſition at the ſeveral Aſſemblies of the States of theſe united Provinces, which it ſhould be his ſtudy to prevent, becauſe of the miſchief may be bred thereby amongſt them. And this he aſſured me for concluſion, that as their Affections and Affairs now ſtand, nothing but Deſpair can bring theſe Provinces to Peace or Truce with *Spain*.

To this I yielded, but ſaid, that was not enough, becauſe of ſuch changes to which the World was daily ſubject. Neither did Queen *Elizabeth* undertake their Protection upon ſuch bare Preſumptions, wherefore ſome farther aſſurance muſt be thought on; which he conſented unto as a thing requiſite on both ſides, and joined iſſue with me in this point, that when the King would be to this State, as Queen *Elizabeth* was; this State would be to him, as it was to Queen *Elizabeth*.

This being *opus unius diei*, not unlike the firſt day of the Creation of the World, in diſtinguiſhing Light and Darkneſs, I will give your Grace this farther Light, of what belongs to Negotiation with this State.

The preſent opportunity of the Prince of *Orange*'s good Affection, and ſtrength of theſe Provinces both by Sea and Land, as it yet ſtands, (but not poſſible ſo long to continue,) being ſeaſonably laid of, His Majeſty may have with this State a firm and fruitfull Alliance.

But if the Prince of *Orange* ſhould die, (as he is much broken, and the laſt year at this time, we did not think he could live till *May*,) or the Enemy break into the Borders of this State, (as this laſt Summer, if the *Imperialiſts* had joined with the *Spaniards*, they had undoubtedly done; and unleſs ſome Change or Alteration happen, as is feared, will do this next year,) the beſt link we have for a Bond of Friendſhip would fail, and as much difference be betwixt this State as it now is, and what it is like to be upon any ſuch ill accident, (as was now feared, and ſtill hangs over them,) as betwixt a ſtrong Staff, and a broken Reed. So I ceaſe to give your Grace any farther Trouble.

Hague, 9. Decemb. 1623.

Your Grace's Moſt Humble, and moſt Faithfull Servant,
Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace.

WHat comfort and contentment the Queen of *Bohemia* receives in your Grace's Meſſage and Letter by my Nephew, I leave to her own expreſſion, which never fails her, when her heart goeth with her hand, as I can aſſure your Grace it doth in this Subject. And this I will ſay more, who can ſay nothing but Truth, I never knew your Grace ill with this good and gracious Princeſs; but now you are ſo well ſetled in her good Opinion and Favour, that I know none hath more intereſt therein.

And this uſe your Grace may make thereof to His Majeſty's Service, that now this King and Queen are both of them no leſs confident of your Affection, than they are of your Sincerity; what you adviſe them in their Affairs will be of much weight to ſway them in the Balance of their Judgement.

Whereas now a Propoſition is made unto them, on which their whole Eſtate doth depend as well for themſelves, as their Poſterity, full of doubtfull Circumſtances on both ſides, (the choice not being as they conceive, betwixt one thing certain, and another uncertain; but betwixt two unequal uncertainties,) it is hard to ſay which way they incline: But if they be left to themſelves, I perceive they will rather ſtand to the hazard of the latter, with preſervation of their Honour and lawfull Pretenſions, than ſubmit themſelves to the former with Shame and Diſgrace, and no aſſurance of better dealing than was uſed to the deported Houſe of *Saxony*, by a better Emperour than this accounted, of which we have the Heir (one of the worthieſt Princes in *Germany*) here in hard Conditions amongſt us. And he ſerves as a Spectacle to theſe Princes of their Fortunes, by the ſame way as his Predeceſſors took of Submiſſion. Yet other things being before agreed of, and ſetled in that ſort as His Majeſty hath always aſſured theſe Princes to be his full intention of Reſtitution to their Patrimonial Honours and Eſtate; this King I find, will conform himſelf to what His Majeſty ſhall think fit, touching a due ſubmiſſion.

But this being a matter of Ceremony, the other of Subſtance, he judgeth that if this precede (that is, the Submiſſion) the other of Reſtitution will never follow. Neither can it be well ſeen, how in poſſibility it may be effected, conſidering that (whilſt things have been held ſometimes in terms, always in talk of accommodation,) the Electoral is given to *Bavaria* by the Emperour, and avowed by a Congratulatory Embaſſage from *Bruxels*; the upper *Palatinate* ſetled in his poſſeſſion, with ſome portion

to

to *Newburgh* for his Contentation and Engagement. A principal part of the lower *Palatinate* (the *Bergstrate*) given to the Elector of *Mentz*, with the consent of of those of *Bruxels*, (where he was lately in Person to obtain it,) though they grossly dissemble it, and promises of parts of the rest made to other Princes.

So as what is now pretended (I must deal plainly with your Grace,) is no otherways interpreted, than as experience doth teach of these three former years proceedings: Ever new Overtures in Winter, and new Ruptures in the Summer. And as of two former Treaties with this Prince, which passed my Hands, (one a Consent to a Submission sent to *Vienna*, the other a Ratification of a Suspension oftentimes sent to *Bruxels*,) no other use was made, but with the first to accelerate *Bethlem Gabor*, in his Treaty of Peace with the Emperour, as then on Foot, and with the second to intimidate both the Electours, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*, with the Princes of the *Nethes*, *Saxony*, and *Creyes*, from entring into Arms, to which they were well disposed, upon the discontentment they received of the preposterous courses that were taken in the Diet at *Ratisbone*; (and to this effect, Copies of the very projects of the said Treaties were dispersed by the *Imperialists*, before the Instruments themselves were perfected;) so it is here believed, that now *Gabor* is again in Arms, and other Princes ready to imbrace any good occasion of redress of Affairs, time is only sought to be gained by this new Overture, and the King of *Bohemia*'s Credit with his Friends and Well-wishers in *Germany* to be weakned, if not lost; for, if once he submit himself, allowing the translation of the Electoral, he shall thereby avow the Emperour's undue proceedings in that Cause, (which have been protested against by *Saxony*, and *Brandenburgh*, and all the other *German* Princes, excepting those onely of the Catholick League) and by whom afterwards, upon any ill dealing, can he expect to be befriended, who forsakes himself, and his own Cause? This is the Discourse of these Princes, upon this occasion: But when they are asked, what then can you trust unto? Their recourse is to his Majesty, who they hope, knoweth the means to effect in their behalf, what he hath so long and so constantly undertaken for them; and though, for these three or four years past, Affairs on this side have gone in a continual decadence, and now threaten a final Ruine, unless it be withstood by some Princely Resolution, (not of petty, but of great Princes;) yet here is no such discouragemet, but that it is thought, there is yet strength and vigour enough left in the good Party, not only to subsist, but to rise and flourish again as well as ever. And in this cogitation the King and Queen remain, not prescribing any thing to his Majesty, nor willing to submit themselves anew to the same rod with which they have been so often scourged.

Your Grace was lately invited, with my Lord of *Richmond*, to Christen their young Son; which being excused by my Lord of *Richmond*, in both your Names, and the King of *France* undertaking that Office, it was performed by that King, and the King of *Swedes*, yesterday was sevennight (represented by the *French* Embassadour here resident, and the Prince of *Orange*) in the same manner, and the same Church, as the Princess *Louise*, bearing the same Name, was Christened the last year; when the Duke *Christien* of *Brunswick* being invited to be God-father, though Absent, and for some respects of Precedence, could not have a Deputy, was understood notwithstanding to be one of the *Parrini*; and so do the King and Queen hold both your Grace, and my Lord of *Richmond*.

I must now render your Grace my humble Thanks, for your Manifestation of your Favour to my self, which you are pleased to do in such ample manner, as to tell me farther for my Comfort, who are my Friends; and a farther effect of Friendship I could not expect of them, than to procure me the assurance I now receive from your Grace, who have won the reputation by your constancy to those you take into your care, that your word is taken for your Deed; and though that which I thought fittest for my self fails me, if your Grace can think me fit for any thing else, toward the amendment of my poor Fortune, I shall attend the same with much patience of Mind, though great Extremity otherwise, by reason of a small Estate charged with great Debts, (which are no small burthen to an honest Mind,) and ever remain,

Your Grace's most faithfull devoted Servant,

Hague, December, 13. 1623. Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

May it please your Grace,

THe Queen of *Bohemia*, desirous to draw the Prince of *Orange* to more than general Professions of Service to his Majesty, hath sometimes in my Presence, when I waited on her Highness, given occasion of Discourse her self, and at other times I have spoken in her Name with his Excellency to the like effect, as in my former Letter to your Grace, which caused his Excellency to take three of the States, such of whom he is most confident, (one of *Guelderland*, another of *Holland*, the third of *Zealand*) unto him, to strengthen himself by their Concurrence, in that which is his own inclination, of carrying this State to a strict Alliance with his Majesty; in which he told them, that first their Minds must be known, and next, such assurance thought of, as not onely must give his Majesty

preſent Contentment, but likewiſe free from all miſdoubt for the future, that either upon offers from *Spain* to theſe Provinces, or any ſiniſter accidents of War, they ſhould be induced to make Peace or Truce, without his Majeſty's Conſent.

Whereunnto they anſwered him, (as I have it from himſelf this Day,) that nothing could be more agreeable to their Affections and Intereſts in all reſpects, than to be under his Majeſty's Protection: And for aſſurance of their remaining conſtant to that courſe, they doubted not, but when the matter ſhould be treated of, the Provinces would willingly condeſcend to what ſhould be neceſſary to that purpoſe.

His Excellency, in relation hereof unto me, went ſo much farther, as to inſtance in their new Reſolution here, now finally put in Practice, of making Voyages into the *Weſt-Indies*, after the ſame form as they have done into the *Eaſt*; both which joyned together, make them irreconcileable with *Spain*. Yet if his Majeſty will have a farther tie on them, they will not refuſe it; but he ſaith, the States will expect, that ſuch Obligation be mutual, and that they in like manner may reſt aſſured, when they put themſelves wholly under his Majeſty's Wings, his Majeſty will not flie from them, and make his Peace without them

I told him the Caſe was not equal betwixt his Majeſty and them, they being actually in War, his Majeſty in Peace; ſo as to come to a Conjunction, his Majeſty muſt change condition, not they; and therefore hath the more reaſon to look, before he leap out of Peace into War: And ſo did Queen *Elizabeth*, who had reigned twenty ſeven years, before ſhe openly took upon her the Protection of theſe Countreys; but after, continued her War in their Cauſe to her dying Day. This he confeſſed; but remembred withall, that there was a Treaty of *Burburck*, with which the States were much ſtarded; and he thought that when this buſineſs ſhould be more particularly ſcanned amongſt them, as they would willingly give, ſo they would expect to receive good aſſurance.

In this point of Declaration of their Affection, and willingneſs to warrant his Majeſty ſufficiently, I asked him how far I might go, not to be diſavowed, ſo as if his Majeſty ſhould take any ſudden Reſolution, according as Affairs require, he might confidently build upon the Concurrence of this State? He anſwered me, that a Reſolution in this kind would require a farther proceeding than was fit, untill his Majeſty would be content to make his mind known, by ſuch private Means as might ſeem beſt to his own Wiſdom; and then, according to his own liking, they would enlarge this matter here, to more Mens knowledge, than the ſmall Circle in which it hitherto walked, and guide it in that manner as may be fit for the form of it, to his Majeſty's Honour, and for the ſubſtance, to his full Contentment; which he offered to do now, if I would preſs him to it; but withall told me his Opinion, that it would raiſe nothing but bruit and noiſe, without effect, when we had here no better Ground to work upon; and therefore wiſhed the buſineſs might expect a return from his Majeſty, if he could be content it ſhould be proceeded in. In theſe Terms remains this buſineſs, not free from many Cautions, and nice Circumſtances; and yet on this ſide, (I can aſſure your Grace) full of good Affection; but theſe are the true Reaſons of their coming on no faſter. They hold it for a Maxime, That *Spain* will never match with his Majeſty for Love, but either for Hope, or Fear; if *Spain* can entertain hope of reducing theſe Provinces to Obedience by the Match; or fear, that unleſs the Match proceed, his Majeſty will join with theſe Provinces in oppoſition to *Spain*; they hold in either of theſe Caſes, the Match as made. And therefore, leſt ſome uſe ſhould be made of their preſentations of themſelves, to their own prejudice, they are thus ſhie and circumſpect. Beſides, as they have had ſome help of Money out of *France* this laſt Year, ſo they are entertained with hopes of more againſt the next; which they fear would be excuſed, upon any offer they ſhould make of themſelves toward his Majeſty; and therefore, are loth to adventure the exchange of a ſubſtance for that which appears unto them, hitherto, no better than a Shadow: And they are indeed very umbragious; for they ſuſpect, that Tentatives of this kind, of which ſome have been made heretofore amongſt them, tend to no other end, than to endear our Merchandize with *Spain*, and let the Miniſters of that Crown know, that we refuſe their Contemplation. But when his Majeſty ſhall reſolve in his own Heart, and be pleaſed to make himſelf ſo underſtood, it will be no hard matter, by his Excellency's means, (who is a Prince full of good Intentions, and real Affections to his Majeſty, and his Royal Family,) to make theſe Men lay by their Jealouſies, and be as true to his Majeſty, and the ſupport of his Crowns, as his own Kingdoms: Which is no more than they owe, for the protection which theſe that are now in Government had of his Majeſty, when they were lately ſinking under the burthen of a contrary Faction; and no more than, upon a good knowledge of their Intereſts and Affections, I can undertake for them, they will really and readily pay, if the matter be well managed. In which the Confidence and Freedom I have uſed with this Noble Gentleman, Sir *George Goring*, may give your Grace ſome farther light, as any doubts ſhall ariſe concerning the buſineſs. So I moſt humbly take leave.

Your Grace's moſt Humble and moſt faithfull Servant,

Hague, Decemb. 18. 1623. Dudley Carleton.

Sir

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

May it please your Grace,

IT were a ſin againſt the publick Service, in which your Grace doth employ your ſelf ſo much to the common Good, and your own Honour, to moleſt you with Letters, in this buſie time; which muſt ſerve me for excuſe of ſilence, ſince the beginning of the Parliament. What I write now, is by commandment of the Queen of *Bohemia*, concerning this Bearer, Captain *Gifford*, an old Sea-man of our Nation; who, having a private Suit to the States, hath made a journey over hither, with recommendation to me from our two Secretaries, for advancement thereof; but with a farther purpoſe to be employed by the Queen againſt the *Spaniard*, in a matter of no leſs moment than taking of a Galeon, which uſually bringeth the Treaſure over the Gulph of *Mexico*, from *Nova Spagna* to the *Havana*; which he deſigns after this manner: To go out with two Ships and a Pinnace, only fitted for fight, without more in number, becauſe of the Allarm would be taken at a greater Fleet, and to lie under covert of a ſmall Iſland in the ensry of the Gulph of *Mexico*; where the Galeon, coming uſually alone, unleſs it be accompanied with ſome Merchants Ships, which he ſets light by, and which, encumbered with Goods and Paſſengers, he thinks may be maſtered and taken, building upon the Security in which that Galeon, with the reſt of that *Nova Spagna* Fleet, do ſail ſcattering in the Gulph, till they meet with the Fleet of *Terra Firma* at the *Havana*; where he having been heretofore a Priſoner made this Obſervation, and doth now offer himſelf to put the deſign in Execution; with a demand of between 10000 and 11000 l. for the whole Equipage.

The Queen in recompence of his good Will, returns him with this Addreſs to your Grace, as a Man fit for Employment, for ſo he is generally reputed: but for the particularity of the Exploit, ſhe doth not entertain any thought thereof, but referrs it wholly to your Grace's Conſideration, and to the opportunity, according as Affairs ſhall ſucceed betwixt his Majeſty and *Spain*.

Here are come Letters from ſome of the King and Queens Servants on that ſide, and one to my ſelf from a private Friend, advertiſing, that there is a readineſs in divers of his Majeſty's Subjects, of good Abilities, to put to Sea with Letters of Mart, in the name of this King and Queen, againſt the *Spaniard*; and of a likelihood, that if ſuch Commiſſions were given by theſe Princes, they would not be ill underſtood by his Majeſty.

Monſieur *Aertſens* hath likewiſe written hither, in a private Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, that he hath been ſpoken with to move the States to increaſe the number he and his Colleague have mentioned of ten or twelve Ships, to join in any good Occaſion with his Majeſty's Fleet, to twenty: And that the purpoſe is to ſet out fifty Sail on that Side, and that both ſhall goe under the name of the King and Queen of *Boheinia*. Wherein, though the motion be not directly made, yet the Prince of *Orange* hath diſcourſed enough, that when it ſhall come to Iſſue, they will ſtretch themſelves to furniſh to the full, what is required on this ſide. In both theſe buſineſſes, as well the granting Letters of Mart by theſe Princes, as their lending their Names to any greater Action; they intend to govern themſelves only as they ſhall underſtand to concur with his Majeſty's Pleaſure; and therefore hope they ſhall receive Advice from his Highneſs, and your Grace, what is fit for them to contribute to ſuch occaſions as they ſee much to their Comforts, you advance with ſo great Care and Vigilance. Thus I moſt humbly take Leave.

Your Grace's moſt Humble and moſt devoted Servant,

Hague, April 16. 1624. Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

May it please your Grace,

SUch Commandments as I received from your Grace, by double Diſpatches of the 4th of the laſt, by way of Proviſion, whilſt Sir *William* St. *Leiger* lay ſick, were prevented by his own Preſence, he bringing the firſt of thoſe Packets with him, and thereby had commodity to aſſiſt at the breaking of the buſineſs to the States, by Virtue of his Majeſty's Credence given him and my Lord General *Cecill*; which ſince he hath ſollicited both at the Camp, and in this place, with all poſſible Care and Induſtry; and I have not failed of my utmoſt Endeavours.

But the unſetledneſs of this Government, which ſtill continueth ſince the late change of Governours, hath bred delay to ſome, and direct impediments to other Points we had in Charge, which we have endeavoured to ſupply by other Means. And now in what ſtate he leaves the whole buſineſs, he will relate to your Grace: Such Patents as your Grace required from the King and Queen of *Bohemia*, I have committed to his delivery, in divers forms, with a Blank, Signed and Sealed, wherein to frame ſuch a one as may be better to your Minds; but if your Grace make no uſe of it, you may pleaſe to return it to me again, to the end I may reſtore it.

What

What concerns my ſelf, I abſolutely remit, and ſubmit to your Grace: onely I will renew the Requeſt I made to your Grace by my Nephew; That your Grace will not prefer any before me in your formerly intended favour, out of belief, that any can be more than I reſolve to reſt, whilſt I live, *à toutes Eſpreves,*

Humbly and faithfully devoted to your Grace's Perſon and Service,
Dudley Carleton.

Hague, June 20. 1625.

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace.

AFter long attendance, the Wind is come good for *Plymouth*, which, I hope, will carry thither, ſpeedily and ſafely, the Sates whole Fleet, though in three Parts; twelve Ships with the Admiral *de Naſſaw*, who hath long waited in the *Texel*; four but newly ready, provided by thoſe of *Zealand* at *Amſterdam*; and four, which have lain ſome time before the *Brill*, whereof one is to land the Marſhal *Chatillion* in paſſing by *Calice*, the other three to convoy the *Engliſh*-Men: And Arms I ſend in ten other Ships I have hired at *Rotterdam*; before which Place they have lain twenty days a Ship-board, by reaſon of contrary Winds, with ſome impatiency, but no diſorder; which what courſe I took to prevent, as likewiſe what may happen in their Voyage, my Lord *Conway* (to whom I give a particular account of all) will inform your Grace.

I have obtained leave for Sir *John Proud* to go the Voyage, according to his Majeſty's Leter, though it was ſomewhat ſtood upon by the States, and he hath taken his Paſſage by *Zealand*.

When I call to mind, what Patents I procured of the King of *Bohemia*, and ſent your Grace by Sir *William Saint Leiger*, (amongſt which was one of ſubmiſſion to any Accomodation his Majeſty ſhall at any time like well of, for the King of *Bohemia*,) I think it neceſſary to advertiſe your Grace, That knowledge being come hither of the *Infanta*'s ſending the Count *Schomburgh* to the King of *Denmark*, with a fair Meſſage, and the Count *Gondomar*'s Overtures to Mr. *Trumbal*, tending to Reconcilement, and Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, it is ſo willingly hearkened unto by the King of *Bohemia*, that there is no doubt of his Conſent: But withall he well conſiders, that if Treaty alone be truſted unto, and thereupon Arms now levied by his Majeſty and his Friends be laid aſide, all will prove as fruitleſs as formerly. For howſoever the King of *Spain* (for more free proſecution of other Quarrels, or Deſigns) may be induced to quit what he poſſeſſeth in the *Palatinate*; the ſhares which the Emperour, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the two Electours of *Mentz* and *Triers*, with a great Rabble of Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, have therein, will require more than bare Negotiation, to wring it out of their hands; and nothing but Victory, or, at leaſt, a well-armed Treaty, can ſerve that turn.

The time ſeems long both to the King and Queen, and grows very irkſome, every day more than other, of their abode here in this place; which indeed doth prove, in all reſpects, very uncomfortable; and that your Grace will gather out of Mr. Secretary *Morton*'s report, and my Letters to my Lord *Conway*. In this very conſideration, I beſeech your Grace, be the more mindfull of,

Your Grace's moſt humble, and moſt devoted Servant,
Dudley Carleton.

Hague, Auguſt 20. 1625.

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

THe Buſineſs of ſtrict Conjunction betwixt his Majeſty and this State (touching which the Queen of *Bohemia* hath received his Highneſs, and your Grace's Letters, and I your Grace's of the 9th of this preſent) goeth on the right foot (according as your Grace will ſee more particularly by my Letters to Mr. Secretary *Conway*,) and as the Matter is here embraced with much affection, ſo, for the manner, I doubt not but it will be well ordered in that ſort, as will be for his Majeſty's Honour and Contentment. But in regard of Jealouſies towards us, and Emulations amongſt theſe Men, in Matters of Imployment, (to which all Men are ſubject, eſpecially in good and advantageous Buſineſſes,) ſome time will be required, to ſet all in the right way, yet no unlimited time; for I hope, within a Week all will be reſolved of, and within a few days more put in excution fully to expectation. Sir *Noel Caron* writes, a League Offenſive and Defenſive will be embraced by his Majeſty, if it be propoſed from hence, with offer of Aſſurance; And I aſſure my ſelf, both the Overture and Offer will be made and really affected, if it be anſwered on our ſide with good correſpondence. That which buſieth my Cogitations is, that *tempus agendi* may be loſt *Conſultando*; and therefore ſeeing how both his Majeſty, and this State ſtand affected, I will take the liberty to give your Grace two Advertiſements in Matters of Action, which will be of exceeding fruit, if they be thought of in time, and for which there is no time to ſpare.

One

One is, that your Grace doth inquire after in your Letter to the Queen of *Bohemia* (who excuſeth writing either to his Highneſs, or your Grace, till the States have reſolved of their ſending,) that is, the States preparation for the *Weſt-Indies*, which way the Company for thoſe parts newly erected in theſe, hath ſet out one Fleet of 32 Sail now already at Sea, with ſome Land-men amongſt them, to put on Ground, and fortifie as they ſhall find occaſion; for which they have Men for the purpoſe, and all Materials ready Embarqued with them.

A ſecond Fleet they are now preparing againſt *April* next, about which all their Admiralties and ſome of the Deputies of this new *Weſt-Indian* Company, are here at this preſent. And the deſign is, for the Admiralties to ſet out at the Charge of the Generality twelve good Ships of War, beſides what they have already on the coaſt of *Spain*, and in the narrow Seas, which they will ſtill continue.

To theſe 12 Ships they require the *Weſt-Indian* Company to join 12 more, which will make a good Fleet; and this they intend ſhall be ready (as I ſaid) in *April* next, to attend the coming of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indian* Fleet, which here they underſtand is put into the *Havana*, with intention there to Winter, as it did the laſt Year.

Now if His Majeſty will give leave to his Subject, to erect a Company for the *Weſt-Indies*, and join with theſe Men in thoſe parts, as they doe in the *Eaſt*, (and upon more equal Conditions, ſince the Buſineſs is now but in the beginning) it will be here gladly Embraced. And if he will Frame a Fleet betwixt his own Ships and his Merchants, to join with the States Fleet prepared for *April* next, to intercept the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indian* Fleet, nothing more will be deſired by theſe Men, and there is nothing of which for the preſent they promiſe themſelves greater Fruit; for either they hope to take, or to ſtop the Silver of thoſe parts (both which are good Services, conſidering the need of Money the *Spaniards* have in theſe,) or elſe they reſolve with the Ships which belong to the Company to purſue their Voyage to the *Weſt-Indies*.

The ſecond is a Truce with the Pyrates of *Algier*, ſuch an one as this State hath made in conformity to their Peace with the Grand Seignior, which will be no more obſerved for unmoleſting all and every one of our Merchants Ships as they are ſtraglingly lighted on, than it is with theſe Men, who ſuffer many loſſes in particular; but thoſe are recompenſed in the General. For the *Spaniards* are much amazed with this Correſpondence, and the Men of War of this State, or ſuch Merchants as can make any reaſonable defence, are moſt medled withall. Beſides, in any matter of Offence they concur together; and even now a Propoſition is made from *Algier* to the Prince of *Orange*, (which I have from his own Mouth to acquaint your Grace therewith,) that in caſe this State againſt the beginning of next Summer, will ſet out twenty Sail of Ships upon any good ſervice againſt the *Spaniards*, they will join unto them 60 Sail to purſue the deſign, whatſoever it ſhall be, of this State. The acceptation of which offer, being now in deliberation, it will be ſuſpended till it be ſeen how this unexpected Buſineſs with his Majeſty may proceed; and then they will here doe nothing but that as they may concurr with our common Intereſts. But becauſe the Negotiation of this matter with thoſe of *Algier* (that is, a Truce betwixt His Majeſty's Subjects and thoſe Men) will require time, your Grace may proviſionally move His Majeſty (if the matter be well liked) to uſe ſuch endeavours as may conduce thereunto. Here they uſe to Write, and ſend through *France* by *Marſeilles*, to the Counſul they have continually at *Algier*, by whoſe means (if no better preſent it ſelf) any thing may be propoſed His Majeſty ſhall find fitting.

Other things I will within few days remonſtrate to your Grace, for His Majeſty's ſervice, in this change of Affairs, which require all poſſible Induſtries, and Diligences, to be uſed both far and near; and thoſe not neglected, I doubt not, but they who have ſo groſly abuſed his Majeſty's Friendſhip, will ſoon repent themſelves, and by their harms ſee their own Errours. Thus I moſt humbly take leave.

Your Grace's moſt Humble, and moſt Faithfull Servant,

Hague, January 24, 1625. Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

ACcording as I advertiſed your Grace, the 24*th.* of the laſt, of the diſpoſition of the Prince of *Orange*, and ſuch of the States as he called unto him to Council, they procured the reſt ſoon after to reſolve of an Embaſſage to His Majeſty, and now they have diſpatched the ſame with as much Expedition as could poſſibly be uſed. The Perſons are *Aertſens* of *Holland*, and *Joachim* of *Zealand*, both able and well affected Perſons, and both ſufficiently known to his Majeſty by former Employments. They goe amply authorized for what they ſhall Treat, but that as yet is an Embrion onely, which

which muſt receive form and life from his Majeſty, in whoſe hands it lyeth to preſerve this State, and diſpoſe for ever of the whole ſtrength thereof for his own Service, and his Royal Families; which after more Debates and Diſtaſtes than have paſſed with all the World beſides, I am glad I can ſay upon good Warrantize; whereof this is one proof, that when His Majeſty is conſtrained by the neceſſity of Affairs to ſend and ſeek to his other Friends, he is ſent, and ſought, and ſued to from hence. I doubt not but it will be objected (as hath been formerly) that it is for their own Intereſt, and that they would glady engage His Majeſty in their Quarrel, which it were a folly to deny; but there is always the Friendſhip ſtrongeſt when the Intereſts are moſt conjoined. And if that which is principally for one Man's benefit turn likewiſe to another Man's advantage, *Hoc non facere* (ſaith an old School-book) *ſimmiæ eſt imprudentiæ.*

The Affairs of theſe parts for matter of Action, (which have more than ordinarily ſucceeded in this cold Seaſon, but have been more coldly purſued than was feared,) I refer to this Bearer, my Nephew, his report, who having the Honour to be His Majeſty's Servant, I imploy him the more willingly, as able to give account of ſuch particularities, eitheir of this Negotiation or otherwiſe, of which His Majeſty and your Grace may require knowledge. And I humbly beſeech your Grace to give him Encouragement by your accumſtomed noble Favour, ſo reſts

Your Grace's moſt Humble, and moſt Devoted Servant,

Hague, February 16. 1625. Dudley Carleton.

Sir Charles Cornwallis, *Lieger in* Spain, *to the* Spaniſh *King.*

YOur Majeſty hath ſhewed the ſincerity of your Royal Heart, in applying remedy to many inconveniencies and injuſtice, offered by your Miniſters to King my Maſter's Subjects, in their goods and bodies, and therein have performed not only what belongeth to your Kingly Dignity, but alſo what might be expected from a Prince ſo zealous of Juſtice, and of ſo good Intention. It reſteth, that now I beſeech you to caſt your Royal Eyes upon another extream Injuſtice offered, not only to their Bodies and Goods, but to their very Souls; who being by Your Majeſty's Agreement, confirmed with your Oath, to live within theſe your Kingdoms free from moleſtation for matter of Opinion and Conſcience, except in matters of ſcandal to others, are here laid hold on and impriſoned by your Majeſty's Officers of Inquiſition, continually upon every light occaſion of private Information of ſome particular Perſons of their own Countrey, who being fugitives out of their own Houſes, and having, according to the nature of our People, removed not only their Bodies, but their Hearts, from the ſoil that bred them, and from their Brethren that were nouriſhed with them, do here ſeek to grace themſelves, by profeſſing and teaching the Obſervations of the *Romiſh* Church; and that not out of any zeal, but as plainly appeareth by many of their Actions, out of Malice and Envy. By the Commiſſioners, authorized by both your Majeſty's for the agreeing of the Peace, it was clearly diſcerned, that if, upon private or particular Informations, His Majeſties Vaſſals here ſhould be queſtioned for matter of Religion; it was not poſſible that they ſhould exerciſe any commerce in theſe Kingdoms, where they ſhould be no one moment aſſured either of their Goods or Liberties. It was therefore provided, that they ſhould in no ſort be impeached, but in caſe of Scandal, and that Scandal, with Your Majeſty's favour, muſt be underſtood to grow out of ſome publick Action, not out of private Opinion, or ſingle Conſcience; for if otherwiſe, very vain and inutile had been that Proviſion. How the word *Scandal* is in the moſt uſual and common ſenſe to be underſtood, is in no Books more evident than in the Divine Scriptures themſelves. Our Saviour in regard of his publick Teaching of the Goſpel, and the aboliſhing of the Law-Ceremonial, was ſaid to be to both Houſes of *Iſrael, a Stone of Scandal.* The ſin of *David*, if it he had lain covered in his own heart, or been committed in private, ſhould not have been either publiſhed, or puniſhed, as a ſcandal to the Enemies of God. St. *Paul* himſelf declareth, that his owing eating of fleſh offered to Idols could not be an offence, but onely his eating before others of weak Conſcience, whereby to give the Scandal. Beſides, I humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, conſider how fitly that of the Apoſtle, *Quis es qui judicas alienum ſervum*, may be applied to thoſe Officers of the Inquiſition, attempting to lay hands on the Subjects of another Prince, Your Majeſty's Confederate, offering none offence to the Laws, or publick prejudice to their Profeſſion; yea, in divers part of Your Majeſty's Dominions, the Subject of my Maſter have ſuffered this reſtraint. The Inquiſitor General, lately deceaſed, who in all his Actions ſhewed himſelf a conſiderate Miniſter, and carefull in regard of Your Majeſty's Honour, of the obſerving of what you have capitulated upon my complaint, never failed to give the remedy that in juſtice I required. He being now with God, and one of my Sovereign's Subjects having been long without cauſe, detained by the Inquiſitors in *Lisbon*; and another of good account, a Man moderate and temperate in all his Actions, lately apprehended by that Office in *Ayemonte*, and reſtrained in their Priſon at *Sevil*; I am commanded from His Majeſty, and importuned by my Countrey-men, who all with one Voice, complain, and proteſt, that they dare not longer continue their Commerce, without preſent order for remedy of ſo extream and perillous

perillous an injuſtice, to beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed not only to give preſent order for the releaſe of thoſe that without ſcandal are known, for the preſent in your Priſons; but alſo, that in time to come the true intention of that Article be obſerved, which is, that without known offence and ſcandal, the King my Maſter's Subjects be not moleſted. The accompliſhment of this (conſidering how much it imports your Majeſty in Honour, your Majeſty and the Arch-Duke having in that Article, in no other ſort than in all the reſt, covenanted by eſpecial words, that your ſelves would provide, that in no Caſe, but onely in giving ſcandal to others, the Subjects of my Sovereign ſhould be troubled for their Conſciences,) I cannot but expect from ſo juſt and ſincere a Prince; and therefore will not trouble your Majeſty with more Words, but offering my ſelf in all things within my Power, to your Majeſty's Service; I remain with a deſire to be reckoned in the number of your Majeſty's Humble and Affectionate Servants

July, 23d. *ſtilo novo*, 1608. C. C.

Sir Charles Cornwallis *to the* Spaniſh *King.*

THe largeneſs and liberality of your Majeſty's Royal Hand being ſuch, that it hath made your Greatneſs and Munificenſe of ſo much note through moſt parts of this World: I aſſure my ſelf, it is far removed from the thoughts of your Princely Heart, to ſtraiten in matter of Juſtice, that ſo naturally and neceſſarily belongeth to your Kingly Office. Your Majeſty hath pleaſed to referr to the Conſtable, the Duke of *Infantaſque*, and two of the Regents of your Council of *Arragon*, the underſtanding and determining of the extream and barbarous Uſage, Outrage, and Spoil, committed by Ships ſet out in courſe under the Commiſſion, and at the charge of your Majeſty's Vice-Roy of *Sardinia*, and his Son-in-Law, *Don Lewis de Calatana*, and others by their Procurement; thoſe Lords and others there authorized by that Commiſſion, very nobly and juſtly deſiring, that of the ſpoil committed there might be made intire ſatisfaction, gave Order divers Months ſince; but your Majeſty's Vice-Roy adding to his former offence contempt of your Majeſty's Authority, hath not only diſobeyed in his own Perſon, but contradicted and withſtood in others the Accompliſhment of your Commandments; it ſeemeth that God is pleaſed, for the good of your Majeſty's Eſtate and Government, to diſ-vizard that Man, and make apparent to the World how unfit he is to be truſted with your Command of ſo great importance, whoſe covetous and ungodly condition is come to ſuch height, as hath drawn him not only to ſpoil unlawfully, and ſo barbaroſly to uſe the Subjects of ſo great a King, your Confederate, and thereby to hazard a breach of the Amity between your Majeſty's, ſo neceſſary both for your Eſtates, and ſo utile to the whole Common-wealth of Chriſtendom, but alſo to neglect and contemn the Authority of your Majeſty his own Sovereign, to whom, beſides the obligation of his Natural Allegiance, he is ſo infinitely bound for preferring and truſting him with a matter of ſo great Conſequence and Dignity. By this Paper incloſed, your Majeſty ſhall underſtand the manner of Proceeding of the King my Maſter againſt ſuch of his Subjects as commit the like Crimes and outrage againſt any of yours, and thereby conceive what my ſaid Sovereign expecteth of your Majeſty in this and the like, and what I am commanded, in Conformity thereof to require; which is, that there be no proceeding in ſo clear and plain a Caſe, by way of proceſs or ſuit in Law, which in this Kingdom (as by Experience is known) are immortal; but that according to the ſixth Article of the Peace, and the moſt Chriſtian and juſt Example ſhewed by my Sovereign, who ſo punctually and conſcionably in all things obſerveth with your Majeſty, you will be pleaſed that there be not only an entire and immediate ſatisfaction to the parties, but that as well your ſaid Viceroy, and *Don Lewis* his Son-in-Law, as all others, their Aiders, Partners, and Receivers in that Crime, may be criminally proceeded againſt, and ſuffer ſuch puniſhment, as ſo enorm and unlawfull Actions have juſtly deſerved: The performance of this (conſidering with what Patience the King my Maſter, out of his Love to your Majeſty, notwithſtanding the daily Complaints and Importunities of the Parties, and the general exclamation of other his Subjects, who hold it rather agreeable with his Honour and Kingly Office, not ſo long to permit unſatisfied or unpuniſhed ſo intollerable an outrage, hath more than three whole years attended it,) I cannot but expect from ſo juſt and pious a Prince, without farther delay or protraction of time.

Jan. 16. *novo ſtilo.* 1608.

Sir Charles Cornwallis *to the* Spaniſh *King.*

WEll knoweth your Majeſty, in your Royal Wiſdom, how neceſſary to Kings is the conſervation of Authority and reſpect to their Kingly Dignities; as alſo that the greateſt and moſt abſolute precept of Juſtice, is to do to others what we would be done unto our ſelves: How religiouſly and punctually the King my Maſter hath obſerved theſe unto your Majeſty, hath appeared by many demonſtrations, (and not the leaſt) in the denial he made to *Antonio de Perez* to abide in his

Kingdom; or to have acceſs to his Perſon; only out of a conceit he had, that he came with a mind determined to dis-authorize your Majeſty in his Speeches, or to make offer of ſome practice againſt your Eſtates in his overtures. Your Majeſty's own Royal and gratefull inclination I know to be ſuch, as you are not without deſire to pay my Sovereign with the like equivalent Retribution; but with your Majeſty's Pardon and Favour, Duty enforceth me plainly to tell you, that the Miniſters of theſe your Kingdoms ſhew not the like Affection; where not one, but many, of my Sovereigns worſt affected Subjects ar daily received, cheriſhed, and honoured with the Entertainments in your Service; were that ſort of People contented only to abuſe your Majeſty's Kingly Munificence and Chriſtian Charity, and to deceive your Miniſters with their falſifyed Genealogies, and with putting the *Don* upon many whoſe Fathers and Anceſtors were ſo baſe and beggerly, as they never arrived to be owners of ſo much as convenient Apparel to cover their Nakedneſs, it were much more tolerable; but when having here taſted the warmth of your Liberal and pious Hand, they become furniſhed in ſuch ample and abundant manner, as their poor and miſerable Anceſtors durſt never ſo much as dream of, like *Æſop*'s Serpent, they turn their venemous Stings towards the Boſoms that gave them Heat and Life, and endeavour with all the force and Art they have, to give cauſe of diſtaſte, and by conſequence of Diviſion, between your Majeſty and your faithfulleſt and moſt powerfull Confederate, in uneven payment for your Majeſty's ſo great and gracious a Favour. With generalities for the preſent I will not deal, as he whoſe Cares and Deſires have ever been to ſoften, and not to ſharpen. Two *Iriſh* in your Court, the one a Son, as by his own Country-men is generally reported, eitheir to a vagabond Rimer, a generation of People in that Countrey of the worſt account; or to give him his beſt Title, of a poor Mechanical Surgeon. The other deſcended rather of more baſe and beggerly Parents, neglecting what by the Laws of God they owe to their own Sovereign, and and as little regarding their Obligation to your Majeſty, who from the duſt of the Earth and miſerable Eſtate hath made them what they are, notwithſtanding that they cannot be ignorant of the ſtrict Charge and Commandments your Majeſty hath given, that all due reſpect be had to the King my Maſter, and his Miniſters and Subjects; the firſt, in irreverend and irreſpective behaviour towards my ſelf and ſome of mine; the other, in obſtinate defending his Companions unmannerlineſs, delivering by way of direct aſſeveration, that I am an Heretick, and ſuch an one as to whom it is not lawfull, under the pain of deadly Sin, to uſe any Courteſie or Reverence whatſoever, have of late miſcarried themſelves, as I hold it not agreeable either with what I owe to the King I ſerve, or the Honour I have to repreſent his Perſon, to paſs over with ſilence, but to preſent it inſtantly to your Majeſty. The Names of the parties are, *Magg Ogg*, a Sollicitour (as here is ſaid) for the fugitive Earl of *Tyrone*, condemned by the verdict of his own Countrey-Men, beſides his delict of Treaſon, of thirteen ſeveral Murders. The other names himſelf *Candio Mauricio*, and is here (as I am informed) allowed for a —— for his vagabonding Countrey-men, hath put on the habit of a Prieſt, and hath of your Majeſty thirty Crowns a Month in Penſion. The parties and the offences I have made known unto your Secretary of State, and I cannot doubt, but your Majeſty in conformity of what the King my Maſter hath by ſo many Arguments demonſtrated towards your Majeſty and your Miniſters, will command ſuch exemplary puniſhment to be made of them, as a behaviour ſo undecent, a ſlander and reproach ſo intolerable, and an opinion ſo deſperate and dangerous, and ſo contrary to what your Majeſty and all thoſe of your Council, Nobility, and Clergy, do practiſe, do worthily Merit, *&c. February*, 1608.

Sir Charles Cornwallis *to the Spaniſh King.*

YOur Majeſty to whom God hath given ſo large an Empire, and ſo much exceeding that of other Princes, and whom he hath bleſſed with ſo great an inclination to Piety, Clemency, and other Vertues becoming your Royal Dignity and Perſon, will I know, hold it evil beſeeming ſo rare a greatneſs to come behind any King, how Pious and Vertuous ſoever, either in the obſervance of the Laws of mutual Charity and Friendſhip, or in Love or Zeal to juſtice, which to all Kingdoms and Governments gives the aſſuredſt Foundation, and in defect whereof, by the Spirit of God himſelf Kingdoms are ſaid to be tranſlated from one Nation to another. The firſt King that God gave unto his People, he elected of higher ſtature than the reſt, by the ſhoulders upwards, ſignifying thereby how much Kings are to ſtrive to exceed and excell in the height and meaſure of Vertue and Juſtice; alſo how fit it is for them to over-look with their Authorities and Providences the higheſt Head of their Miniſters, and to obſerve how they guide themſelves.

By the Contents of this Paper incloſed, your Majeſty ſhall perceive the Chriſtian and Kingly Care the King my Maſter hath had, not only of the obſervances of the Articles of Peace, ſince the ſame between your Majeſty's were concluded; but of the punctual accompliſhment of the true Laws of amity and friendſhip, which are more ſurely and expreſſively imprinted in Royal and noble Hearts, than poſſibly they can be written or charactered by any Pen in Paper. In your your Majeſty's Kingdoms (pardon I humbly beſeech you, if I ſpeak plainly) much contrary to that Example, the King my Maſter's Subjects ſuffer all

manner

manner of Spoils, Oppreſſions, and Miſeries, and are (as well I may term them) made a very Prey to the hungry and greedy; your Viceroys and others enter their Ships under cover and colour of Peace and Juſtice; finding them rich, they lay Crimes to their charge, whereof there appears neither Proof nor Probability; yet ſerve their pretences to poſſeſs them of their goods, and to put the poor Merchants to a Demand in Law; wherein, were truth alone the Balance they ſhould be weighed by, (though that form of redneſs were far ſhort of the immediate remedy provided by the King my Sovereign for Your Majeſty's Subjects,) yet were it much more allowable and to be endured; but having here complained two whole years without any courſe at all taken for redreſs, as in the cauſe with the Duke of *Feria* three entire Years, as in that with the Viceroy of *Sardinia* one Year and more, as in that of His Majeſty's Servant *Adrian Thibaut*, taken and ſpoiled by your Majeſty's General *Don Lewis*; as in that of *Eſtry* and *Biſpich*, impriſoned and bereaved of their goods by *Juan de Vendoza Alcalde* of *Madrid*, we are after ſo long a time ſpent in Miſery and Charge countervailing a great part of the Value of the goods taken from us, inforced ſtill to all punctualities and extremities of forms of Law, and to abide the uttermoſt Peril of all advantages that by the Inventions, Wits and Tongues of Lawyers, can be deviſed, to obſcure and hide the Light and Right of Truth. The falſe colour given by every of theſe, and the Barbarous cruelty uſed to the Parties, would require too long and tedious a Declaration. It ſatisfieth that none of their Pretences are proved; nay, which is more, they are ſo falſe and fabulous, as to no indifferent underſtanding they appear ſo much as probable.

My humble Deſire is, Your Majeſty would be pleaſed to paſs your own Royal Eyes upon this Paper; and therefore to affect all poſſible Brevity, I will paſs unto Your Majeſty's other inferior Miniſters of your Ports, of which few there are (thoſe in *Biſcay*, and ſome in *Portugal* onely excepted) where we have not divers Oppreſſions, Impriſonments, and unjuſt Imbargements, in *Sevil* eſpecially; wherof forty ſeveral Suits, and as many falſe Sentences given, raiſed and purſued by a Man now Dead, and therefore in Charity left unnamed. We have hitherto in your Majeſty's Council of War (where before thoſe Noble Lords all paſſed by the equal line of Juſtice) not failed in my remembrance, in the overthrowing of any, ſave one miſtaken that paſſed in a wrong Name, and another concerning Merchandiſe that had their Manufacture in *Embden*, (whereof I ſuppoſe thoſe Lords were not rightly informed,) only excepted. In that Court, I muſt acknowledge, we have had redreſs, but yet with Your Majeſty's favour a miſerable one; our gain being whether we ſhall be owners of our own or not, our Expences and Charges certain, and the time without meaſure large; whereby many have been undone, ſome Dead in Priſon in *England*, for want of what was unjuſtly detained from them here. Yet neither the falſe Judges in *Sevil*, nor Promoters ever chaſtiſed, or for any thing that I yet have underſtood, ſo much as ever reprehended or found fault with.

I haſte to a Concluſion, fearing leſt I ſhould dwell too long on a matter ſo unſavoury and unpleaſing to Your Majeſty's Pitifull Ears and Chriſtian Heart, ſo much of it ſelf diſpoſed to all Clemency and Piety. I will for the next, reſort to the Ships, Cordage, Corn, and other Victuals and Proviſions taken from the King my Sovereign's Subjects for Your Majeſty's own Services, and the relief of the extreme neceſſity in your Gallies, and Garriſons of the Navy, of whom ſome have been enforced for want of Payment of their Moneys to ſend their Ships home unfraighted; a loſs extreme to poor Merchants that live by Trade and Time, to repair to this Court and here remain, ſome of them fourteen Months, and others two years and more, till their very charges had eaten out a great part of what was due unto them, and in the end recover only their own, without any relief or recompence, either for their Expences, Times loſt, or Damages. I will onely inſtance two, becauſe their cauſes are moſt ſtrange and pitifull, and yet unſatisfied; the one named *Thomas Harriſon*, and the other *Richard Morris*. The firſt ſerved Your Majeſty with his Ship, till the ſame with one of his Sons and all his Men, were ſwallowed with the Seas, and hath been here more than four years Suing for his Recompence and Salary, recommended by the King my Sovereign, by Letters from Your Majeſty's Embaſſadours in *England*, and by my ſelf all that long time furthered with my earneſt Sollicitation; which hath begot infinite promiſes, but to this day no manner of Payment or Performance. The other who ſometimes hath been a Man of Wealth and Reputation, and falling into great Poverty, ſerved Your Majeſty with all that in the world he was worth, and all that in value above 6000 Rials. I bluſh I proteſt, to think of it, and my heart is grieved to mention it to ſo great a King, of whoſe Liberality and Magnificence the World taketh ſo much Notice. His Right and his Neceſſity being well known unto your Officers, he hath been more than three years and a half fed with hopes, and put off with Schedules, and ſending from one Port to another for the receipt his Money, till he hath indebted himſelf the moſt part of the ſumm, and at preſent wanteth wherewith both to feed and cover him. Now at laſt, he is promiſed Payment here out of your Royal Cheſts, but after ſo many Ceremonies and Circumſtances to be performed with your Officers in other parts, as God knows hunger may end the poor Man before they begin to ſatisfie him. By all this will plainly appear to Your Majeſty, that Your Majeſty's Subjects are by the favour and Chriſtian Juſtice of the King my Maſter entred into the New Teſtament and Law of Grace, having reſtitution and remedy without the delays of Ceremony and Formality; and we ſtill remain under the old, and tied in all things to the Hand-writing of the Law, to the burthenous circumſtances and intolerable dilatory Formalities of proceeding in

this your Kindom, and what elſe your unpitifull Miniſters will out of uncharitable and unſenſible Minds of other mens harms, charge and impoſe upon us.

Well doth Your Majeſty conceive, that would the King my Maſter wink at the like courſes to be taken by his Subjects and Miniſters with ſuch of yours as they might meet upon the Seas, the *Engliſh* are not of ſo little invention, but they could deviſe as good colours and pretences, nor their Lawyers of ſo ſmall skill, and ſo much conſcience, but they could form and protract Suits, nor the Ships of *England* ſo weakned and leſſened, but they could equal and ſurmount their Loſſes. I have out of mine own humble Affection to Your Majeſty, out of my generall and ever continuing deſire to hold firm the ancient Amity ſo neceſſary for your own Eſtates, and utile for the whole Commonweal of Chriſtendom, out of the force of Duty I owe to my King and Countrey, thus far adventured to unburthen my Soul and Thoughts, not doubting but Your Majeſty's Magnanimous and Chriſtian Heart will be moved as well in Deſire to equal the pious and immutable example of the King my Maſter, as in a juſt Compaſſion of a Nation now confederate with you, and that ſo gladly would entertain any cauſe to love and ſerve you, to give preſent Remedy to thoſe woefull and intolerable Oppreſſions; and that ſince you have confirmed, and conſented by your Articles of Peace of new Orders (which being confirmed by your Oath ſtand now in force of Laws) you would be pleaſed, in like manner, to give them a new form of indilatory Execution, conformable to that of the King my Sovereign, *&c.*

King Charles *to the Earl of* Briſtol.

WE have read your Letter addreſſed to us by *Buckingham*; and We cannot but wonder that you ſhould through forgetfulneſs make ſuch a requeſt to us of Favour, as if you ſtood evenly capable of it; when you know what your behaviour in *Spain* deſerved of Us, which you are to examine by the obſervations we made, and know you well remember, how at our firſt coming into *Spain*, taking upon you to be ſo wiſe as to foreſee our Intentions to change our Religion, you were ſo far from diſſuading us, that you offered your Service and Secrecy to concurr in it, and in many other open Conferences, preſſing to ſhew how convenient it was for us to be a *Roman Catholick*, it being impoſſible, in your Opinion, to doe any great Action otherwiſe; how much Wrong, Diſadvantage, and Diſſervice you did to the Treaty, and to the Right and Intereſt of our dear Brother, and Siſter, and their Children; what Diſadvantage, Inconvenience, and Hazard you intangled us in by your Artifices putting off, and delaying our return home. The great Eſtimation you made of that State, and the vile Price you ſet this Kingdom at, ſtill maintaining that we, under colour of Friendſhip to *Spain*, did what was in our power againſt them, which (you ſaid) they knew very well. And laſt of all, your approving of thoſe Conditions, that our Nephew ſhould be brought up in the Emperour's Court; to which Sir *Walter Aſton* then ſaid, he durſt not give his Conſent for fear of his Head; you replying to him, that without ſome ſuch great Action, neither Marriage nor Peace could be had, *&c.*

Jan. 21. 1625.

King Charles *to the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *in Approbation of the Election.*

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas upon Our Pleaſure intimated unto you by the Biſhop of *Durham* for the choice of your Chancellour, you have with ſuch Duty as We expected highly ſatisfied Us in your Election. We cannot in Our Princely Nature, (who are much poſſeſſed with this Teſtimony of your ready and loyal Affections,) but for ever to let you know, how much you are therein made partakers of Our Royal Approbation; and as We ſhall ever conceive, that an Honour done to a Perſon We favour, is out of a Loyal Reſpect had unto Our Self; and as We ſhall ever juſtifie *Buckingham* worthy of this your Election, ſo ſhall you find the Fruits of it; for We have found him a faithfull Servant to our dear Father of Bleſſed Memory; and Our Self cannot but undertake that he will prove ſuch a one unto you; and will aſſiſt him with a gracious willingneſs, in any thing that may concern the Good of the Univerſity in General, or the particular Merits of any Students there.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Palace of Weſtminſter, *the ſixth of* June, *in the ſecond Year of Our Reign.*

June 6. 1626.

King

King Charles *his Instructions, to the Vice-Chancellour, and Heads of* Cambridge, *for Government*, &c.

CHARLES REX.

FIrſt, that all thoſe Directions and Orders of Our Father of Bleſſed Memory, which at any time were ſent to Our ſaid Univerſity, be duly obſerved and put in execution.

2. Whereas we have been informed, that of late years many Students of that our Univerſity, not regarding their own Birth, Degree, and Quality, have made divers Contracts of Marriage with Women of mean Eſtate, and of no good Fame, in that Town, to their great Diſparagement, the Diſcontent of their Parents and Friends, and the Diſhonour of the Government of that Our Univerſity; We Will, and Command you, that at all Times hereafter, if any Taverner, Inn-holder, or Victualer, or any other Inhabitant of the Town, or within the Juriſdiction of the Univerſity, ſhall keep any Daughter, or other Woman in his Houſe, to whom there ſhall reſort any Scholars of that Univerſity, of what Condition ſo ver, to miſpend their time, or otherwiſe to miſ-behave themſelves in Marriage, without the Conſent of thoſe that have the Guardiance and Tuition of them, that upon Notice thereof, you do preſently convent the ſaid Scholars or Scholar, and the ſaid Woman or Women thus ſuſpected, before you, and upon due Examination, if you find Cauſe therefore, that you command the ſaid Woman or Women, according to the Form of your Charter againſt Women, *de malo ſuſpectas*, to remove out of the Univerſity, and four Miles of the ſame: And if any refuſe preſently to obey your Commands, and to be ordered by you herein, that you then bind them over with Sureties to appear before the Lords of Our Privy Council, to anſwer their Contempt, and ſuch Matters as ſhall be objected againſt them. And if any refuſe preſently to Obey, to impriſon them, till they either remove, or put in ſuch Bonds with Sureties.

3. That you be carefull that all the Statutes of Our Univerſity be duly executed, eſpecially thoſe *de veſtitu Scholarium, & de modeſtia & morum urbanitate.* And whereas we are informed, that Bacheloürs of Law, Phyſick, and Maſters of Arts, and others of higher Degree, pretend they are not ſubject to your Cenſure, if they reſort to ſuch Houſes and Places as are mentioned in the ſaid Statutes, to Eat, Drink, Play, or take Tobacco, to the miſpending of their time, and corrupting of others by their ill Example, and to the Scandalizing of the Government of Our ſaid Univerſity: Our Will and Pleaſure is, by theſe Preſents, That you do alſo command them, and every of them, to forbear coming to any ſuch Houſes, otherwiſe, or at other times, than by the ſaid Statute others of inferiour Order and Degree, are allowed to doe, any Statute or Conceſſion whatſoever to the contrary notwithſtanding. And if any refuſe to obey you herein, that your proceed againſt them as contumacious; and if there be Cauſe, that you alſo ſignifie their Names to Us, or to the Lords of Our Privy Council.

4. That you do ſeverely puniſh all ſuch of your Body, of what Degree or Condition ſoever, as ſhall contemn their Superiours, or miſ-behave themſelves, either in Word or Deed, towards the Vice-Chancellour or Proctors, or any other Officers of Our Univerſity, eſpecially in the executing of their Office.

5. Laſtly, We Will and Command, That a Copy of theſe Our Directions be delivered to the Maſter of every College, and that he cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed to thoſe of his College, and then to be Regiſtred in the Regiſters of their Colleges, and duly obſerved and kept by all Perſons whom they concern.

Examinatur, & concordat cum Originali. Ita atteſtor, Jacobus Fabor, *Regiſtrarius.*

March 4. 1629.

King Charles, *to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.*

WE, being deſirous of nothing more than the advancing of the good Peace and Proſperity of Our People, have given leave to free Debates of higheſt Point of Our Prerogative Royal, which in the Times of Our Predeceſſors, Kings and Queens of this Realm, were ever reſtrained as Matter they would not have diſputed; and in other things We have been willing ſo far to deſcend to the Deſires of Our good Subjects, as might fully ſatisfie all moderate Minds, and free them from all juſt Fears and Jealouſies, which thoſe Meſſages We have ſent unto the Commons Houſe will well demonſtrate to the World; and yet We find it ſtill inſiſted on, That in no Caſe whatſoever, ſhould it never ſo nearly concern Matters of State and Government, We or Our Privy Council have Power to Commit any Man without the Cauſe be ſhewed. The Service it ſelf would be thereby deſtroyed and defeated; and the Cauſe it ſelf muſt be ſuch as may be determined by Our Judges of Our Cauſes at *Weſtminſter*, in a Legal and

and ordinary way of Juſtice; whereas the Cauſe may be ſuch, as theſe Judges have not Capacity of Judicature, nor Rules of Law to direct and guide their Judgments in Caſes of tranſcendent Nature, which happening ſo often, the very intermitting of the conſtant Rules of Government, for ſo many Ages within this Kingdom practiſed, would ſoon diſſolve the very Frame and Foundation of Our Monarchy; wherefore, as to Our Commons, We made fair Propoſitions, which might equally preſerve the juſt Liberties of the Subject: So, my Lords, We have thought good to let you know, that without the overthrow of Our Sovereignty, We cannot ſuffer this Power to be impeached; yet notwithſtanding, to clear Our Conſcience and Intentions, this We Publiſh, that it is not in Our Heart or Will, ever to extend Our Royal Power (lent unto Us from God) beyond the juſt Rule of Moderation, in any thing which ſhall be contrary to Our Laws and Cuſtoms, wherein the Safety of Our People ſhall be Our only Aim. And We do hereby declare Our Royal Pleaſure to be, which (God willing) We will ever conſtantly continue and maintain, that neither We nor Our Privy Council ſhall, or will, at any time hereafter, Commit or Command to Priſon, or otherwiſe reſtrain, the Perſon of any for not lending Money unto Us, or for any other Cauſe which in Our Conſcience doth concern the Publick Good, and Safety of Us and Our People; We will not be drawn to pretend any Cauſe which in Our Conſcience is not, or is not expreſſed, which baſe Thought, We hope no Man can imagine, can fall into Our Royal Breaſt: and that in all Cauſes of this nature which ſhall hereafter happen, We ſhall upon the humble Petition of the Party, or Addreſs of Our Judges unto Us, readily and really expreſs the true Cauſe of their Commitment or Reſtraint, ſo ſoon as with Conveniency and Safety the ſame is fit to be diſcloſed and expreſſed; and that in all Cauſes Criminal, of ordinary Juriſdiction, Our Judges ſhall proceed to the Deliverance and Bailment of the Priſoner, according to the known and ordinary Rules of the Laws of this Land; and according to the Statute of *Magna Charta*, and thoſe other ſix Statutes inſiſted on, which We do take knowledge ſtand in full force, and which We intend not to weaken, or abrogate, againſt the true intent thereof.

This We have thought fit to ſignifie unto you, the rather for the ſhortning of any long Debate upon this Queſtion, the Seaſon of the Year being ſo far advanced; and Our great Occaſions of State, not lending Us many days of long continuance of this Seſſion of Parliament.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Palace at Weſtminſter, *the Twelfth day of* May, *in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.*

CAROLUS REX.

King Charles, *to the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *for a new Election.*

RIght Truſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. As We took in gracious part your due Reſpect, in Electing heretofore for your Chancellour a Man who for his Parts and faithfull Service was moſt dear unto Us: ſo now We are well pleaſed to underſtand, that you are ſenſible of your own and the common loſs, by the bloudy Aſſaſſinate of ſo eminent a Perſon, and that you deſire and expect, for your comfort, an intimation from Us of a capable Subject to ſucceed in his room. This Expreſſion on your Part hath begotten in Us a Royal Affection towards you, and more care for your Good; out of which, We commend unto free Election, of you the Vice-Chancellour and Heads, and of the Maſters Regents, and Non-Regents, (according to Our ancient Cuſtom,) Our Right Truſty and Right Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellour, *Henry* Earl of *Holland*, lately a Member of your own Body, and well known unto you all: whoſe hearty Affection to advance Religion and Learning generally in Our own Kingdoms, and eſpecially in the Fountains, cannot be doubted of. Not that We ſhall ceaſe to be your Chancellour in effect, according to Our Promiſe; but the rather for your Advantage, We adviſe you to the Choice, that you may have a Perſon acceptable unto Us, and daily attending on Our Perſon, to be Our Remembrancer and Sollicitor for you upon all Occaſions. And your general concurring herein ſhall be to Us a Pledge of Our Affections, which We are willing to cheriſh.

Given at Our Court, the 28th *of* Auguſt, *in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.*

CAROLUS REX.

A Commiſſion to divers Lords, &c. for the delivery of Fluſhing, Brill, *&c.*

JAMES by the Grace of God King of *England*, &c. To the Right Reverend Father in God, Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Counſellour *George* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and to Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Counſellour *Tho. Elleſmere*, Lord Chancellour of *England*; and to Our Truſty and Well-beloved Couſins and Counſellours, *Tho.* Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, *Edward*

ward Earl of *Worceſter*, Lord Keeper of Our Privy-Seal; *Lodowick* Duke of *Lenox*, Lord Steward of Our Houſhold; *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Admiral of *England*; *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Chamberlain of Our Houſhold, *Tho.* Earl of *Exeter*, *John* Earl of *Mar*, and *Alexander* Earl of *Dumfermlin*; and to Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Counſellours, *Tho.* Viſcount *Fenton*, *Tho.* Biſhop of *Winton*, *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, Lord Warden of Our Cinque-Ports; *William* Lord *Knowls*, Treaſurer of Our Houſhold; *John* Lord *Stanhop*, and *Tho.* Lord *Banning*; and to Our Right Truſty and Wellbeloved Counſellours, Sir *John Digby* Knight, Our Vice-Chamberlain; Sir *John Herbert* Knight, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, Sir *Fulk Grevil* Knight, Chancellour and Under-Treaſurer of Our Exchequer; Sir *Tho. Parry* Knight, Chancellour of Our Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; Sir *Edward Coke* Knight, Chief Juſtice of Our Bench; and Sir *Julius Cæſar* Knight, Maſter of the Rolls; Greeting.

Whereas the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries have divers times ſollicited Us by their Reſident Embaſſadour, Sir *Noel Carone* Knight, That We would be pleaſed to render into their Hands the Town of *Fluſhing* in *Zealand*, with the Caſtle of *Ramakins*, and of *Brill* in *Holland*, with the Forts and Sconces thereunto belonging, which we hold by way of Caution, until ſuch Summs of Money as they owe unto Us be re-imburſed, upon ſuch reaſonable Conditions, as ſhould be agreed on between Us and them, for the re-imburſing and Repayments of the ſaid Monies: And whereas We have recommended the conſideration of this ſo weighty and important an Affair, to the Judgment and Diſcretion of you the Lords of our Privy-Council, and have received from you after long and mature deliberation and examination of the Circumſtances and Advice; That as the preſent Condition of Our State now ſtandeth, and as the nature of thoſe Towns is merely cautionary, wherein We can challenge no intereſt of Propriety; it would be much better for our Service, upon fair and advantageous Conditions to render them, than longer to hold them at ſo heavy a Charge. Now for as much as, in Our Princely Wiſdom, We have reſolved to yield up Our ſaid Towns, with the ſaid Caſtle and Sconces belonging unto them, upon ſuch Conditions as ſhall be moſt for Our Advantage, as well in Point of Honour as of Profit. Know ye therefore, That We have Aſſigned and Appointed you the ſaid Archbiſhop, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Steward, Lord Admiral, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Exeter*, Earl of *Mar*, Earl of *Dumfermlin*, Viſcount *Fenton*, Lord Biſhop of *Winton*, Lord *Zouch*, Lord *Knowls*, Lord *Stanhop*, Lord *Banning*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *John Herbert*, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Sir *Tho. Lake*, Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Sir *Tho. Parry*, Sir *Edw. Coke*, Sir *Julius Cæſar*, Our Commiſſioners, and do by theſe Preſents give full Power and Authority unto you, or the more part of you, for Us, and in Our Name, to Treat and Conclude with the ſaid Sir *Noel Carone* Knight, Embaſſadour from the States of the United Provinces, being likewiſe for that purpoſe ſufficiently authorized from the ſaid States his Superiours, touching the rendition and yielding up of the ſaid Town of *Fluſhing*, with the Caſtle of *Ramakins* in *Zealand*, and of the Town of *Brill* in *Holland*, with the Forts and Sconces thereto belonging, and of the Artillery and Munition formerly delivered by the States, with the ſame which are now remaining in them, or any of them, and have not been ſpent and conſumed; And for the delivery of them into the Hands of the ſaid States on ſuch Terms as by you ſhall be thought fit for Our moſt Honour and Profit; and for the manner thereof to give Inſtructions to Our ſaid ſeveral Governours of the ſaid Garriſons, according to ſuch your concluſion. And this Our Commiſſion or the Enrollment or Exemplification thereof ſhall be unto you, and every of you, a ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge in that behalf. In Witneſs, *&c.*

Witneſs Our Self at Weſtminſter, *the* 31 *day of* May, *in the* 14th *Year of Our Reign*, &c. *and of* Scotland *the* 49th.

A Commiſſion to Viſcount Liſle, *Governour, to deliver up* Fluſhing, *&c.*

JAMES by the Grace of God, *&c.* To Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Couſin, *Robert* Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, Lord Chamberlain to Our dear Conſort the Queen, and Our Governour of Our Town of *Fluſhing*, and of the Caſtle of *Ramakins*, Greeting. Whereas, We by Our Letters Patents Sealed with Our Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date at *Weſtminſter* the 22d day of *April*, in the fifth Year of Our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, of *Scotland* 40, for the conſideration therein expreſſed, did Make, Ordain, and Conſtitute you the ſaid Viſcount *Liſle*, by the Name of Sir *Robert Sydney* Knight, for Us to be the Governour and Captain of the ſaid Town of *Fluſhing*, and of the Caſtle of *Ramakins* in the *Low-Countries*, and of all the Garriſons and Soldiers that then were, or hereafter ſhould be there placed for Our Service, and guard of the ſaid Town and Caſtle, to Have, Hold Exerciſe and Occupy the Office of the ſaid Governour and Captain of the ſaid Town and Caſtle, by your ſelf, or your ſufficient Deputy or Deputies, to be allowed by Us during Our Pleaſure; giving unto you full Power and Authority, by your ſaid Letters Patents, to take the Oath and Oaths of all Captains and Soldiers then ſerving, or that hereafter ſhould ſerve in the ſame Town

and

and Caſtle, as in like Cauſes was requiſite, with divers other Powers therein mentioned, as by our ſaid Letters Patents at large appeareth. And whereas the States General of the United Provinces of the *Low Countries* have divers and ſundry times for many years together ſollicited us by their Reſident Ambaſſadour, Sir *Noel Carone* Knight, that We would be pleaſed to render into their Hands the ſaid Town of *Fluſhing* in *Zealand*, with the ſaid Caſtle of *Ramakins*, and the Town of *Brill* in *Holland*, with the Forts and Sconces thereunto belonging, which We hold by way of Caution, untill ſuch Summs of Money as they owe unto Us be re-imburſed upon ſuch reaſonable Conditions as ſhould be agreed upon between Us and them, for the re-imburſing and repayment of the ſaid Monies. And whereas thereupon We recommend the conſideration of this ſo weighty and important an Affair to Judgment and Diſcretion of the Lords of the Privy Council, and have received from them (after long and mature deliberation and examination of Circumſtances) an Advice, that as the preſent condition of our State now ſtandeth, and as the nature of thoſe Towns is lying only Cautionary, wherein we can challenge no intereſt of Propriety, it ſhould be much better for our Service, upon fair and advantageous conditions to render them, than longer to hold them at ſo heavy a charge. Now foraſmuch as in our Our Princely Wiſdom We have reſolved to yield up our ſaid Towns, with the ſaid Caſtle and Sconces belonging unto them, upon ſuch conditions as ſhall be moſt fit for our advantage, as well in point of Honour, as in Profit; and to that end, by our Commiſſion under our Great Seal of *England*, have aſſigned and appointed the Lords and others of our Privy Council our Commiſſioners, and thereby give full Power and Authority unto them, or the more part of them, for Us, and in our Name, to treat and conclude with the ſaid Sir *Noel Carone* Knight, Ambaſſadour from the States of the United Provinces, being likewiſe for that purpoſe ſufficiently authorized from the States his Superiors, touching the rendition and yielding up of the ſaid Town of *Fluſhing*, with the Caſtle of *Ramakins* in *Zealand*, and of the ſaid Town of *Brill* in *Holland*, with the Forts and Sconces thereunto belonging, and of the Artillery or Munition formerly delivered by the ſaid States, with the ſame Towns, and Caſtles, and Forts, and which are now remaining in them, or any of them, and have not been ſpent or conſumed. And for the delivery of the ſaid Towns, Caſtle, Forts, Artillery, and Munition, into the Hands of the ſaid States, upon ſuch Terms as by the ſaid Lords, and other of our Privy Council, or the more part of them, ſhall be thought fit for our moſt Honour and Profit, for the manner thereof to give inſtructions to our ſeveral Governours of our ſaid Garriſons according to ſuch their Concluſion, which Concluſion, according to our ſaid Commiſſion, is already made and perfected.

We do therefore hereby give Power and Authority unto, and do Charge and Command you the ſaid Lord *Liſle*, for Us and in Our Name, to render and yield up into the Hands of the ſaid States of the United Provinces, or to ſuch Perſons as ſhall be lawfully deputed by them, the aforeſaid Town of *Fluſhing*, and Caſtle of *Ramakins*, whereof now you have charge by Vertue of our Letters, Patents aforeſaid, together with the Artillery and Munition now remaining in them or any of them, heretofore delivered by the ſaid States with the ſaid Town and Caſtle, and as yet not ſpent or conſumed; obſerving and performing in all points ſuch inſtructions as you ſhall receive under the Hands of the ſaid Lords and others of our Privy Council, or the more part of them, concerning the rendring up and delivery of the ſaid Town. And we do farther give you full Power and Authority, and by theſe Preſents do charge and command you, for Us and in Our Name, to diſcharge and ſet free all the ſub-ordinate Officers, Captains, and Soldiers under your Charge, of that Oath and Truſt which heretofore they have taken, for the keeping and preſerving of that Town and Caſtle to Our Uſe and Service; and for that purpoſe to make ſuch Declaration, Proclamation, and other ſignification of our Royal Pleaſure, Commandment and Ordinance in that behalf, as in your Wiſdom you ſhall think fit; and theſe our Letters Patents, or the Enrolement or Exemplification thereof, ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge in that behalf. In witneſs, *&c.*

Witneſs our ſelf at Weſtminſter, *the* 22d *day of* May, *in the* 14th *Year of our Reign of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *and of* Scotland *the* 49th.

May 22d. *Jac.* 14.

The

The Council of Ireland, *to King* Charles, *in Defence of the Lord Deputy* Faulkland.

May it please Your most excellent Majesty,

WE ſtand ſo bounden to Your Royal Self, and Your moſt bleſſed Father, our late deceaſed Sovereign Lord and Maſter, as we are urged in Duty to proſtrate this Act of our Faith at Your Majeſties Feet, as an Aſſay to clear ſome things, wherein Miſ-information may ſeem to have approached Your high Wiſdom. We underſtand that it is collected out of ſome late Diſpatches from hence, that there are ſuch Diſorders in the Government here, as by the preſent Governors are remedileſs; all which is aſcribed to the Differences between Perſons of chief Place: We do, in all Humility, teſtifie and declare that we have not ſeen or known any Inconvenience to the publick Service, between your Majeſty's Deputy and Chancellor, neither have of late ſeen or heard any Act or Speech of Contention between them. Other difference between Perſons of any eminent Action we underſtand none; neither are any Diſorders here yet ſo overgrown, as to ſurpaſs the Redreſs of the preſent Governour; eſpecially, ſo long as he hath ſuch a ſtanding *Engliſh* Army as Your Majeſty now alloweth; if only we may receive ſome Supply of Arms and Munition, which we have often written for, and do daily expect, and which ſhall be no Loſs to Your Majeſty. It is true, moſt gracious Sovereign, that in ſome late Diſpatches we mentioned three Grievances in this Government, which in extent may threaten much, if we be not timely directed from thence concerning them, *viz.* the Inſolence and Excreſcence of the Popiſh pretended Clergy, the Diſorder and Offence of the Iriſh Regiment, and the late outragious Preſumption of the unſetled Iriſh in ſome Parts; towards all which (being Parties perhaps otherwiſe conceived of there, then underſtood here) Your Deputy and Council have of late uſed particular Abſtinence, holding themſelves ſomewhat limited concerning them, by late Inſtructions, Letters and Directions from thence. And therefore, leſt Countenance of that Courſe might turn to greater Dammage, we make choice ſeaſonably to crave Expreſſion of the good Pleaſure of Your Highneſs, and the moſt Honorable Lords of Your Council, leſt our Actions and Zeal therein might vary from the Purpoſes on that ſide, and ſo wanting of Unanimity in both States, break the Progreſs of the Reformation: Not that we any way make doubt to give Your Majeſty a good Accompt of our ſelves therein, and of the full Eviction of thoſe Evils in due time, ſo we might be aſſured of Your Majeſties and their Lordſhips good Allowance of our Endeavors, being confident in all Humility, to declare and affirm to Your Sacred Majeſty, that the reſt of this great Body (as to the civil Part thereof) is in far better order at this time than ever it was in the Memory of Man; as well in the current and general Execution of Juſtice according to the Laws, in the Freedom of Mens Perſons and Eſtates (the preſent Charge of the Army excepted) and in the univerſal outward Subjection of all ſorts of ſetled Inhabitants to the Crown and Laws of *England*, and alſo in the Advancement of the Crown Revenues; and laſtly, in the competent Number of Biſhops, and other able and learned Miniſters of the Church of *England* of all ſorts, which we eſpecially attribute to the Bleſſedneſs of Your Time, and to the Induſtries, Zeal, Judgment and Moderation of Your Deputy, as well in Your Majeſties Service, as towards this People, having now well learned this great Office; and to the good Beginnings of the two laſt precedent Deputies, under direction of Your moſt Renowned Father.

Secondly, We underſtand that Your Deputy and Council are blamed, for the preſent Surcharge of Your Revenues here, far beyond the Support thereof.

Herein Your Royal Majeſty may be pleaſed to cauſe a Review of our Diſpatch from hence, in *Auguſt*, 1627. wherein it will appear, that their Part in that Offence hath been only Obedience to extraordinary Warrants from thence; and that if thoſe Warrants had not been fully performed out of Your Revenues, You had had about 40000 *l. Iriſh*, to pay Penſioners, in Your Coffers, and anſwer other Neceſſities which have ſince increaſed.

So as we humbly crave Pardon freely to affirm, that the Fault hath not been here; and further alſo to ſay, for Your Majeſties Honour, and our Comfort, that during 200 years laſt paſt, *England* hath never been ſo free of the Charge of *Ireland*, as now it is.

Thirdly, We underſtand, that Your Deputy is accuſed for miſcarriage in the legal Proſecution of *Phelim Mac Frogh*, and others adhering to him in certain treaſonable Acts and Practices. Herein, we moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, that a Review may be of a Declaration ſent from hence about the beginning of Your Deputies Government, ſigned by him, and all the Council then here; whereby will appear, how the Parts of *Lemſter*, at leaſt, have been, from Age to Age, infeſted by him and his Predeceſſors, and the Inhabitants of the Territory of *Ranelagh*, wherein he took upon him a Chiefery; and therein will alſo appear, that it was the ſpecial Affection and Endeavor of ſeveral worthy Deputies here, to have cleared that offenſive Plot, which no wiſe State could ſuffer ſo near the Seat thereof, and that they alſo ſeverally attempted it by force, the ſaid *Phelim*'s Father being ſlain in actual Rebellion by Sir *William Ruſſel*'s Proſecution; but the general Rebellion of the Kingdom always interrupted the Settlement thereof. This being, at that time the Declaration of the

State, moved Your Deputy, being a Stranger, to have a wary Aſpect upon the People, for the common Peace, which he hath carefully performed. Afterwards, at the time when the general Voice was amongſt the *Iriſh*, that the *Spaniards* would be here, Your Deputy had cauſe to examine ſeveral Perſons and Cauſes concerning that Rumor, whereby fell out to be diſcovered to him, among others, that this *Phelim* had confederated for raiſing a Commotion in *Lemſter*, and murthering a *Scotiſh* Miniſter, and Juſtice of Peace (a ready Inſtrument in Crown-Cauſes) inhabiting about the Border of the ſaid Territory: Before which time, we never heard of any Diſpleaſure or hard meaſure born by Your ſaid Deputy to him, or Offence taken by him, at any particular done to him, unleſs he were offended, that Your Deputy refuſed his Money offered to blanch Your Majeſty's Title to the Lands in *Ranelagh*, now granted to Undertakers, diſcovered and proſecuted, at firſt, by his Brother *Redmond*, and his Council *Peter de la Hoyd*: We do alſo herein, in all humility, teſtifie and declare, that he acquainted ſeveral Privy Councellors here, and others of Judgment, with the ſame; and alſo, in every Act and Paſſage thereof, uſed the Labour and Preſence, either of Your Majeſty's Privy Counſellors, Judges, or learned Councel; always profeſſing, publickly and privately (which we alſo in our Conſciences do believe) that he had no particular Envy or Diſpleaſure to *Phelim*'s Perſon, or any of his, neither had any end in what might fall out upon that Diſcovery or Pains, or any Act done concerning that Country, other than the Reducement thereof to the Conformity of other Civil Parts, the common Peace of Your Majeſties good Subjects adjacent, and the legal and plenary effecting of that which by ſo many good Governors, in times of Diſturbance, could not be done, there being no Power in him to make any particular Benefit of the Eſcheat, either in Lands or Goods: and before any thing was to be done for the Tryal of him and the reſt for their Lives, he made a ſpeedy and immediate Addreſs to Your Majeſty, dated the 27*th.* of *Auguſt*, 1628. upon the Indictment found, to inform You of the then preſent Eſtate of that Buſineſs, which we have ſeen, not doing it before (as he affirms) for that he had formerly received gracious Approbations of his Proceedings in the like Diſcoveries.

We alſo, in all Humbleneſs and Duty, do declare and proteſt, That if, upon their evil Demerits, and the due Proceedings of Law, thoſe now queſtioned may be taken away, and the Territory ſetled in legal Government, and *Engliſh* Order towards which a ſtrong Fort is already almoſt built in the midſt of it, by Your Majeſties Undertakers lately planted there: It will be a Service of the greateſt importment to bridle the *Iriſh*, aſſure the Inhabitants of other Parts, and ſtrengthen the general Peace of the Kingdom (next to the great Plantation of *Ulſter*) that hath been done in this Age. If otherwiſe, they ſhall by fair Tryal acquit the Courſe of Your Majeſties free and indifferent Juſtice, it will make them wary in point of Duty and Loyalty hereafter. And we do further, in all Submiſſion, declare, That in theſe Diſcoveries (the Perſons and Cauſes conſidered) it was of neceſſity, that the perſonal Pains of Your Highneſs's Deputy ſhould be beſtowed; the rather, for that the Evidences being to be given, for the moſt part, by Perſons involved in the ſame Confederacies, and who were to become Actors, they would not be drawn to confeſs Truths to any inferiour Miniſters, being of ſtubborn and malign Spirits; beſides the diſſwaſions of Prieſts, and of the Dependents, and manifold Allies of the ſaid *Phelim*, if they had not been warily look'd after.

Laſtly, We, in all Humbleneſs of Heart, and Freedom of faithful Servants, do beſeech your moſt ſacred Majeſty to conſider, how much the Sufferings of Your zealous Servants may prove to Your Diſ-ſervice, eſpecially in this place, where Diſcouragement of Your moſt dextrous Service is moſt aimed at, by multitudes of ſeveral qualities, and cannot but ſoon perplex the preſent happy State of Your Affairs. We beſeech the eternal God to guide and proſper Your Majeſties Advices and Deſigns.

April 28. 1629.

Your moſt Humble and Obedient
Subjects and Servants,

Signed by

L. *Primate.*
V. *Valentia.*
V. *Kilmallock.*
V. *Ranelagh.*
L. *Dillon.*
L. *Cauffeild.*
L. *Aungier.*
L. Pr. of *Munſter.*
L. *Chief Juſtice.*
Sir *Adam Loftus.*
Mr. of the *Wards.*
L. *Chief Baron.*
Sir *Charles Coote.*

A Council-Table Order againſt hearing Maſs at Embaſſadors Houſes.

At *White-Hall* the Tenth of *March*, 1629.

PRESENT,

Lord Keeper.	*Earl of* Suffolk.	*Lord Viſcount* Grandiſon.
Lord Treaſurer.	*Earl of* Dorſet.	*Lord Viſcount* Faulkland.
Lord Preſident.	*Earl of* Salisbury.	*Lord* Savile.
Lord Privy Seal.	*Lord* Wimbleton.	*Lord* Newbergh.
Lord Steward.	*Lord Viſcount* Dorcheſter.	*Mr. Vice-Chamberlain.*
Lord Chamberlain.	*Lord Viſcount* Wentworth.	*Mr. Secretary* Cooke.

AT this Sitting, the Lord Viſcount *Dorcheſter* declared, That his Majeſty being informed of the bold and open Repair made to ſeveral Places, and ſpecially to the Houſes of forreign Embaſſadors, for the hearing of Maſs, which the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom do expreſly forbid his Subjects to frequent; and conſidering in his princely Wiſdom, both the publick Scandals, and dangerous Conſequence thereof, is reſolved to take preſent Order for the ſtopping of this Evil before it ſpread it ſelf any further; and for this purpoſe had commanded him to acquaint the Board with his Pleaſure in that Behalf, and what Courſe he thinketh fit to be held therein; and withal, to demand the Opinion and Advice of their Lordſhips concerning the ſame, his Majeſty being deſirous to uſe the beſt and moſt effectual Expedient that can be found. Hereupon his Lordſhip proceeding, did further declare, That his Majeſty (to ſhew the clearneſs and earneſtneſs of his intention herein) hath begun at his own Houſe, *viz.* Whereſoever the Queens Majeſty hath any Chappel, being intended for the only Service of her, and for thoſe *French* who attend her; for which the Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Chamberlain to her Majeſty, hath been commanded to take ſpecial care, according to ſuch Directions as he hath received from his Majeſty. That for ſo much as concerneth the Repair to the Houſes of forreign Embaſſadors, at the time of Maſs, his Majeſty thinks fit, that ſome Meſſengers of the Chamber, or other Officers, or Perſons fit for that Service, ſhall be appointed to watch all the ſeveral Paſſages to their Houſes, and, without entring into the ſaid Houſes, or infringing the Freedoms and Priviledges belonging unto them, obſerve ſuch Perſons as go thither; but at their coming from thence, they are to apprehend them, and bring them to the Board; and ſuch as they cannot apprehend, to Bring their Names. But to the end that the ſaid forreign Embaſſadors may have no cauſe to complain of this Proceeding, as if there were any intention to wrong or diſreſpect them, his Majeſty doth likewiſe think fit, that for the preventing of any ſuch miſtaking, and ſiniſter Interpretation, the ſaid Embaſſadors ſhall be acquainted with the truth of this buſineſs, and likewiſe aſſured, in his Majeſty's Name, that he is, and will be as careful to conſerve all Priviledges and Rights belonging to the Quality of their Places, as any of his Progenitors have been, and in the ſame manner as himſelf expecteth that their Princes ſhall uſe towards his Embaſſadors.

Laſtly, That it is his Majeſty's expreſs Pleaſure, that the like diligence be uſed for the apprehending of all ſuch as repair to Maſs in Priſons, or other Places.

The Board having heard this Declaration, did unanimouſly conclude, That there could not be taken a more effectual courſe for the preventing of theſe Evils, than this which his Majeſty in his Wiſdom hath ſet down; and therefore did order, that the ſame be immediately put in ſtrict and careful Execution. And it was likewiſe thought fit, that the Lord Viſcount *Dorcheſter*, and Mr. Secretary *Cooke* ſhould be ſent to the forreign Ambaſſadors ſeverally, to acquaint them with his Majeſty's Intention, as is before mentioned; and that the Meſſengers of the Chamber to be employed in the Service before ſpecified, ſhall be appointed, and receive their Charge from the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Biſhop of *London*, and the Secretaries, who are to take a ſpecial care to ſee this put in execution.

March 10. 1629.

The Collections of the Paſſages and Diſcourſes between the Embaſſadors of the King of Spain, *and Sir* Arthur Chicheſter.

Theſe Paſſages were ſent to the Duke, incloſed in the following Letter.

ON Sunday the 18*th.* of this preſent *January*, the two Embaſſadors of *Spain* came to viſit me at my Houſe in *Drury-Lane*: At their firſt entrance they took occaſion to ſpeak of the Profeſſion

of Souldiers, and of the *Spaniſh* Nation, affirming them to be the braveſt Friends, and the braveſt Enemies. I approved it in the Souldier, and contradicted it not in the Nation.

When they were come into an inner Room, looking upon the Company, as if they deſired to be private, I cauſed them to withdraw; but noting that they had brought an Interpreter with them, I prayed Sir *James Blount*, and *Nathanael Tomkins*, Clerk of the Prince's Council, (who doth well underſtand the *Spaniſh* Tongue) to abide with me.

Being private, they ſaid they came to viſit me, becauſe of the good intention and well-wiſhing they underſtood I had to the accommodation of buſineſſes, and becauſe I ſtood named by his Majeſty for the Employment into *Germany*.

I acknowledged their coming to viſit me, as a particular favour, profeſſing my ſelf to be one of thoſe who was able to do leaſt; but that I muſt and would in all things conform my ſelf to the will and good pleaſure of the King my Maſter.

They were pleaſed to remember, and to take for argument of his Majeſty's good opinion of me, to make me one of the *Junto* (as they called it) of the ſelected Councellors, and his employment given me the laſt Year, as his Extraordinary Embaſſador into *Germany*.

I told them, I had been bred a Souldier, as their Excellencies had been, but that I wanted the capacity and abilities which they had; and that for want of Language (not affecting to ſpeak by an Interpreter) I had forborn to wait on their Excellencies, as otherwiſe I would have done.

To that, they returned the like Complement; and then ſaid, Their Maſter had ſent a good anſwer touching the *Palatinate*; and they aſſured me, that he would perform what he had promiſed, with advantage.

I ſaid, If it were ſo, I then hoped all things would ſort to a good end.

They then asked me, How his Majeſty and the Lords were affected? and whether therewith they were ſatisfied, or no?

I anſwered, That I conceived, their Excellencies knew His Majeſty's Mind as well as the Lords, for that they had ſo lately Audience of him.

They ſaid, It was true, they had ſo; but not a private Audience; nor could they obtain any, tho' they had much deſired the ſame, but that others were ſtill preſent.

I ſaid merrily, That they were two; and I believed that the King their Maſter had ſent as able and experienced Miniſters as he had any; and therefore his Majeſty might, peradventure, think fit not to hear them alone.

They ſaid, His Majeſty might alone hear a thouſand Miniſters of any Kings; but if he ſhould be otherwiſe pleaſed, they well liked of the Prince's being preſent: But they ſaid, there were alſo other great Miniſters of the King's, who wiſhed not well to their Maſter's Affairs.

I ſaid, There might therein be a miſtaking, or miſ-underſtanding on their part: for if the King their Maſter mean ſo really as they ſaid, I conceived, that no body would be willing to remove his Majeſty from thoſe purpoſes, and that good affection which he bore unto his dear Brother, the King of *Spain*.

The Marqueſs ſaid, in *Engliſh*, The King was a good King, and the Prince a good Prince; but ſome of their Miniſters, they doubted, were ill-willers to them.

I asked, if greater demonſtrations of reality could be deviſed, than had been given on the part of the King and Prince? inſtancing in the Prince his going in Perſon into *Spain*.

They confeſſed it; but as the Times now were, they ſaid, ill Offices were done them.

I aſſured them, That I neither knew, nor underſtood of any; neither did I ever hear them ſpoken of, but with due reſpect had unto them, as to the Miniſters of a great King, and his Majeſty's dear Brother.

They ſaid, Their meaning was not, that the ill Offices were done to their Perſons, but to the great Buſineſſes, which a certain Perſon had ſhewed a willingneſs to diſturb; but they hoped, that the intended amity between our Maſters would hold, and proceed nevertheleſs.

I profeſſed, that I knew nothing to the contrary, neither underſtood I the particular at which they aimed.

The Marqueſs ſwore, As he was a Chriſtian, he knew that the King his Maſter did ſo truly and really eſteem his dear Brother the King of *England*, and the Prince of *Wales*, that if they needed part of his Blood, they ſhould have it for their good: But he complained, that they could not have their Meſſages delivered, nor returned from the King, of late, but qualified according to the pleaſures of others.

I ſaid, they miſ-conceived it; for I thought they had no cauſe to complain, ſeeing they now had, or might have (as I ſuppoſed) the King's Ear, when they craved it in due and befitting times.

They ſeemed to deny it, alledging, That they could not get their Meſſages and Papers anſwered, as aforetime.

I ſaid, When the Prince was in *Spain*, they had free acceſs to his Majeſty, whenſoever they deſired it.

Yea, ſaid the Marqueſs in *Latin*, *Tunc*; but now, he ſaid, the caſe was altered.

I ſaid,

I ſaid, The King had given many teſtimonies to the World, of his willingneſs to comply with their Maſter, and them: And if either His Majeſty, or the Prince, ſeemed now more reſerved and deliberate in their Actions than heretofore, it might be, that his Highneſs had learned that wary and circumſpect proceeding in *Spain*, where they are ſaid to uſe it in matters of far leſs moment.

They ſmiled hereat, and prayed me to continue my good intentions and reſpects towards them, and to the joynt Affairs of both our Maſters.

I ſaid, I would always ſerve the King my Maſter with a true and faithful heart; and ſo far as ſhould be agreeable to his deſires, and good-liking, I would, to my ſmall power, be ready to ſerve them.

In concluſion, they ſaid, They came to viſit me; but being come, they could not chooſe but ſay ſomething, and touch upon buſineſs.

January 18. 1623. *Arthur Chicheſter.*

Sir Arthur Chicheſter, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

WHen you went laſt from *White-Hall*, I waited on the Prince and you into the Gallery, where your Lordſhip ſpake ſomething unto me which I underſtood not, to wit, *Are you turned too?* As I knew not the ground of the Demand, I could make no preſent anſwer; nor now, but by conjecture. When I turn from the Prince, (whom I know to be the worthieſt of Princes,) or from you, (who by your favours have ſo bound me to ſerve you,) or from the truth, (as I conceive it,) God, I know, will turn from me: until then, I humbly pray your Lordſhip to believe, that I am your honeſt ſervant.

The Sunday after your Lordſhips departure, the Embaſſadors of the King of *Spain* came unto me, under the pretext of a viſit. I have herewith ſent your Grace a brief of what paſſed between us. I judge ſome man hath done me an ill office, by inſinuating me into their good opinions of me; ſure I am, I never ſpake of them, nor of the affairs they have to manage, but what I have ſaid, when the ſelected Council were aſſembled. I cannot be ſo dull, but to know that they meant your Grace to be the Interpoſer of their Deſires, and the Man whom they wiſhed to be abſent when they have their private audience. They are exceeding Cautelous; and I conceive the late Diſpatch from *Spain* is like a gilded bait, to allure and deceive; your Lordſhip, perceiving their Malice, will be wary to avoid their Venom. I am

Your Grace's humble, and faithful Servant,

25. Jan. 1623. Arthur Chicheſter.

The Earl of Carliſle, *to his Majeſty.*

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

THough my preſent indiſpoſition deprives me of the honour to attend your Majeſty, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, with whom your Majeſty was pleaſed to aſſociate me; yet I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to give me leave, in all Humility, to repreſent unto your Majeſty what my heart conceiveth to be moſt for your Majeſty's Service, in the preſent Conjuncture of your Affairs. During this time of my Diſtemper, I have been viſited by divers Gentlemen of Quality, who are Parliament-men, none of thoſe popular and plauſible Orators, but ſolid and judicious good Patriots, who fear God, and honour the King. Out of their Diſcourſes, I collect, That there are three things, which do chiefly trouble your People.

The firſt, That for the Subſidies granted, the two laſt Parliaments, they have received no retribution by any Bills of Grace.

The ſecond, That ſome of the Burgeſſes were proceeded againſt, after the Parliament were diſſolved.

And the third, That they miſ-doubt, that when they ſhall have ſatisfied your Majeſty's demands and deſires, you will nevertheleſs proceed to the concluſion of the *Spaniſh* Match. It would be too much importunity to trouble your Majeſty with the ſeveral Anſwers which I made on their Objections, and would be too great preſumption in me to adviſe your Majeſty's incomparable Wiſdom what ſhould be fitteſt to be done for your Majeſty's Honour, and the Contentment of the People; yet if it would pleaſe my Lord the King to give his humbleſt Creature leave to give vent to the Loyal Fervour of his Heart, reſtleſs, and indefatigable in continual Meditation of his Gracious Maſters

ſter's Honour and Service, I would thus with all humble Submiſſion, explain my ſelf: That there is nothing which either the Enemies of this State, or the perverſe Induſtry of falſe-hearted Servants, could invent more miſchievous, than the Miſ-underſtandings which have grown between your Majeſty and your People: nothing that will more diſhearten the envious Maligners of your Majeſty's Felicity, and encourage your true-hearted Friends and Servants, than the removing of thoſe falſe Fears and Jealouſies, which are meer imaginary Phantaſms, and bodies of Air eaſily diſſipated, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Sun of your Majeſty to ſhew it ſelf clearly in its native Brightneſs, Luſtre, and Goodneſs.

God and the World do know the ſcope and the end of all your Majeſty's pious Affections and Endeavours, to have been no other, than the ſettling of an Univerſal Peace in Chriſtendom; (a Felicity only proper for your Majeſty's time, and only poſſible to be procured by your incomparable Goodneſs and Wiſdom) but ſince the Malice of the Devil, and deceitful Men, have croſſed thoſe fair ways wherein your Majeſty was proceeding, abuſing your Truſt and Goodneſs (as Innocency and Goodneſs are always more eaſily betrayed than Wilineſs and Malice) you muſt now caſt about again, and ſail by another point of the Compaſs; and I am confident your Majeſty will more ſecurely and eaſily attain your noble and pious End, though the way be different. The means are briefly theſe three.

1. Let your Majeſty's Enemies ſee that the Lion hath Teeth and Claws.

2. Next, embrace and invite a ſtrict and ſincere Friendſhip and Aſſociation with thoſe whom Neighbourhood and Alliance, and Common Intereſt of State and Religion, have joyned unto you.

3. And laſt of all, caſt off, and remove Jealouſies, which are between your Majeſty and your People.

Your Majeſty muſt begin with the laſt, for upon that foundation you may afterwards ſet what frame of building you pleaſe. And when ſhould you begin (Sir) but at this overture of your Parliament, by a gracious, clear, and confident diſcovery of your Intentions to your People? Fear them not (Sir) never was there a better King, that had better Subjects, if your Majeſty would truſt them. Let them but ſee that you love them, and conſtantly rely upon their humble Advice and ready Aſſiſtance, and your Majeſty will ſee, how they will tear open their Breaſts to give you their Hearts; and having them, your Majeſty is ſure of their Hands and Purſes. Caſt but away ſome Crums of your Crown amongſt them, and your Majeſty will ſee thoſe Crums will make a Miracle, they will ſatisfie many Thouſands. Give them aſſurance that your heart was always at home, though your eyes were abroad; invite them to look forward, and not backward, and conſtantly maintain that with Confidence you undertake, and your Majeſty will find admirable effects of this harmonious Concord. Your Majeſty as the head directing, and your People as the hands and feet obeying and co-operating for the Honour, Safety and Welfare of the body of the State. This will revive and re-unite your Friends abroad, and diſmay, and diſappoint the hopes of your Enemies, ſecure your Majeſty's Perſon, aſſure your Eſtate, and make your Memory glorious to Poſterity.

Pardon, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, this licentious Freedom, which the Zeal of your Safety and Service hath extorted from a Tongue-tyed Man, who putteth his Heart into his Majeſty's hand, and humbly proſtrateth himſelf at your Royal feet, as being

Your Majeſties moſt humble, moſt obedient, obliged Creature, Subject and Servant,
Carliſle.

Feb. 14. 1623.

The Earl of Carliſle, *to the Duke.*

My moſt Noble dear Lord,

SInce my laſt to your Lordſhip by Mr. *Endimion Porter*, there hath not happened any matter of great moment or alteration here, ſaving the Reſolution (which his Majeſty hath taken by the Advice of his Council) for the diſarming of all the Popiſh Lords. In the execution whereof there fell out a brabble at the Lord *Vaux* his Houſe in *Northamptonſhire*, wherein there were ſome blows exchanged between the ſaid Lord and Mr. *Knightly*, a Juſtice of the Peace, who aſſiſted the Deputy-Lieutenant in that Action. Whereof complaint being made, his Majeſty was pleaſed himſelf in Council to have the hearing of the buſineſs; and upon examination to refer the Judgment thereof to the Star-Chamber the next Term. But at the iſſuing out of the Council-Chamber, the Lord *Vaux* taking occaſion to ſpeak to Sir *William Spencer* (who with the reſt had given Information in favour of Mr. *Knightly*) told him, that though he neglected his Reputation before the Lords, yet he doubted not, but he would have more care of his Oath when the Buſineſs ſhould come to Examination in the Star-Chamber. Herewith Sir *William Spencer* finding his Reputation challenged, preſently complained and thereupon the words being acknowledged, the Lord *Vaux* was committed Priſoner to the *Fleet*.

In

In the diſarming of the Lords-Recuſants, there was as much reſpect had of ſome, who have Relation to your Lordſhip, as you your ſelf would deſire.

The Papiſts in general here do give ſome cauſe of jealouſie by their Combinations and Murmurings, wherein it is ſuſpected, that they are as fondly, as buſily encouraged by the pragmatical *Monſieurs*. But his Majeſties Temper and Wiſdom will be ſufficient to prevent all inconveniency, which their Folly or Paſſion may contrive. There is one Sir *Thomas Gerrard* a Recuſant brought up hither out of *Lancaſhire*, being accuſed of ſome Treacherous Deſign againſt his Majeſties Perſon. *Rochel* is ſo ſtreightly blocked up by Sea and Land, as no Intelligence can be ſent into the Town. We have not as yet any clear Categorical Anſwers touching the Reſtitution of our Ships. As ſoon as any thing more worthy of your Lordſhips Knowledge ſhall occur, you ſhall not fail to be advertiſed from him that is eternally vowed,

Your Graces moſt faithful Friend and moſt humble Servant,

Novemb 20, 1625. Carliſle.

The Earl of Carliſle, *to the Duke.*

My moſt Noble dear Lord,

I Muſt ever acknowledge my ſelf infinitely obliged to your Lordſhip for many Noble Favours; but for none more then the Freedom and true cordial Friendſhip expreſſed in your laſt Letter, touching my Son; And I ſhall humbly beſeech your Lordſhip, in all occaſions, to continue that free and friendly manner of proceeding, which I ſhall ever juſtly eſteem as the moſt real teſtimony of your favour towards me. Your Lordſhip will now be pleaſed to give me leave with the ſame freedom and ſincerity to give your Lordſhip an account, that it is now four Months ſince the Count of *Manſfelt* made the Propoſition to me, to nominate my Son to be one of his Colonels, as he did likewiſe to my Lord of *Holland*, for his Brother Sir *Charles Rich*; which at the firſt (I muſt deal plainly with your Lordſhip) I took for a piece of Art, as if he knowing, that next to the benefit and aſſiſtance he received from your Lordſhips Favour and Protection, we were the moſt active Inſtruments imployed in this buſineſs, and therefore he ſought to ingage us ſo much the farther by this Intereſt. But afterwards I found, that under the ſhadow of this Complement put upon me, he had a deſire to gratifie Sir *James Ramſey*, whom he deſigned to be my Sons Lieutenant, having regard to his former Deſerts, and the Courage and Sufficiency he hath found in him. I profeſs unto your Lordſhip ſincerely, that he received no other Encouragement or Acceptance from me, then a bare Negative; Inſomuch as he afterwards ſent a Gentleman to tell me, That he perceived whatſoever he ſhould expect from me in the furtherance of his buſineſs, muſt be only for the reſpect I bear to my Maſters Service, and nothing for love of his Perſon, ſince I accepted not the profer of his Service. My Lord of *Holland* can juſtifie the truth of this affertion, who alone was acquainted with that which paſſed: for I proteſt, upon my Salvation, that I neither ſpake of it to any Creature living, not ſo much as to my Son, neither have I written one word thereof to the Count *Manſfelt*, neither knew I any thing of his proceedings, till by the laſt Currier Mr. Secretary was pleaſed to acquaint me with the nomination of my Son. If I had ſeriouſly intended any ſuch thing, I want not ſo much judgment and diſcretion, as not firſt to diſcover my deſire to my gracious Maſter, humbly craving his leave and allowance: And I ſhould not have failed to have recourſe to your Lordſhips favourable aſſiſtance therein. And thus (my Noble Lord) have I given you an account what entertainment I gave to the Count *Manſfelt*'s Complement. And I will be bold alſo to give your Lordſhip this further aſſurance, that no particular intereſt, or conſideration of mine own, ſhall have power to alter my conſtant courſe of ſerving my gracious Maſter faithfully and induſtriouſly. And ſo humbly ſubmitting all to his Majeſties good Pleaſure and your Lordſhips Wiſdom, I remain eternally,

Your Graces moſt faithful Friend and humble Servant,

Carliſle.

Poſt-ſcript.

I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhip that this unfortunate Complement put upon my Son may be no prejudice to the deſerts of Sir *James Ramſey*.

Mr. Edward Clark, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Have been hitherto very unfit (by reaſon of my ſickneſs) to give your Lordſhip any account of my time at *Madrid*. So that without your Lordſhips favourable Conſtruction, I may be thought forgetful

getful of the Truſt committed to my charge; and the rather, in that as yet your Lordſhip hath only heard what I have done, but not why. I preſume I have faithfully followed the Princes direction and on ſuch probable inducements, as will, I hope, both in his Highneſſes and your Lordſhips Opinion, plead my excuſe at leaſt. The very day the Prince arrived at St. *Andera*, my Lord of *Briſtol*, ſeeing me very weak, told me he was very ſorry I was not able to perform my Journey for *England*; for that now there was an extraordinary occaſion of a diſpatch, not only in reſpect of the Ratification come the Night before; but becauſe alſo they were almoſt come to a final concluſion of all Articles, which were to be Engroſſed and Signed the next day. Hereupon I was inquiſitive to know what aſſurance he had the Ratification was come: He anſwered, that, that very day he had been ſummoned to attend the *Junto*, and that there they had earneſtly preſſed him, that the Articles might be ſpeedily draw up and ſigned, ſince they had now received full Warrant to Authorize them to proceed; And that the next day was appointed accordingly. Thereupon unwilling to omit the preſent opportunity, conceiving withal the purpoſe of the Princes Letter to be, either to expreſs his Highneſs further pleaſure before the meeting of the *Junto*, or to prevent the concluding of ſome other particular Article they might otherwiſe fall upon: I delivered his Letter to his Lordſhip (pretending it came to my hands amongſt other Letters that ſame day) I found them exceedingly troubled in reading it; nor did he forbear to tell me, it muſt for a time be concealed; for he feared, if they ſhould come to the knowledge of it they would give order to ſtay the Prince. Upon theſe motives, and in this manner, I parted with it; wherein I humbly ſubmitting my ſelf to his Highneſs's Conſtruction, I remain

Your Graces humbleſt Servant to Command,
Edw. Clark.

Madrid, Octob. 1. 1623.

Mr. Edward Clark, *to the Duke.*

My Lord,

THE Infanta's preparation for the *Depoſorios* was great, but greater ſorrow (good Lady) to ſee it deferred. It hath bred in them all ſome diſtraction. The multitude know not what to conjecture, what to ſay, but cry *Pidenel Palatinato*. They confeſs the demand juſt, but unſeaſonable, and do publiſh, that (the *Depoſorios* paſt) the Infanta on her Knees ſhould have been a ſuitor to the King to reſtore it, making it thereby her act, and drawing the obligation wholly to her. I muſt confeſs, I want faith to believe it, and the rather, becauſe I ſee it reflect ſecretly, and maliciouſly upon your Lordſhip, who are made the Author of all the impediments that happen, not by your Enemies only, but by thoſe that ſhould ſuppreſs it. Which troubles me ſo much, that I haſten all I can my return; ſince I know no other then to be,

Your Graces faithful ſervant,
Edw. Clark.

Madrid, 6. September. 1623.

The Lord Coke *to King* James, *touching Tryal of Duels out of* England.

May it pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Have received a Commandment by Mr. Sollicitor, from Your Majeſty, conſiſting upon two parts; Firſt, to anſwer whether I informed not Your Majeſty, that if two of Your Subjects ſhould go over Beyond-Sea to Fight in a Foreign Kingdom, and there in Fight the one killeth the other, that in this caſe, the ſame might be puniſhed by appeal before the Conſtable and Marſhal of *England*; Secondly, if I made any ſuch information, what Authority and Reaſon I had to maintain it.

To the firſt, the truth is, that I did inform Your Majeſty ſo; and I well remember I ſaid then that it was *Dowties* caſe, Your Majeſty then ſpeaking of Duels.

To the ſecond, this is by Authority of An Act of Parliament, made in the Firſt Year of King *Henry* the Fourth, in the 14*th* Chapter, in theſe words.

For many inconveniencies and miſchiefs that have oftentimes happened by many appeals made within the Realm before this time; it is Ordained and Eſtabliſhed from henceforth, that all appeals to be made of things done within the Realm ſhall be tryed and determined by the Good Laws of this Realm, made and uſed in the time of the Kings noble Progenitors; and that all appeals to be made of things done out of the Realm, ſhall be tryed before the Conſtable and Marſhal of *England* for the time being; and that no appeals be from henceforth made, or in any wiſe purſued in Parliament, in any time to come.

Note before this Statute criminal Cauſes were often adjudged in Parliament.

In

In the late Queens time a Caſe fell out upon this Statute; Sir *Francis Drake* having put *Dowtie* to death beyond-Sea, the Brother and Heir of *Dowtie* ſued by Petition to the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to appoint a Conſtable *hac vice*, to the end he might have an appeal againſt Sir *Francis Drake* for the death of his Brother. This Petition the Queen referred to Sir *Thomas Bromley*, and the two Chief Juſtices, and others; and it was reſolved by them (which I being of Council with *Dowtie*, ſet down briefly for my learning) that if two *Engliſh* Men go beyond the Sea, and in Combat the one killeth the other, this offence may be determined before the Conſtable and Marſhal of *England*, and ſo was the Statute of 1 *Hen.* 4. to be intended.

But after upon the true circumſtance of the Caſe, the Queen would not conſtitute a Conſtable of *England*, without whom no proceeding could be.

And I take this reſolution to be well warranted by the Statute; and no ſmall inconvenience ſhould follow, and a great defect ſhould be in the Law, if ſuch bloody offences ſhould not be puniſhed, and Your Majeſty ſhould loſe a Flower of Your Crown, in loſing this Power to puniſh theſe growing and dangerous Offences. I ſhewed to Mr. Sollicitor my report and memorial of *Dowties* Caſe, and I ſhall ever remain,

Your Majeſties Loyal and Faithful Subject,
Edw. Coke.

Febr. 19. 1616.
To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty.

Sir Francis Cottington, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Honour,

MY laſt unto you was of the 23 of *September* by Mr. *Berrie*, who that day departed from hence towards *England*, with intention to take paſſage by Sea from St. *Sebaſtins*: and although I conceive, that this conveyance will be much ſpeedier (it being by an extraordinary diſpatched for *Flanders*) yet for that I hold the other to be ſure, I will not forbear to trouble your Honour with any repetition of that diſpatch.

The ſtrength and boldneſs of the Pyrats (or rather of the *Turks*) is now grown to that height, both in the Ocean, and *Mediterranean* Sea's, as I have never known any thing to have wrought a greater ſadneſs and diſtraction in the Court, then the daily Advice thereof. Their whole Fleet conſiſts of 40 Sail of Tall Ships, of between 200 and 400 Tuns a piece; Their Admiral of 500 Tuns. They are divided into 2 Squadrons, the one of 18 Sail, remaining before *Malaga* (in ſight of the City) the other about the *Cape* St. *Mary*, which is between *Lisbone* and *Sevil*. That Squadron within the *Streights* entred the road of *Moſtil* (a Town by *Malaga*) where with their Ordnance they beat down a part of the Caſtle, and had doubtleſs taken the Town, but that from *Granado* there came Souldiers to Succour it; yet they took there divers Ships, and among them 3 or 4 of the *Weſt-part* of *England*. Two bigg *Engliſh* Ships they drove on Shoar, not paſt four Leagues from *Malaga*; and after they went on Shoar alſo and burnt them, and to this day they remain before *Malaga*, intercepting all Ships that paſs that Way, and abſolutely Prohibiting all Trade into thoſe Parts of *Spain*. The other Squadron, at the *Cape* St. *Mary*, doth there the like, intercepting all Shipping whatſoever. They latley met with Seven Sail of *Engliſh* Ships (all of *London*, as I take it) but Loaden only with Pipe-ſtaves, which they had taken on the Coaſt of *Ireland* by the way. Five of theſe, *viz.* the *Mary Anne*, the *Mary* and *John*, the *Rebecca*, and *Gibbs* of *Sandwich*, and one *John Cheyney* of *London* they took, and the other two eſcaped. They rob'd them only of their Victuals, their Ordnance and ſome Sails, and ſo let them go; but in their Company was alſo taken a great Ship of *Lubeck*, ſaid to be very Rich, which they ſtill keep with all the Men. They have few or no Chriſtians aboard them. But all either *Turks* or *Moores* and the moſt part are of thoſe which of late Years are turned out of *Spain* for *Moriſcos*. They attend (as it ſeems) and as themſelves report to them that have been aboard them, the coming of the *Weſt-Indian* Fleet, which is now very near. But from hence they have commanded the *Armado* (which was divided into three Squadrons) to be joyned together, and Advice is brought that it is ſo, and now conſiſts of 20 ſtrong Ships; *Don John Faxardo* (the General) hath alſo expreſs Order to Fight with the Pyrats, not admitting any excuſe whatſoever; but the Common Opinion is here, that we will be able to do them little harm, becauſe his Ships are of great Burthen, and they will be able to go from him at their pleaſure. And the other Squadron within the *Streights* will always be able to ſecure their retreat thither. I doubt not but, in my next diſpatch, I ſhall be able to tell your Honour what *Don John Faxardo* either hath or will do to them. If this Year they ſafely return to *Argier* (eſpecially if they ſhould take any of the Fleet) it is much to be feared that the King of *Spains* Forces by Sea will not be ſufficient to reſtrain them hereafter, ſo much ſweetneſs they find by making Prize of all Chriſtians whatſoever. The Secretary of the Council of War hath hereupon Diſcourſed much unto me, and by him I perceive, that

here is an intention, to move his Majeſty (the King our Maſter) that he will be pleaſed to joyn ſome of his Sea-forces (upon good Terms) with this King, for the ſuppreſſing of theſe Pyrats, if they ſhould hereafter grow, and increaſe as hitherto they have done. Seeing they now profeſs themſelves the Common Enemies of Chriſtendom. Many Reaſons he gave me, that he thought might move his Majeſty thereunto; but that whereon, I for my part, moſt reflect, is, that theſe courſes of the Pyrats do but exerciſe the Forces of the King of *Spain* by Sea, and put an obligation on him by all means to ſtrengthen, and increaſe his *Armado*, and keep in Practice his Sea-ſouldiers, without doing him any great harm, for that the greateſt damage will always fall upon the Merchants that Trade into thoſe Parts (of which the *Engliſh* will ever be the greateſt number, and the greateſt loſers) And as for the taking of his Fleet, it is not to be imagined, for that beſides, they come very ſtrong (conſiſting of 50 great Ships, of which Eight are Gallions of War) they ſhall always be met, and guarded by the *Armado*. Your Honour may be pleaſed to acquaint his Majeſty with what I here write; for I perceive it is expected, that I ſhould advertiſe what the Secretary had diſcourſed to me, which I would have done more at large; but I am ſtreightned with want of time. Yet I may not forbear to advertiſe your Honour, that the ſaid Secretary told me withal, that the laſt Year the States deſired leave of this King, that certain Ships of War (which they armed againſt Pyrats) might have ſafe recourſe into theſe Parts, which was accordingly granted them; but that inſtead of offending the Pyrats, the ſame Ships ſold in *Argeir* as much Powder, and other warlike Proviſion (eſpecially Powder) unto the *Turks*, as furniſhed the foreſaid Fleet which they have now at Sea, a thing which is here very ill taken. I doubt not but from *Piedmont* your Honour hath better Advertiſement (he ſays, at leaſt ſpeedier) then I can give you from hence; yet have I thought it fit to Advertiſe you, that in a late Ambuſh, which the Duke of *Savoy* had laid, at *Don Pedro de Tolledo's* entrance into *Piedmont*, the *Maeſtro de Campo* of the *Spaniſh* Army was ſlain; the Son of the Prince of *Aſſoli* was hurt: ſo was the Prince of *Morveles* (who ſerves this King there) and many other Captains, and Gentlemen of note, ſlain and hurt. They here ſay, that the Number of Men *Don Pedro* loſt were but few; but their cuſtom is to diſſemble their loſſes; howſoever, it is to be conceived, that when ſo many principal Men were touched, the common Souldiers could not well eſcape.

At *Lisbone* there are arrived two Caracks, and a Gallion, from the *East-Indies*, the Caracks very rich, and much richer then in former Years; but (as in a former Letter I advertiſed you) two others as rich as they, and that ſhould have come in company with theſe, were caſt away coming home.

Don Roderigo Calderon (now the Marqueſs *de Las Siete Igleſias*) is ſuddenly commanded from this Court, and confined to a ſmall Village, and Judges are appointed to examine by what means he is ſo ſuddenly grown to ſo great an Eſtate (which in my time is riſen from nothing to above 60000 Duckets a Year Rent, beſides an infinite Treaſure in moveables) and doubtleſs ſome heavy Sentence will fall upon him, for he hath many Enemies and I underſtand that the Duke of *Lerma* hath much withdrawn his Favour.

New Supplies of Souldiers are here raiſed for the Governour of *Millian*, and 30 Companies are ready to be Embarked at *Valentia*, where the Gallies attend them.

Here is lately come hither one who calls himſelf Sir *James Mackonel* a *Scotch-man*, and ſays he is Couſin *German* to the Earl of *Arguile*: I have not ſeen him, but I hear he Diſcourſes of his breaking out of the Caſtle of *Edenborough*, of the unjuſtneſs of his Impriſonment there, of his integrity in the Popes Religion, and ſo deſires to be entertained into this Kings Service; which doubtleſs he ſhall obtain, if he can make it here be believed, that he hath a true Fugitives heart.

My Lord *Roſs* is now much hearkned after, and they think he ſtays very long. By the ordinary (God willing) I ſhall write again to your Honour. And ſo, for this time, I humbly take my leave:

Your Lordſhips
to be Commanded.
Fran. Cottington.

Madrid, the firſt of
Octob. 1616. *Stil Vet.*

Sir George Cary, *to the Marqueſs of* Buckingham.

Your Lordſhip,

WIll be ſatisfied, before this of mine will have the happineſs to kiſs your Noble hands, that the great Myſtery of iniquity, in the Star-chamber, is now revealed, and as many as could be diſcerned to have the mark of the beaſt upon them have undergone their cenſure. Some, I muſt confeſs, and great Fiſhes too, have broken out of the Net. But that eſcape muſt be objected to the errors of ſome of the purſuers, whoſe courſes in ſome things were not enough direct to warrant what otherwiſe might have been done. And your Lordſhip, who are a good Wood-

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man, well knows, unleſs the Wind-lace be well carried, the Bows which ſtand up can never ſhoot.

Notwithſtanding all the defaults of the meaner Agents, the Court maintaining the Honour of their own uprightneſs and integrity, hath, with moderation too (yet ſuch as leaves Subject to his Majeſties mercy to Work upon ſome particulars) raiſed in Fine ſome 130000 *l.* or thereabouts. If no Errors had been committed (whereupon thoſe Defendants, which eſcaped, took Advantage to be ſafe) by this which is done, you may imagine what it would have amounted to. For my part, I rejoyce to conceive, how with the ſhorteſt of the days, we are at the worſt of our Eſtate, hoping by this means, with the return of the Sun, to ſee ſome ſuch return of the Money, (the Riches of his Majeſties Treaſury, and Blood of the Common-wealth) as that the Exchequer may flow, and the Veins of the State may fill again, and both, with the Spring, renew their Strength, Luſtre and Complexion. I have now ſtayed here ſo long attending this buſineſs, that I hold it too late to wait upon you at *Newmarket*. That gives me cauſe to crave your Pardon for this preſuming imperfect Accompt of this days action, and withal to deſire the aſſurance, that I live in your Eſtimation the ſame I will ever be.

Decemb. 8. 1619.

Your Lordſhips
Moſt ſincerely Honeſt and humble Servant,
G. Cary.

Don Carlos, *to the Lord* Conway.

Sir,

I Have underſtood by Mr. *Strada*, with particular Contentment, the News of your good Health, which God continue for many years. I ſee by yours, received by *Strada*, what his Majeſty hath been pleaſed to order concerning the Ships of the *Indies*, which is as much in effect as could be hoped for from ſo great a King, ſo zealous of Juſtice and Equity.

In the Conduct of this Buſineſs, we will obſerve the Order given by his Majeſty, in confidence that the Subjects of the King my Maſter ſhall obtain their Ends, and his Catholick Majeſty receive the Contentment to know, that the Exceſſes of thoſe that ſhall be convinced have been puniſhed.

By the laſt Currier of *Flanders*, we received neither from the Infanta nor any other Perſon, any other News then what Mr. *Trumbal* ſent by his Letters.

I confeſs freely, that the Marqueſs and my ſelf have been much troubled, both of us being exceedingly deſirous that his Majeſty ſhould receive in every thing (even in Words and Formalities) the ſame Satisfaction which we hope he ſhall receive in the Effects. Nevertheleſs, in diſcharge of her Highneſs, I will ſay that which is fit for me as I am her Servant, and which I pray you from me to deliver unto his Majeſty; but thus underſtood, that it is only my own particular Diſcourſe.

By the Diſpleaſure his Majeſty hath been pleaſed to teſtifie unto me, upon many occaſions of the Prince *Palatines* refuſal to ſign, and ratifie the Treaty of Suſpenſion of Arms; He may be alſo pleaſed to judge, how it may have been taken by the King my Maſter in *Spain*, and the Infanta in *Flanders*, and the rather becauſe of the continual Reports that at the ſame time went up and down and increaſed (as ordinarily it falls out) of the Deſcent of *Alberſtat* with a mighty Army of 20000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe, not any more to make War in *Germany*, but to joyn with the Prince of *Orange*, and fall upon thoſe Provinces in Obedience to his Catholick Majeſty, which was no other, but directly to aim at the vital Parts of the Spaniſh Monarchy.

If for theſe juſt Fears (which cannot certainly be held vain, being conſidered with thoſe of the year paſt, proceeding from one and the ſame Cauſe, both of which have been ſcattered by the Almighty Hand of God, in his ſecret Judgments) it hath not only been lawful, but alſo neceſſary to conſerve the ancient Alliances, and procure new, I leave it to the Judgment of every man of Underſtanding, not doubting but for this Reſpect you will be of the ſame Opinion with me: And much more his Majeſty, whom God hath endowed with ſo great Knowledge, and Royal Qualities, as are known to all the World.

Moreover, let us ſee if in the Law of Gratitude, the Infanta could do leſs than acknowledge towards the Duke of *Bavaria* the Valor wherewith his Army had reſiſted the pernicious Deſigns of *Alberſtat*, having hazarded his own Eſtate to hinder the imminent danger of the King my Maſter's.

Again, let us conſider if the Infanta ſending to viſit, and give him thanks, could excuſe her ſelf from giving him all thoſe Titles which the Duke of *Bavaria* gives himſelf, and deſires ſhould be given him. And if he might not, if ſhe had done otherwiſe, have thought the Ingratitude greater than the Acknowledgment. And therefore things being in this State, the Infanta could not excuſe her ſelf from ſending to viſit him, ſeeing he had ſuccoured her in a time of need, and in viſiting him to give

him that which he desired should be given him. And the like is to be said for the King my Master, in case he had done the like, as Mr. *Trumbal* writes the Infanta should tell him, and with a great deal more reason, because the Countries are his own. And therefore, since his Majesty of Great *Britain* is so great a King, and hath so great a Reputation of the exact performing of his Royal Obligations, I doubt not but he will judge, that in this Formality, the King my Master, and the Infanta his Aunt, have but acquitted themselves of their Obligations. For the rest, if at the Conference of *Collen*, which his said Majesty and her Highness have desired, and do yet desire, his Majesty of Great *Britain* shall see, that they are wanting on their part to proceed with that Sincerity and Truth which they have so often offered, and which the Marques of *Inoiosa* doth still offer on the Behalf of the King my Master, so that only the Prince *Palatine* make the Submissions due to the Emperor as his natural Lord, and resolve to follow the Paternal Counsels of his Majesty of Great *Britain*, his Majesty shall then have reason to complain. And in the mean time the Prince *Palatine* should do but well, not to entertain those Amities he endeavors to conserve, nor to sollicit those Leagues which he labours to procure, not only with the declared Rebels of the King my Master, and of the House of *Austria*, but also with the Enemies of all Christendom. I will engage my Head, if following this way, his Majesty and his Son-in-Law find themselves deceived.

You know Sir, that I treat in Truth and Freedom, and do therefore hope you will impute my Excuses to that, and will not call this Liberty of my Discourse, Rashness, but an immortal Desire in me, in all things to procure the Service of our Kings, laying aside all Occasions of Mis-understanding, now we treat of nothing else, but uniting our selves more by the strict Bonds of Love, over and above those of our Alliance.

I do humbly beseech you to say thus much to his Majesty, and to assure him from me, that when he shall be plased to employ me in this matter, as in all other, he shall ever find me faithful and real as I have offered my self, and always continue; being well assured, that even in that I shall serve my Master. And I pray you to believe, in your particular, that I am, and will be eternally

Septemb. 3.

Yours, &c.

Dr. Corbet, *to the Duke.*

May it please your Grace,

TO consider my two great Losses this Week; one in respect of his Majesty, to whom I was to preach; the other in respect of my Patron, whom I was to visit. If this be not the way to repair the latter of my Losses, I fear I am in danger to be utterly undone. To press too near a great Man, is a means to be put by; and to stand too far off, is the way to be forgotten: so *Ecclesiasticus*. In which mediocrity, could I hit it, would I live and die. My Lord, I would neither press near, nor stand far off, choosing rather the Name of an ill Courtier, than a saucy Scholar,

From Your Graces most humble Servant,
Rich. Corbet.

POSTSCRIPT.

Here is News, my noble Lord, about us, that in the Point of Allegiance now in hand, all the Papists are exceeding Orthodox, the only Recusants are the Puritans.

The Earl of Somerset, *to King* James.

BY this Gentleman, your Majesties Lieutenant, I understand of some Hault you made, and the Cause of it, at such time as he offered to your Majesty my Letters. But soon after, your Majesty could resolve your self, and behold me nothing so diffident of you, but in humble Language petitioning your Favor; for I am in hope, that my Condition is not capable of so much more misery, as that I need to make my self a Passage to you by such way of Intercession. This which follows after I offer your Majesty, though not as to your self, for upon less motive you can find Favor for me: Now I need only move, not plead, before your Majesty, as my Case doth stand for what I seek to have done follows upon what you have already done, as a Consequence and succeeding Growth of your own Act. But to the Effect that your Majesty may see that there is enough to answer those

if

(if any ſuch there be) as do go about to pervert the Exerciſe of your Power, and to turn it from its own clear Excellency, for to miniſter unto their Paſſions: I have preſumed, to this end, to awake your Majeſties own Conceit upon this Subject, which can gather to it ſelf better and more able Defences in my Behalf upon this View; for though the Acts of your mercy, which are not communicable, nor the Cauſes of them with others, as derived from thoſe ſecret motives which are only ſenſible and privy to your own Heart, and admit of no Search or Diſcovery to any general Satisfaction, and that under this Protection I might guard my particular ſufficiently; yet my Caſe needs not hide it ſelf, but attend the Diſpute with any that would put upon it a monſtrous and heavy Shape. For though that I muſt acknowledge, that both Life and Eſtate are forfeit to you by Law, yet ſo forfeited, as the ſame Law gives you the ſame Power to preſerve, as it doth to puniſh, whereby your Majeſty's higher Prerogative doth not wreſtle with it; nor do you infringe thoſe Grounds by which you have ever governed; ſo as the Reſiſtance is not great that your Majeſty hath, for to give Life, and which is leſs, in the Gift of Eſtate; for that the Law caſts wholly upon your ſelf, and yields it as fit matter for the Exerciſe of your Goodneſs. Once it was your Majeſty's Gift to me, ſo it may be better not taken then a ſecond time given; for it is common to all Men for to avoid to take that which hath been once their own. And I may ſay farther, that Law hath not been ſo ſevere upon the Ruine of innocent Poſterity, nor yet cancelled, nor cut off the Merits of Anceſtors, before the politick Hand of State had contrived it into thoſe ſeveral Forms as fitted to their Ends and Goverment. To this I may add, that that whereupon I was judged, even the Crime it ſelf, might have been none, if your Majeſty's Hand had not once touched upon it, by which all Acceſs unto your Favor was quite taken from me. Yet as it did at length appear, I fell, rather for want of well defending, than by the Violence or Force of any Proofs: for I ſo far forſook my ſelf, and my Cauſe, as that it may be a Queſtion, whether I was more condemned for that, or for the matter it ſelf, which was the Subject of that Days Controverſie. Then, thus far nothing hath appeared, wherein your Majeſty hath extended for me your Power beyond the reaſonable Bound; neither doth any thing ſtand ſo in the way of your future Proceedings, but rather make eaſie the Acceſs of your Majeſty's Favor to my Relief.

What may then be the Cauſe, that Malice can pitch upon, wherefore your Majeſty ſhould not proceed for to accompliſh your own Work? Aſperſions are taken away by your Majeſties letting me become ſubject to the utmoſt Power of Law, with the Lives of ſo many of the Offendors, which yieldeth the World ſubject of Sorrow rather than Appetite to more Blood; but Truth and Innocency protect themſelves in poor Men, much more in Kings. Neither ever was there ſuch Aſperſion (God knows) in any poſſibility towards your Majeſty, but amongſt thoſe who would create thoſe Pretences to miſlead your Majeſty, and thereby make me miſerable. If not this (whereof the Virtue and Uſe was in the former time, and now determined) there is not any but your Pleaſure. It is true, I am forfeited to your Majeſty, but not againſt you, by any treaſonable or unfaithful Act. Beſides, there is to be yielded a diſtinction of men, as in Faults; in which I am of, both under the neareſt Degrees of exception; yet your Majeſty hath pardoned Life and Eſtate to Traytors, and to Strangers, ſometimes the one, ſometimes the other: Nay, to ſome concerned in this Buſineſs wherein I ſuffer, you have pardoned more than I deſire; who (as it is reported) if they had come to the Teſt, had proved Copper, and ſhould have drunk of the bitter Cup as well as others. But I do not by this envy your Favors to any Perſon, nor ſeek I to draw them in the Yoke with my ſelf, but applaud your Majeſty's Goodneſs, being in that reſpect in a nearer poſſibility to come at me. Beſides this, to *Elviſh* your Majeſty hath given Eſtate, which is a greater Gift than Life, becauſe it extends to Poſterity, who was the worſt Deſerver in this Buſineſs; an un-offended Inſtrument might have prevented all After-miſchief, who for his own Ends ſuffered it, and by the like Arts afterwards bewrayed it. To this I may add *Treſham*, in the Powder-Treaſon, upon whoſe Succeſſors I do not caſt any of his Infamy, yet he preſerved himſelf to Poſterity; ſo as what he, or others ſuch as he, have defrauded by the Arts of Law, and whom their Unfaithfulneſs made ſafe, I have much ado to hold by Ingenuity and Confidence. How may it be, that becauſe I diſtruſted not your Majeſty, or becauſe it returned into your Power, from whom I had it, it is in danger to be broken or diſmembred. Let me hope that there is nothing which by Favor may be excuſed, or by Induſtry might have been avoided, that will fail me, where your Majeſty is to determine. It is not I who thus put your Majeſty in mind importunely: It is he that was your Creature, it is *Somerſet*, with all your Honors, and envious Greatneſs, that is now in queſtion. Kings themſelves are protected from the Breach of Law by being Favorites and Gods Anointed, which gives your Majeſty the like Priviledge over yours: As I took from Dr. *Donne* in his Sermon, that the Goodneſs of God is not ſo much acknowledged by us in being our Creator, as in being our Redeemer; nor in that he hath choſen us, as that nothing can take us out of his Hands; which in your Majeſty's Remembrance let me challenge, and hope for: For the firſt Acceſſes of Favor, they may be aſcribed to ones own pleaſing themſelves; but that appears to be for our Sakes, and for our Good, when the ſame forſakes not our Civil Deſerts.

Sir *W. Elviſh.*

Sir *Lewis Treſham.*

Dr. *Donne.*

This

This Redemption I crave, not as to my own Person, but with your Benefits once given; nor do I assume them very deep, for I have voluntarily departed from the Hopes of Pension, Place, Office; I only cleave to that which is so little, as that it will suffer no paring or diminution.

And as in my former Letters, so by this, I humbly crave of your Majesty not to let the Practices of Court work upon your Son the Prince, not fearing your Sufferance of my Loss in that particular so much (for I cannot lose it, but willingly all with it) as for to take off the Stage that which in the Attempt may prove inconvenient. And consider, I pray your Majesty, that my Hope in desiring to pass these bad Times, was to be restored to my Fortunes; others are made unhappy by me, if otherwise, and then I lose my End. I speak of empairing of changing, or supplying, as of any other way, all such Alterations, and Ruine, are alike, without I be worthy of your Gift, and that I can be worthy of all that Law can permit you to give, or cast upon your Majesty by a more near Title, as it doth by this; I shall account them equal Evils, that leave nothing, or a patched and proportioned one, changed or translated from one thing to another.

But if your Majesty have any Respects to move you to suspend your good Intention towards me; let that which is mine rest in your own Hands, till that you find all opposite Humors conformed to your Purpose. I have done wrong to my self, thus to entertain such a Doubt of your Majesty; but of the unrelenting of Adversaries, which when you will have them, will sooner alter; and that all this while I have received nothing of present Notice for direction, or to comfort me, from your Majesty, hath made me to expostulate with my self thus hardly. For God is my judge, Sir, I can never be worthy to be, if I have these Marks put upon me, of a Traitor, as that tumbling and disordering of that Estate would declare the Divorce from your Presence, lays too much upon me, and this would upon both.

I will say no farther, neither in that which your Majesty doubted my Aptness to fall into, for my Cause, nor my Confidence is not in that Distress as for to use that mean of Intercession, nor of any thing besides, but to remember your Majesty, that I am the Workmanship of your Hands, and bear your Stamp deeply imprinted in all the Characters of Favor; that I was the first Plant ingrafted by your Majesty's Hand in this Place, therefore not to be unrooted by the same Hand, lest it should taint all the same Kind with the touch of that Fatalness: And that I was even the Son of a Father, whose Services are registred in the first Honors and Impressions I took of your Majesty's Favor, and laid there as a Foundation-stone of that Building: These, and your Majesty's Goodness for to receive them, is that I rely upon: So praying for your Majesty's prosperity, I am, in all Humbleness,

Your Majesty's Loyal Servant,
and Creature,
R. Somerset.

The Earl of Desmond, *to the Earl of* Ormond.

My Lord,

GReat is my Grief when I think how heavily her Majesty is bent to disfavour me; and howbeit I carry the Name of an undutiful Subject, yet God knoweth that my Heart and Mind are always most lowly inclined to serve my most loving Prince, so it may please her Highness to remove her heavy Displeasure from me. As I may not condemn my self of Disloyalty to her Majesty, so cannot I excuse my Faults, but must confess that I have incurred her Majesties Indignation; yet when the Cause and Means which were found and devised to make me commit Folly, shall be known to her Highness, I rest in an assured Hope that her most gracious Majesty will both think of me as my Heart deserveth; and also of those that wrung me into Undutifulness, as their cunning Device meriteth. From my Heart I am sorry, that Folly, bad Counsels, Slights, or any other thing hath made me to forget my Duty: And therefore I am most desirous to get Conference with your Lordship, to the end I may open and declare to you how tyrannously I was used, humbly craving that you will vouchsafe to appoint some time and place, where and when I may attend your Honour, and then I doubt not to make it appear how dutiful a mind I carry, how faithfully I have at mine own Charge, served her Majesty before I was proclaimed, how sorrowful I am for my Offences, and how faithfully I am affected ever hereafter to serve her Majesty. And so I commit your Lordship to God,

The 5*th.* of *June*, 1583. Subscribed.

GIRALD DESMOND.

Sir

Sir Kenhelm Digby, *to Sir* Edward Stradling.

To my Honourable Friend Sir Edward Eſterling, *alias* Stradling, *aboard his Ship.*

MY much honoured Friend, I am too well acquainted with the weakneſs of my Abilities (that are far unfit to undergo ſuch a task as I have in hand) to flatter my ſelf with the hope that I may either inform your Underſtanding, or do my ſelf Honour by what I am to write. But I am ſo deſirous that you ſhould be poſſeſſed with the true knowledge of what a bent will I have upon all occaſions, to do you Service, that Obedience to your Command weigheth much more with me then the lawfulneſs of my excuſe can, to preſerve me from giving you in writing ſuch a teſtimony of my ignorance and erring fantaſie, as I fear this will prove. Therefore, without any more Circumſtances, I will as near as I can, deliver to you in this Paper, what the other day I diſcourſed to you upon the 22*d* Staff of the ninth Canto, in the ſecond Book of that matchleſs Poem, *The Fairy Queen*, written by our *Engliſh Virgil*, whoſe words are theſe.

The frame thereof ſeem'd partly Circular,
And part Triangular: Oh work Divine!
Theſe two the firſt and laſt proportions are,
Th'one imperfect, mortal, fæminine;
Th'other immortal, perfect, maſculine:
And twixt them both a quadrat was the baſe,
Proportion'd equally, by ſeven and nine;
Nine was the Circle ſet in Heavens place,
All which compacted made a goodly Diapaſe.

In this Staff, the Author ſeemeth to me to proceed in a differing manner from what he doth elſewhere, generally through his whole Book; for in other places, although the beginning of this Allegory or Myſtical Senſe may be obſcure, yet in the proceſs of it he doth himſelf declare his own Conceptions in ſuch ſort, that they are obvious to any ordinary capacity: But in this, he ſeemeth only to glance at the profoundeſt Notions that any Science can deliver to us; and then of a ſuddain, as it were recalling himſelf out of an Enthuſiaſm, he returneth to the gentle relation of the Allegorical Hiſtory that he had begun, leaving his Readers to wander up and down in much obſcurity, and to rove with much danger of erring at his intention in theſe Lines; which I conceive to be dictated by ſuch a learned Spirit, and ſo generally a knowing Soul, that were there nothing elſe extant of *Spencers* Writings, yet theſe few words would make me eſteem him no Whit inferior to the moſt famous Men that ever have been in any Age, as giving an evident teſtimony herein, that he was throughly verſed in the Mathematical Sciences, in Philoſophy and Divinity; unto all which this might ſerve for an ample Theme to make large Commentaries upon; In my praiſes upon this Subject I am confident, that the Worth of the Author will preſerve me from this Cenſure, That my Ignorance only begetteth this Admiration, ſince he hath written nothing that is not admirable. But that it may appear I am guided ſomewhat by my own Judgment, (although it be a very mean one) and not by implicit Faith; and that I may in the beſt manner I can, comply with what you may expect from me, I will not longer hold you in ſuſpence, but begin immediately (though abruptly) with the Declaration of what I conceive to be the true ſence of this place; which I ſhall not go about to adorn with any plauſible Diſcourſes, or with Authorities and Examples drawn from others Writings; (ſince my want both of Conveniency and Learning would make me fall very ſhort herein) but it ſhall be enough for me to intimate my Conceptions, and to offer them up unto you in their own ſimple and naked form, leaving to your better Judgment the examination of the weight of them; and after peruſal of them, beſeeching you to reduce me, if you perceive me to err. It is evident, that the Authors intention in this Canto, is, to deſcribe the Body of Man informed with a Rational Soul; and in proſecution of that Deſign, he ſetteth down particularly the ſeveral Parts of the one, and the Faculties of the other. But in this *Stanza* he comprehendeth the general Deſcription of them both, as (being joined together to frame a compleat Man) they make one perfect Compound; which will appear better by taking a ſurvey of every ſeveral Clauſe thereof by it ſelf.

The frame thereof ſeem'd partly circular,
And part triangular.——

By

By these Figures, I conceive that he meaneth the Mind and the Body of Man; the first being by him compared to a Circle, and the latter to a Triangle: For as the Circle of all Figures is the most perfect, and includeth the greatest space, and is every way full, and without Angles, made by the continuation of one only Line; so Man's Soul is the noblest and most beautiful Creature that God hath created, and by it we are capable of the greatest Gifts which God can bestow, which are Grace, Glory, and hypostatical Union of the humane Nature to the Divine; and she enjoyeth perfect freedom and liberty in all other Actions, and is made without composition (which no Figures are that have Angles, for they are caused by the coincidence of several Lines) but of one pure substance, which was by God breathed into a Body made of such compounded Earth, as in the preceding Stanza the Author describeth: And this is the exact Image of Him that breathed it, representing him as fully as it is possible for any Creature which is infinitly distant from the Creator: For as God hath neither beginning nor ending, so neither of these can be found in a Circle; although that being made of the successive motion of a Line, it must be supposed to have a beginning somewhere. God is compared to a Circle whose Centre is everywhere, but whose Circumference no-where; but Man's Soul is a Circle whose circumference is limitted by the true centre of it, which is only God: For as a Circumference doth in all parts alike respect that indivisible point, and as all Lines drawn from the inner side of it do make right Angles with it when they meet therein, so all the interior Actions of Man's Soul, ought to have no other respective point to direct themselves unto but God; and as long as they make right Angles, which is, that they keep the exact middle of Vertue, and decline not to either of the sides, where the contrary Vices dwell, they cannot fail but meet in their centre.

By the triangular Figure, he very aptly designeth the Body: For as the Circle is of all other Figures the most perfect and most capacious; so the Triangle is the most imperfect, and includeth the least space: It is the first and lowest of all Figures; for fewer than three right Lines cannot comprehend and inclose a superficies; having but three Angles, they are all acutes (if it be equilateral) and but equal to two right ones; in which respect, all other regular Figures, consisting of more than three Lines, do exceed it: May not these be resembled to the three great and compounded Elements in Man's Body, to wit, Salt, Sulphur, and Mercury? which mingled together do make the natural heat, and radical moisture, the two Qualities whereby Man liveth: For the more Lines that do go to comprehend a Figure, the more and greater the Angles are, and the nearer it cometh to the perfection of a Circle.

A Triangle is composed of several Lines, and they of points, which yet do not make a quantity by being contiguous one to another, but rather the motion of them doth describe the Lines: In like manner, the Body of Man is compounded of the four Elements, which are made by the four primary Qualities, not compounded of them (for they are but accidents) but by their operation upon the first Matter.

And as a Triangle hath three Lines, so a solid Body hath three Dimensions, to wit, Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity: But of all Bodies, Man's is of the lowest rank (as the Triangle is among Figures) being composed of the Elements, which make it liable to alteration and corruption. In which consideration of the Dignity of Bodies, I divide them, by a general division, into sublunary, which are the elementated ones; and into the ætheral (which are supposed to be, of their own Nature, incorruptible;) and peradventure there are some other species of corporeal Substances, which is not in this place to dispute.

O WORK *Divine!*

Certainly, Of all God's Works, the noblest and the perfectest is Man, and for whom indeed all others were done: For, if we consider his Soul, it is the very *Image* of *God*; if his *Body*, it is adorned with the greatest beauty and excellent symmetry of parts, of any created thing; whereby it witnesseth the perfection of the Architect, that of so drossie mold is able to make so excellent a Fabrick; if his Operations, they are free; if his End, it is eternal Glory; and if you take him altogether, *Man* is a little World, an exact Type of the great World, and of GOD Himself.

But in all this, methinketh, that the admirable Work, is, the joyning together of the two different, and indeed opposite Substances in *Man*, to make one perfect Compound, the Soul and the Body which are of so contrary a Nature, that their uniting seemeth to be a miracle: For how can one inform and work in the other, since there is no mean of operation (that we know) between a spiritual Substance and a corporeal? yet we see that it doth. As hard it is to find the true proportion between a Circle and a Triangle; yet that there is a just proportion, and that they may be equal, *Archimedes* hath left us an ingenuous demonstration; but, in reducing it to a Problem, it faileth in this, That because the proportion between a crooked Line and a streight one is not known, one must make use of a mechanical way of measuring the Periphery of the one, to convert it into the side of the other.

These two the first and last Proportions are.

What

What I have already ſaid concerning a Circle and a Triangle, doth ſufficiently unfold what is meant in this Verſe; yet it will not be a miſs to ſpeak one word more hereof in this place. All things that have exiſtence may be divided into three Claſſes; which are, either what is pure and ſimple in it ſelf, or what hath a nature compounded of what is ſimple, or what hath a nature compounded of what is compounded. In continued Quantity, this may be exemplified by a Point, a Line, and a Superficies, or Body; and in Numbers, by an Unity, a Denary, and a Centenary. The firſt, which is only pure and ſingle, like an indiviſible Point, or an Unity, hath relation only to the Divine Nature; that point then moving in a ſpherical manner (which ſerveth to expreſs the perfections of God's Actions) deſcribeth the circle of our Souls, and of Angels, and of intellectual Subſtances, which are of a pure and ſimple Nature; but receiveth that from what is ſo in a perfecter manner, and that hath his from none elſe; like Lines that are made from the flowing of Points, or Denaries that are compoſed of Unities; beyond both which, there is nothing.

In the laſt place, Bodies are to be ranked, which are compoſed of the Elements, and they likewiſe ſuffer compoſition, and may very well be compared to the loweſt of Figures, which are compoſed of Lines, that owe their being to Points (and ſuch as are Triangles) or to Centenaries, that are compoſed of Denaries, and they of Unites. But if we will compare theſe together by proportion, God muſt be left out, ſince there is an infinite diſtance between the ſimplicity and perfection of his Nature, and the compoſition and imperfection of all created Subſtances, as there is between an indiviſible Point, and a continuate Quantity; or between a ſimple Unite, and compound Number; ſo that only the other two kinds of Subſtances do enter into this conſideration; and of them I have already proved, that Man's Soul is one of the nobleſt, being dignified by hypoſtatical Union above all other intellectual Subſtances, and his elementated Body of the other, the moſt low and corruptible: Whereby it is evident, that theſe two are the firſt and laſt proportions, both in reſpect of their own Figures, and of what they expreſs.

The one imperfect, mortal, feminine;
Th' other immortal, perfect, maſculine.

Man's Body hath all the Properties of imperfect Matter; it is but the Patient, of it ſelf alone it can do nothing; it is liable to corruption and diſſolution, if it once be deprived of the form, which actuateth it ſelf, and is corruptible and immortal.

And as the Feminine Sex is imperfect, and receiveth perfection from the Maſculine; ſo doth the Body from the Soul, which to it is in lieu of a Male: And as in corporeal Generations the Female doth afford but groſs and paſſive matter, unto which the Male giveth active heat, and prolifical vertue; ſo in ſpiritual Generations (which are the Operations of the *Mind*) the Body adminiſtreth only the Organs, which, if they were not employed by the Soul, would of themſelves ſerve to nothing. And as there is a mutual appetence between the *Male* and the *Female*, between *Matter* and *Form*; ſo there is between the *Body* and *Soul* of a *Man*: But what Ligament they have, that our Author defineth not (and, peradventure, Reaſon is not able to attain unto it) yet he telleth us what is the foundation that this Machine reſteth upon, and what keepeth the Parts together, in theſe Words:

And 'twixt them both a Quadrat was the Baſe.

By which Quadrat, I conceive that he meaneth the four principal Humors in Man's Body; to wit, Choler, Blood, Phlegm, and Melancholy; which, if they be diſtempered, and unfitly mingled, the diſſolution of the whole doth enſue: Like to a Building, which falleth to ruine, if the Foundation or Baſe of it be unſound or diſordered. And in ſome of theſe the vital Spirits are contained and preſerved, which the other do keep in a convenient temper; and as long as they do ſo, the Soul and the Body dwell together like good Friends: So that theſe four are the Baſe of the conjunction of the other two both which, he ſaith, are

Proportion'd equally by Seven and Nine.

In which words, I underſtand, that he meaneth the influences of the ſuperior Subſtances, which govern the inferior, into theſe two differing parts of Man, to wit, of the Stars (the moſt powerful of which are the ſeven Planets) into his Body, and of the Angels (which are divided into nine Hierarchies or Orders) into the Soul, which, in his Aſtrophel, he ſaith, is

By ſoveraign Choice from th' heavenly Quires ſelect,
And lineally deriv'd from Angels race.

And as much as the one do govern the Body, ſo much the other do the Mind; wherein it is to be conſidered, that ſome are of Opinion, how at the inſtant of the conception of a Child, or rather, more effectually, at the inſtant of his Birth, the conceived Sperm, or the tender Body, doth receive ſuch in-

fluence of the Heavens, as then reigneth over that place where the Conception or Birth is made; and all the Stars, and virtual places of the celeſtial Orbs, participating of the qualities of the ſeven Planets; according to the which they are diſtributed into ſo many Claſſes, or the compounds of them; it cometh to paſs, that according to the variety of the ſeveral Aſpects of the one and the other, there are various Inclinations and Qualities in Mens Bodies, but all reduced to ſeven general heads, and the compounds of them; which being to be varied innumerable ways, cauſeth as many different effects, yet the influence of ſome one Planet continually predominating: But when the matter in the Womans Womb is capable of a Soul to form it, then God ſendeth one from Heaven into it.

——— ——— *Eternal God*
In Paradiſe did whilome plant this Flower,
Whence he it fetch'd out of her native place,
And did in ſtock of earthly Fleſh enrace.

And this Opinion the Author expreſſeth himſelf more plainly to be of, in another Work, where he ſaith,

There She beholds with high aſpiring thought,
The Cradle of her own Creation,
Amongſt the ſeats of Angels, heavenly wrought.

Which whether it hath been created ever ſince the beginning of the World, and reſerved in ſome fit place until due time, or be created upon the emergent occaſion, no Man can tell: But certain it is, that it is immortal, according to that I ſaid when I ſpake of the Circle, which hath no ending, and an uncertain beginning.

The Meſſengers to convey which Soul into the Body, are the Intelligences that move the Orbs of Heaven; who, according to their ſeveral Natures, do communicate unto it ſeveral Proprieties, and they who are Governors of thoſe Stars that have at that inſtant the ſuperiority in the Planetary Aſpects; whereby it cometh to paſs, that in all Inclinations there is much affinity between the Soul and the Body, being that the like is between the Intelligences and the Stars, both which communicate their Vertues to each of them. And theſe Angels being, as I ſaid before, of nine ſeveral Hierarchies, there are ſo many principal Differences in humane Souls, which do participate moſt of their Properties, with whom, in their deſcent, they make longeſt ſtay, and that had moſt active power to work upon them, and accompanied them with a peculiar *Genius*; which is, according to their ſeveral Governments, like the ſame kind of Water that running through various Conduits, wherein ſeveral aromatical and odoriferous things are laid, doth require ſeveral kinds of taſte and ſmells; for it is ſuppoſed, that in their firſt Creation all Souls are alike, and that their differing Proprieties arrive unto them afterwards, when they paſs through the Spheres of the governing Intelligences; ſo that by ſuch their influence it may truly be ſaid,

Nine was the Circle ſet in Heavens place.

Which Verſe, by aſſigning his Office to the nine, and the proper place of the Circle, doth give much light to what is ſaid before.

And for further confirmation that this is the Authors Opinion, read attentively the ſixth Canto of the third Book, where moſt learnedly he delivereth the Tenets of this Philoſophy; and of that, I recommend to you to take particular notice of the ſecond, and thirty ſecond Stanzas, and alſo of the laſt Staff of his *Epithalamium*; and ſurveying his Works, you ſhall find him to be a conſtant Diſciple of *Plato*'s School.

All which compacted made a goodly Diapaſe.

In Nature, there is not to be found a more compleat and more excellent Concordance of all parts, than that which is between the compaction and uniting together of the Body and Soul of Man; both which, although they conſiſt of many and moſt differing Faculties and Parts, yet when they keep due time with one another, do altogether make the moſt perfect harmony that can be imagined. And as the nature of Sounds (that conſiſt of friendly Conſonants and Accords) is, to mingle with one another, and to ſlide into the Ear with much ſweetneſs, where by their unity they laſt a long time, and delight it; whereas, on the contrary ſide, Diſcords do continually jar and fight together, and will not mingle with one another; but all of them ſtriving to have the Victory, their reluctation and diſorder giveth a ſoon end to their Sounds, which ſtrike the Ear in a harſh and offenſive manner, and they dye in the very beginning of their conflict. In like ſort, when a Man's Actions are regular, and that being directed towards God, they become like the Lines of a Circle, which all meet in the centre; then his Muſick is excellent and compleat, and all together are the Authors of that bleſſed harmony which maketh him happy in the glorious Viſion of God's Perfections, wherein the Mind is filled with high

Know-

Knowledges, and moſt pleaſing Contemplations; and the Senſes are, as it were, drowned with eternal delight; and nothing can interrupt this Joy, this Happineſs, which is an everlaſting Diapaſe: Whereas, on the contrary part, if a Man's Actions be diſorderly, and conſiſting of diſcord, which is, when the ſenſitive part rebelleth, and wraſtleth with the rational, and ſtriveth to oppreſs it, then this Muſick is ſpoiled; and inſtead of eternal Life, Pleaſure, and Joy, it cauſeth perpetual Death, Horrour, Pain, and Miſery; which unfortunate eſtate the Poet deſcribeth elſewhere, as in the concluſion of this Staff he intimateth. The other happy one, which is the never-failing Reward of ſuch an obedient Body, and æthereal and vertuous Mind, as he maketh to be the ſeat of the bright Virgin *Alma*, Man's worthieſt Inhabitant, Reaſon. Her I feel to ſpeak within me, and to chide me for my bold attempt, warning me to ſtray no further: For what I have ſaid (conſidering how weakly it is ſaid) your Commandment is all I can pretend in excuſe; but ſince my deſire to obey, may as well be ſeen in a few Lines, as in a large Diſcourſe, it were indiſcretion in me to trouble you with more words, and to diſcover unto you more of my Ignorance: I will only beg pardon of you for this blotted and interlined Paper, whoſe Contents are ſo mean, that it cannot deſerve the pains of a tranſcription; which if you make difficulty to grant unto it for my ſake, let it obtain it for having been yours, and now returning again to you, as alſo doth the Book that containeth my Text which yeſterday you ſent me, to fit this part of it with a Comment; which, peradventure, I might have performed better, if either I had afforded my ſelf more time, or had had the convenience of ſome other Books, apt to quicken my Invention, to whom I might have been beholden for enlarging my Underſtanding in ſome things that are treated here, although the application ſhould ſtill have been my own: With theſe two helps, peradventure, I might have dived farther into the Author's Intention, the depth of which cannot be ſounded by any that is leſs learned than he was. But I perſwade my ſelf very ſtrongly, that in what I have ſaid there is nothing contradictory to it; and that an intelligent and well-read Man, proceeding upon my grounds, might compoſe a worthy and true Commentary upon this Theme; upon which I wonder how I ſtumbled, conſidering how many learned Men have failed in the interpreting of it, and have all approved my Opinion, at the firſt hearing it: But it was Fortune that made me light upon it, when firſt this Stanza was read unto me for an undiſſoluble Riddle; and the ſame Diſcourſe that I made upon it, the firſt half quarter of an hour that I ſaw it, I ſend it you here, without having reduced it to any better form, or added any thing at all unto it; which I beſeech you receive benignly, as coming from

Your moſt affectionate Friend, and humble Servant,
Kenhelm Digby.

Dr. Donne, *to the Marqueſs of* Buckingham.

My moſt honoured Lord,

I Moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhip, to afford this rag of Paper a room amongſt your Evidences. It is your evidence, not for a Manner, but for a Man. As I am a Prieſt, it is my Sacrifice of Prayer to God for your Lordſhip; and as I am a Prieſt made able to ſubſiſt, and appear in God's Service, by your Lordſhip, it is a Sacrifice of my ſelf to you. I deliver this Paper as my Image; and I aſſiſt the Power of any Conjurer with this imprecation upon my ſelf, that as he ſhall tear this Paper, this Picture of mine, ſo I may be torn in my Fortune, and in my Fame, if ever I have any corner in my Heart diſpoſſeſſed of a Zeal to your Lordſhips Service. His Majeſty hath given me a Royal Key into your Chamber, leave to ſtand in your preſence; and your Lordſhip hath already ſuch a Fortune, as that you ſhall not need to be afraid of a Suitor, when I appear there. So that, I proteſt to your Lordſhip, I know not what I want, ſince I cannot ſuſpect, nor fear my ſelf, for ever doing, or leaving undone, any thing by which I might forfeit that Title, of being always

Your Lordſhips, &c.

Septemb. 13. 1621. J. D.

Dr. Donne, *to the Duke.*

Moſt honoured Lord,

ONce I adventured to ſay to the Prince his Highneſs, That I was ſure he would receive a Book from me the more graciouſly, becauſe it was dedicated to your Grace: I proceed juſtly, upon the ſame confidence, that your Grace will accept this, becauſe it is his by the ſame title. If I had not overcome that reluctation which I had in my ſelf, of repreſenting Devotions and Mortifications, to a young and active Prince, I ſhould not have put them into your preſence, who have done ſo much, and

have ſo much to do in this World, as that it might ſeem enough to think ſeriouſly of that. No Man, in the Body of Story, is a full Preſident to you; nor may any future Man promiſe himſelf an adequation to his Preſident, if he make you his. Kings have diſcerned the Seeds of high Vertues in many Men, and upon that Gold they have put their Stamp, their Favours upon thoſe Perſons: But then thoſe Perſons have laboured under the jealouſie of the future Heir; and ſome few have had the Love of Prince and King, but not of the Kingdom; and ſome of that too, and not of the Church; GOD hath united your Grace ſo to them all, that as you have received Obligations from the King and Prince, ſo you have laid Obligations upon the Church and State: They above, love you out of their Judgment, becauſe they have loved you; and we below, love you out of our thankfulneſs, becauſe you have loved us. God's Privy-Seal is the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, and his Broad-Seal is the outward Bleſſings of this Life: But ſince his Pillar of Fire was ſeconded with a Pillar of Cloud, and that all his temporal Bleſſings have ſome partial eclipſes, and the pureſt Conſciences ſome remorſes; ſo though he have made your way to Glory Glory, and brought you, in the Arms and Boſom of his Vicegerent, into his own Arms and Boſom, yet there muſt come a minute of twilight in a natural death. And as the reading of the Actions of great Men may aſſiſt you for great Actions, ſo for this one neceſſary deſcent of dying (which, I hope, ſhall be the only ſtep of lowneſs that ever you ſhall paſs by, and by that, late) you may receive ſome Remembrances, from the Meditations and Devotions of

Your Grace's devouteſt Servant,
J. Donne.

A Defiance ſent by the Grand Seignior to Maximilian *the ſecond.*

BY the ſufferance of the great God, We *Solyman*, God in Earth, great and high Emperour of all the World, Patron and Diſtributer of all Chriſtians, We ſend and declare unto thee *Maximilian*, all Wrath and ill Fortune, and Infidelity, and to all thy Princes, Subjects, and Helpers: We give it known unto thee, That We, by the ſufferance of the great God, named, The Perpetual and Univerſal God in Earth, moſt mighty Emperor, *Soldan* in *Babylon*, Lord of *Armenia*, the mightieſt in *Perſepolis* and *Numidia*, the great Helper of God, Prince for the Road of *Barbary*, unto the Mountains of *Achia*, King of Kings from the *Meridian* to the *Septentrion* of the Earth, from the riſing-place of the Sun, to the ſetting of it, the firſt and chiefeſt, placed in the Paradiſe of *Mahomet*, the Deſtroyer of all Chriſtendom, and of all Chriſtians, and that do profeſs Chriſtianity; the Keeper and Defender of the Sepulchre of thy God crucified, the only victorious and triumphant Lord of all the World, and of all Circuits and Provinces thereof: Thou *Maximilian*, which writeſt thy ſelf King of our Kingdom of *Hungary*, which is under our Crown and Obeyſance, we will viſit thee for that cauſe, and alſo perſwade thee that with our ſtrength and force of thirteen Kingdoms, with might and ſtrength, to the number of one hundred thouſand as well Horſemen as Footmen prepared for War, with all the power and ſtrength of Turkiſh Munition, and with ſuch Power as thou nor none of thy Servants have ſeen, heard, or had knowledge of, even before thy chief City *Vienna*, and the Country thereabouts: We *Solyman*, God on Earth, againſt thee, with all thy Aſſiſters and Helpers, with our warlike ſtrength, do pronounce and proteſt your utter Deſtruction and Depopulation, as we can by all means poſſible deviſe it. And this we will ſignifie unto thee, to the which thou and thy miſerable People may prepare your ſelves. With us it is determined, with our Men appointed, thee and all thy *German* Kingdoms and Provinces altogether to ſpoil: This miſery we have conſented unto againſt thee and thy Princes, have thou no doubt but we will come. Dated in the City of *Conſtantinople*, out of which we did expulſe your Predeceſſors, their Wives, Children, and Friends, and made them moſt miſerable Slaves and Captives, the year of our Reign Forty ſeven.

Queen Elizabeth's *Letter to the Lady* Norris, *upon the death of her Son.*

ALthough we have deferred long to repreſent unto you our grieved Thoughts, becauſe we liked full well to yield you the firſt Reflections of our Misfortunes, whom we have always ſought to cheriſh and comfort; yet knowing now what neceſſity muſt bring it to your Ears, and Nature conſequently muſt move many paſſionate Affections in your Heart, we have reſolved no longer to ſmother either our care for your ſorrow, or the ſympathy of our grief for his Death; wherein if ſociety in ſorrowing work diminution, we do aſſure you by this true Meſſenger of our Mind, that Nature can have ſtirred no more dolorous Affections in you as a Mother for a dear Son, than the gratefulneſs and memory of his Services paſt had wrought in us his Soverain apprehenſion of the miſs of ſo worthy

thy a Servant. But now that Nature's common Work is done, and he that was born to die hath paid his Tribute; let that Chriſtian Diſcretion ſtay the flux of your immoderate grieving, which hath inſtructed you both by Example and Knowledge, that nothing of this kind hath happened but by God's Providence; and that theſe Lines from your loving and gracious Soveraign, ſerve to aſſure you, that there ſhall ever appear the lively Characters of you and yours that are left, in our valuing rightly all their faithful and honeſt Endeavours. More we will not write of this ſubject, but have diſpatched this Gentleman to viſit both your Lord, and condole with you in the true ſenſe of your Love; and to pray you, that the World may ſee, that what Time cureth in weak Minds, that Diſcretion and Moderation may help in you in this Accident, where there is ſo opportune occaſion to demonſtrate true Patience and true Moderation.

The Earl of Eſſex, *to King* James, *concerning Secretary* Daviſon.

MOſt excellent King, for him that is already bound for many Favours, a ſtile of thankfulneſs is much fitter than the humor of ſuing; but ſo it falls out, that he which to his own advantage would have ſought nothing in your Favour, but your Favour it ſelf, doth now for another become an humble Petitioner to your Majeſty: Your Majeſty cannot be ſuch a Stranger to the Affairs of this Country, but as you know what Actions are done in this place, ſo you underſtand the Minds of the Men by whom they are done. Therefore I doubt not, but the Man for whom I ſpeak is ſomewhat known to your Majeſty; and being known, I preſume of greater Favour (Mr. Secretary *Daviſon* being fallen into her Majeſty's Diſpleaſure and Diſgrace) beloved of the beſt and moſt religious of this Land, doth ſtand as barred from any Preferment or reſtoring in his place, except out of the Honour and Nobleneſs of your own Royal Heart, your Majeſty will undertake his Cauſe. To leave the nature of his Fault to your Majeſty's beſt Judgment, and report of your own Servant, and to ſpeak of the Man, I muſt ſay truly, that his ſufficiency in Council, and Matters of State, is ſuch, as the Queen herſelf confeſſeth, in her Kingdom ſhe hath not ſuch another: His Virtue, Religion, and Worth in all Degrees, is of the World taken to be ſo great, as no Man in his good Fortune hath had more general Love, than this Gentleman in his Diſgrace: And if to a Man ſo worthy in himſelf, and ſo eſteemed of all Men, my Words might avail any thing, I would aſſure your Majeſty, you would get great Honour, and great Love, not only here amongſt us, but in all places of Chriſtendom where this Gentleman is any thing known, if you ſhould now be the Author of his reſtoring to his place, which in effect he now is; but that as a Man not acceptable to her Majeſty, he doth forbear to attend. I do in all humbleneſs commend this Cauſe to your Majeſty, having the warrant of a good Conſcience, that I know to be both honourable and honeſt; and your Majeſty to the bleſſed protection of that Mighty GOD, to whom will pray for your Majeſty's happy and proſperous eſtate, he that will do your Majeſty all humble Service,

Greenwich, April 18. 1589. *R. Eſſex.*

The Earl of Eſſex, *to Secretary* Daviſon.

SIR,

AS at my departure, ſo upon my return, I muſt needs ſalute you, as one whom then, and now, and ever, I muſt love very much: I would gladly ſee you, but I am tied here a while; when I may have occaſion to ſhew my Love to you, I will do more than I now promiſe. In the mean time, wiſhing you that Happineſs which Men in this World ought to ſeek, I take my leave,

Your aſſured Friend,
R. Eſſex.

At the Court, July 11. 1589.

The Earl of Eſſex, *to Mr. Secretary* Daviſon.

SIR,

I Have as I could, taken my opportunity ſince I ſaw you, to perform as much as I promiſed you; and though in all I have been able to effect nothing, yet even now I have had better leiſure to ſollicit the Queen, than in this ſtormy time I did hope for. My beginning was, as being amongſt others intreated to move her in your behalf: My courſe was to lay open your Sufferings and

your

your patience; in them you had felt Poverty, Reſtraint and Diſgrace, and yet you ſhewed nothing but Faith and Humility: Faith, as being never wearied nor diſcouraged to do her Service; Humbleneſs, as content to forget all the Burthens that had been laid upon you, and to ſerve her Majeſty with as frank and willing a Heart, as they that have received greateſt Grace from her. To this I received no anſwer, but in general terms, That her Honour was much touched, your Preſumption had been intolerable, and that ſhe could not let it ſlip out of her Mind. When I urged your acceſs, ſhe denied it, but ſo as I had no cauſe to be afraid to ſpeak again. When I offered in them both to reply, ſhe fell into other diſcourſe, and ſo we parted. So all that I have done, you know; what I ſhall do, ye ſhall preſcribe. If you hear any Man's elſe————I pray you let me know, for ſo I ſhall perceive whether ſhe will open her Heart more to me than them; which being known, I may deal accordingly. And ſo I commit you to God.

Your moſt aſſured Friend,

Windſor, October 2. R. Eſſex.

The Earl of Eſſex, *to Mr. Secretary* Daviſon.

IF this Letter do not deliver my very affectionate Wiſhes, and aſſure you that I am both careful to deſerve well, and covetous to hear well of you, it doth not diſcharge the truſt that I have committed unto it. My love to your worthy Father, my expectation that you will truly inherit his Vertues, and the proof that I have ſeen of your well ſpending your time abroad, are three ſtrong Bands to tye my Affection unto you; to which when I ſee added your kindneſs to my ſelf, my Reaſon tells my Heart, I cannot value you, or affect you too much: You have laid ſo good a foundation of framing your ſelf, as if now you do not perfect the Work, the expectation you have raiſed will be your greateſt adverſity: Slack not your induſtry, in thinking you have taken great pains already, *Nuſquam enim nec ſine emolumento, nec emolumentum ſine impenſa opera eſt; Labor voluptaſque diſſimilia natura, ſocietate quadam naturali inter ſe conjuncta ſunt.* Nor think your ſelf at any time ſo rich in Knowledge or Reputation, as you may ſpend on the Stock; for as the way to Vertue is ſteep and craggy, ſo the deſcent from it is headlong. It is ſaid of our Bodies, that they do *lente augeſcere, & cito extinguntur*; it may be as properly ſaid of our Minds. Let your vertuous Father, who in the midſt of his Troubles and Diſcomforts hath brought you, by his care and charge, to what you are now in, you receive perfect comfort and contentment; learn *virtutem ab illo, fortunam ab aliis.* I write not this as ſuſpecting you need be admoniſhed, or as finding my ſelf able to direct; but as he that when he was writing took the plaineſt and naturalleſt ſtile of a Friend truly affected to you. Receive it therefore, I pray you, as a Pledge of more Love than I can now ſhew you. And ſo deſiring nothing more than to hear often from you, I wiſh you all happineſs, and reſt

Your affectionate and aſſured Friend,

Whitehal, Jon. 8. R. Eſſex.

The Earl of Eſſex, *to Secretary* Daviſon.

SIR,

AS I have ever loved you, ſo now taking leave of my good Friends, I cannot forget you of whoſe Love I deſire to be ever aſſured, and whom I would deſire to ſatisfie in all things that I ſhall do. If you be troubled with the ſuddenneſs of my unlook'd-for Journey, let my reſolute purpoſe to perform it, which could not be without ſecrecy, excuſe me: If you call it Raſhneſs, I will better allow it to be Hereſie than Error; for many Months ago it was reſolved. If you doubt of the ſucceſs or event thereof, I ſay, that the ſame God who hath given me a Mind to undertake, may according to his good pleaſure make me in it, or it with me, to proſper or die, as it ſhall ſeem beſt unto him. And ſo purpoſing that you ſhall ſee me return happy, or never, I take my leave. Let me be commended to your good ſelf, and ſuch other of my good Friends, as in my abſence you find I am beholden to, eſpecially to Sir *Drew Drury*, and Sir *Edward Waterhouſe.*

Your aſſured Friend,

R. Eſſex.

Again,

Again, to Secretary Daviſon.

SIR,

I Had ſpeech with her Majeſty yeſter-night, after my departure from you; and I find that the ſucceſs of my Speech (altho' I hoped for good) yet did much over-run my expectation. To repeat many Speeches and By-matters, as of my acquaintance with you, and ſuch-like, it will be fitter for ſuch a time when I ſhall have conferrence with you. But in effect our end was thus: I made her Majeſty ſee, what in your Health, in your Fortune, and in your Reputation with the World, you had ſuffered ſince the time that it was her pleaſure to commit you: I told her how many Friends and Well-wiſhers the World did afford you, and how, for the moſt part, throughout the whole Realm, her beſt Subjects did wiſh that ſhe would do her ſelf the Honour to repair for you, and reſtore to you, that ſtate which ſhe had overthrown; your humble ſuffering of theſe Harms, and reverend regard to her Majeſty, muſt needs move a Princeſs ſo noble and ſo juſt, to do you right; and more I had ſaid, if my Gift of Speech had been any way comparable to my love. Her Majeſty, ſeeing her Judgment opened by the ſtory of her own Actions, ſhewed a very feeling compaſſion of you; ſhe gave you many praiſes; and amongſt the reſt, that which ſhe ſeemed to pleaſe her ſelf in, was, that you were a Man of her own Choice. In truth, ſhe was ſo well pleaſed with thoſe things that ſhe ſpake and heard of you, as I dare (if of things future there be any aſſurance) promiſe to my ſelf that your peace will be made to your own content, and the deſires of your Friends, I mean in her Favour, and your own Fortune, to a better eſtate than, or at leaſt the ſame, you had, which with all my Power I will employ my ſelf to effect: And ſo in haſte, I commit you to God.

Your moſt aſſured Friend,
R. Eſſex.

The Earl of Eſſex, *to Mr. Secretary* Daviſon, *upon the Death of Mr. Secretary* Walſingham.

SIR,

UPon this unhappy accident, I have tried to the bottom what the Queen will do for you, and what the Credit of your Sollicitor is worth. I urged not the compariſon between you and any other: But in my Duty to her, and zeal to her Service, I did aſſure her that ſhe had not any other in *England*, that would for theſe three or four years know how to ſettle himſelf to ſupport ſo great a burthen. She gave me leave to ſpeak, heard me with patience, confeſſed, with me, that none was ſo ſufficient, and could not deny but that which ſhe lays to your charge, was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any reſpect of your own, but meerly for her ſafety both of State and Perſon. In the end ſhe abſolutely denied to let you enjoy that place, and willed me to reſt ſatisfied, for ſhe was reſolved. Thus much I write, to let you know I am more honeſt to my Friends, than happy in their Caſes. What you will have me do for your ſuit, I will, as far as my Credit is any thing worth. I have told moſt of the Council of my manner of dealing with the Queen; my Lord Chamberlain tells me he hath dealt for you alſo, and they all ſay they wiſh as I do; but in this World, that is enough. I will commit you to God for this time, and reſt

Your conſtant and true Friend,
R. Eſſex.

The Earl of Eſſex, *to the Queen.*

MY dutiful Affections to your Majeſty always overweighed all other worldly Reſpects; that ſeeking in all particulars to manifeſt my Truth, I have maimed my Eſtate in general, as I dare, in the heat of my Thoughts, compare with the greateſt that ever vowed for faithful ſervice; ſo is there not the meaneſt that hath overſlipped me; I will not ſay in Recompence, but in ſome gracious eſtate of Service. Thus whilſt my State wreſtleth with my Fortune, the one wins breath to beat the other down. Though I have no hope to repair the Ruines of my Overſight, yet I cannot but preſume your Majeſty will ſuffer me to preſerve them from blowing up, and what Youth and forward Belief hath undermined in my Eſtate, Providence by a retired Life may underlay. In which

which diſcontinuance from Court there ſhall be added (if any thing be added) increaſe of Loyalty: Nor ſo ſolitary ſhall be my courſe, as it ſhall ſeem to proceed of diſcontentment, but of neceſſity; and all Actions both with living and my Life ſo forward, as tho' ſome may have over-run me in Fortunes, none ſhall in Duty.

Next my allegiance to your Majeſty, which ſhall be held moſt ſacred and inviolable, the report of mine Honour challengeth chief intereſt; which that I may preſerve in my wonted ſtate, Reaſon draws me to ſtay my ſelf ſlipping from falling. That of late (by what ſecret and venomus blow I know not) my Faith hath received ſome Wounds, your Majeſty's wonted Grace withdrawn aſſures me: But Truth and my Patience, in this Caſe, were one with me; and time, in your Princely Thoughts, did wear it out from me. Let Time be Judge; I will leave you with as great loathneſs, as I were to loſe that I love beſt. But you Favour failing, in which I have placed all my hopes, and my ſelf leſs graced, after Seven Years, then when I had ſerved but ſeven days, may be a reaſon to excuſe, if there were no other Reaſon. Theſe things preſſed out of a diſtreſſed mind, and offered in all humility, I hope it ſhall not be offenſive if I chooſe this wearifom courſe, rather to be retired then tired. If any of envy take advantage of abſence, ſeeking by cunning to draw me into ſuſpition of diſcontentment, my Conſcience is ſetled in your never erring Judgment, that if he come with *Eſau*'s hands and *Jacob*'s Voice, your Highneſs will cenſure it a wrought malice under ſuch ſimplicity. It is true, that grief cannot ſpeak; but this grief hath made me write, leaſt, when I leave you, I ſhould ſo far forſake my ſelf as to leave this unſaid. To your gracious acceptance I commit it, and with all humble and reverent Thoughts that may be, reſt ever to be commanded to dye at your Majeſty's Feet,

RO. ESSEX.

The Earl of Eſſex, *to the Queen.*

FRom a mind delighting in ſorrow, from Spirits waſted with paſſion, from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief and travel; from a Man that hateth himſelf, and all things that keep him alive, what Service can your Majeſty expect, ſince your Service paſt deſerves no more than baniſhment or proſcription in the curſed'ſt of all other Countrys? Nay, nay, it is your Rebels pride and ſucceſs that muſt give me leave to ranſom my life out of this hateful Priſon of my loathed body: which if it happen ſo, your Majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to miſ-like the faſhion of my death, ſince the courſe of my life could never pleaſe you,

Your Majeſty's exiled Servant,
RO. ESSEX.

Sir Thomas Egerton, *Lord Chancellor, to the Earl of* Eſſex.

My very good Lord,

IT is often ſeen, that he that ſtands by ſeeth more then he that playeth the Game; and for the moſt part, every one in his own cauſe, ſtandeth in his own light, and ſeeth not ſo clearly as he ſhould. Your Lorſhip hath dealt in other Mens Cauſes, and in great and weighty Affairs, with great Wiſdom and Judgment; now your own is in hand, you are not to contemn or refuſe the Advice of any that love you, how ſimple ſoever. In this order I rank my ſelf, among others that love you; none more ſimple, and none that love you with more true and honeſt affection; which ſhall plead my excuſe, if you ſhall either miſtake, or miſtruſt my Words or Meaning: but in your Lordſhips Honourable Wiſdom, I neither doubt nor ſuſpect the one nor the other. I will not preſume to Adviſe you; but ſhoot my Bolt, and tell you what I think, the beginning, and long continuance, of this ſo unſeaſonable diſcontentment, you have ſeen and proved, by which you aim at the end: if you ſtill hold this courſe, which hitherto you find to be worſe and worſe (and the longer you go, the further you go out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood the end will be better. You are not yet gone ſo far, but that you may well return: the return is ſafe, but the Progreſs is dangerous and deſperate, in this courſe you hold. If you have any Enemies, you do that for them, which they could never do for themſelves: Your Friends you leave to ſcorn and contempt; you forſake your ſelf, and overthrow your Fortunes, and ruinate your Honour and Reputation. You give that comfort and courage to the Foreign Enemies, as greater they cannot have; for what can be more welcom and pleaſing News, then to hear that her Majeſty and the Realm are maimed of ſo worthy a Member, who hath

hath ſo often, and ſo valiantly, quailed and daunted them? You forſake your Country, when it hath moſt need of your Council and Aid: And laſtly, you fail in your indiſſoluble Duty which you owe unto your moſt gracious Sovereign; a Duty impoſed upon you, not by Nature and Policy only, but by the religious and ſacred Bond wherein the Divine Majeſty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Chriſtianity obliged you.

For the four firſt, your conſtant Reſolution may, perhaps, move you to eſteem them as light; but, being well weighed, they are not light, nor lightly to be regarded: And for the four laſt, it may be, that the clearneſs of your own Conſcience may ſeem to content your ſelf but that is not enough; for theſe Duties ſtand not only in Contemplation, or inward Meditation, and cannot be performed, but by external Actions; and where that faileth, the Subſtance alſo faileth. This being your preſent ſtate and condition, what is to be done? what is the remedy, my good Lord? I lack Judgment and Wiſdom to Adviſe you, but I will never want an honeſt true Heart to wiſh you well; nor, being warranted by a good Conſcience, will fear to ſpeak that I think. I have begun plainly, be not offended if I proceed ſo. *Bene cedit qui cedit tempori*: and *Seneca* ſaith, *Cedendum eſt fortunæ.* The Medicine and Remedy, is, not to contend and ſtrive, but humbly to yeild and ſubmit. Have you given cauſe, and yet take a ſcandal unto you? Then all you can be, is too little to make ſatisfaction. Is cauſe of ſcandal given unto you? Yet Policy, Duty and Religion, inforce you to ſue, yield and ſubmit to our Sovereign; between whom and you there can be no equal proportion of Duty, where God requires it as a principal Duty and Care to himſelf; and when it is evident, that great good may enſue of it to your friends, your ſelf, your Country, and your Sovereign, and extream harm by the contrary. There can be no diſhonour to yield; but in denying diſhonour and impiety, the difficulty (my good Lord) is, to Conquer your ſelf, which is the height of true Valour and Fortitude, whereunto all your honourable actions have tended. Do it in this, and God will be pleaſed, her Majeſty (no doubt) well ſatisfied, your Country will take good, and your Friends comfort by it; and your ſelf (I mention you laſt, for that of all theſe you eſteem your ſelf leaſt) ſhall receive Honour; and your Enemies (if you have any) ſhall be diſappointed of their bitter ſweet hope.

I have delivered what I think, ſimply and plainly; I leave you to determin, according to your own Wiſdom: if I have erred, it is *error amoris*, and not *amor erroris*, Conſtrue and accept it, I beſeech you, as I meant it; not as an Advice, but as an Opinion, to be allowed or cancelled at your Pleaſure. If I might conveniently have conferred with your ſelf in Perſon I would not have troubled you with ſo many idle blots. Whatſoever you judge of this my Opinion, yet be aſſured, my deſire is to further all good means that may tend to your Lordſhips good: And ſo wiſhing you all Happineſs and Honour I ceaſe,

Your Lordſhips moſt ready and Faithful,
though unable poor Friend,
Tho. Egerton, *Cuſt. Sigil.*

The Earl of Eſſex *his Anſwer.*

My very good Lord,

THough there is not that Man this day living, whom I would ſooner make Judge of any queſtion that might concern me, then your ſelf; yet you muſt give me leave to tell you, that in ſome Caſes I muſt appeal from all earthly Judges: And if in any, then ſurely in this, when the higheſt Judge on Earth hath impoſed upon me the heavieſt puniſhment, without Tryal or Hearing. Since then I muſt either Anſwer your Lordſhips Arguments, or elſe forſake mine own juſt Defence, I will force mine aking Head to do me Service for an hour. I muſt firſt deny my diſcontent (which was forced) to be an humorous diſcontent; and in that it was unſeaſonable, or is ſo long continuing, your Lordſhip ſhould rather condole with me, then expoſtulate: Natural Seaſons are expected here below but violent and unreaſonable ſtorms come from above: There is no tempeſt to the paſſionate indignation of a Prince, nor yet at any time ſo unſeaſonable as when it lighteth on thoſe that might expect an Harveſt of their careful and painful Labours. He that is once wounded muſt needs feel ſmart till his hurt be cured, or the part hurt become ſenſleſs: But cure I expect none, her Majeſty's Heart being obdurate; and be without Senſe I cannot, being of Fleſh and Blood. But you may ſay, I may aim at the end: I do more then aim, for I ſee an end of all my Fortunes, I have ſet an end to all my Deſires. In this courſe do I any thing for mine Enemies? When I was preſent, I found them abſolute; and therefore, I had rather they ſhould Triumph alone, then have me attendant upon their Chariots: Or do I leave my Friends? When I was a Courtier, I could ſell them no Fruit of my Love; and now, that I am an Hermit, they ſhall bear no envy for their love to me. Or do I forſake my ſelf, becauſe I do not enjoy my ſelf? Or do I overthrow my Fortunes, becauſe I build not a Fortune of Paper-walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or do I rui-

nate mine Honour, becauſe I leave following the purſuit, or wearing the falſe mark, or the ſhadow of honour? Do I give courage or comfort to the Enemies, becauſe I neglect my ſelf to encounter them? Or becauſe I keep my Heart from buſineſs, though I cannot keep my Fortune from declining? No, no, I give every one of thoſe conſiderations his due right; and the more I weigh them, the more I find my ſelf juſtified from offending in any of them. As for the two laſt Objections, that I forſake my Country when it hath moſt need of me, and fail in that indiſſoluble Duty which I owe to my Sovereign, I anſwer, That if my Country had at this time any need of my Public Service, Her Majeſty that governeth it, would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my Country by two Bonds; one public, to diſcharge carefully and induſtriouſly that truſt which is committed to me; the other private, to Sacrifice for it my Life and Carcaſe, which hath been nouriſhed in it. Of the firſt, I am free, being diſmiſſed by her Majeſty: Of the other nothing can free me but death, and therefore no occaſion of performance ſhall ſooner offer it ſelf, but I will meet it half way. The indiſſoluble Duty I owe unto her Majeſty, the Service of an Earl and of Marſhal of *England*, and I have been content to do her the Service of a Clerk; but I can never ſerve her as a Villain or a Slave. But you ſay, I muſt give way to time. So I do; for now that I ſee the ſtorm come, I have put my ſelf into Harbour. *Seneca* ſaith, we muſt give way to Fortune: I know that Fortune is both blind and ſtrong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of the way. You ſay, the remedy is not to ſtrive: I neither ſtrive, nor ſeek for remedy. But you ſay, I muſt yield and ſubmit: I can neither yield my ſelf to be guilty, nor this my Impriſonment lately laid upon me to be juſt; I owe ſo much to the Author of Truth, as I can never yield Truth to be Falſhood, nor Falſhood to be Truth. Have I given cauſe, you ask, and yet take a ſcandal? No, I gave no cauſe to take up ſo much as *Fimbria* his complaint; for I did *totum telum corpore accipere*, I patiently bear and ſenſibly feel all that I then received when the ſcandal was given me. Nay, when the vileſt of all indignities are done unto me, doth Religion enforce me to ſue? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? cannot Princes err? Cannot Subjects receive wrong? Is an Earthly Power infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my Lord, I can never ſubſcribe to theſe Principles. Let *Solomons* Fool laugh when he is ſtricken; let thoſe that mean to make their profit of Princes, ſhew to have no ſenſe of Princes injuries; let them acknowledge an infinite abſoluteneſs on Earth, that do not believe an abſolute infiniteneſs in Heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, I feel it; my cauſe is good, I know it; and whatſoever comes, all the Powers on Earth can never ſhew more ſtrength or conſtancy in oppreſſing, then I can ſhew in ſuffering whatſoever can or ſhall be impoſed upon me. Your Lordſhip, in the beginning of your Letter, makes me a Player, and your ſelf a looker on; and me a Player of my own Game, ſo you may ſee more then I: but give me leave to tell you, that ſince you do but ſee, and I do ſuffer, I muſt of neceſſity feel more then you. I muſt crave your Lordſhips patience, to give him that hath a crabbed Fortune, leave to uſe a crooked ſtile: But whatſoever my ſtile is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected towards your Lordſhip, then that of,

Your Lordſhips poor Friend,
ESSEX.

Sir Thomas Egerton, *Chancellor, after Lord* Elleſmere, *to the Earl of* Eſſex.

SIR,

HOw things proceed here, touching your ſelf, you ſhall partly underſtand by theſe incloſed. Her Majeſty is gracious towards you, and you want not Friends to remember and commend your former Services: Of theſe particulars you ſhall know more when we meet. In the mean time, by way of caution, take this from me; There are ſharp Eyes upon you; your Actions, publick and private, are obſerved: It behoveth you, therefore to carry your ſelf with all integrity and ſincerity both of hands and heart, leaſt you overthrow your own Fortunes, and diſcredit your Friends that are tender and careful of your reputation and well-doing. So, in haſte, I commit you to God, with my very hearty commendations, and reſt,

At the Court at Richmond,
Octob. 21. 1599.

Your aſſured loving Friend,
THO. EGERTON, C. S.

Lord

Lord Chancellor Elleſmere, *to King* James.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

I Find, through my great Age, accompanied with griefs and infirmities, my ſenſe and conceipt is become dull and heavy, my memory decayed, my judgment weak, my hearing imperfect, my voice and ſpeech failing and faltering, and in all the Powers and Faculties of my Mind and Body great debility. Wherefore, *conſcientia imbecilitatis*, my humble ſuit to your moſt ſacred Majeſty is, to be diſcharged of this great Place, wherein I have long ſerved; and to have ſome comfortable Teſtimony under your Royal hand, that I leave it at this humble ſuit, with your gracious favour: So ſhall I, with comfort, number and ſpend the few days I have to live, in Meditation, and Prayers to Almighty God, to preſerve your Majeſty, and all yours, in all heavenly and earthly felicity and happineſs.

This ſuit I intended ſome Years paſt. *ex dictamine rationis & conſcientiæ*; Love and Fear ſtayed it: Now Neceſſity conſtrains me to it; I am utterly unable to ſuſtain the Burthen of this great Service; for I am come to St. *Paul*'s deſire, *Cupio diſſolvi, & eſſe cum Chriſto.* Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty moſt favourably to grant it.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and loyal
poor Subject and Servant,
THO. ELLESMERE, *Canc.*

Lord Chancellor Elleſmere, *to King* James.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

YOur Royal Favour hath placed and continued me many Years in the higheſt place of ordinary Juſtice in this your Kingdom, and hath moſt graciouſly born with my many, but unwilling, errors and defects, accepting, inſtead of ſufficiency, my zeal and fidelity which never failed. This doth encourage and ſtir in me an earneſt deſire to ſerve ſtill: But when I remember St. *Paul*'s rule, *Let him that hath an Office wait on his Office*; and do conſider, withal my great Age, and many infirmities, I am dejected, and do utterly faint: For I ſee and feel ſenſibly, that I am not able to perform thoſe Duties as I ought, and the place requires; and thereupon I do ſeriouſly examine my ſelf, what excuſe or anſwer I ſhall make to the King of Kings, and Judge of all Judges, when he ſhall call me to Accompt; and then my conſcience ſhall accuſe me, that I have preſumed ſo long to undergo and wield ſo mighty and great a charge and burthen; and I behold a great Cloud of Witneſſes ready to give Evidence againſt me.

1. Reaſon telleth me, and by experience I find, *Senectus eſt tarda & obliviosa, & inſanabilis morbus.*

2. I heard the Precepts and Council of many reverend, ſage, and learned Men, *Senectuti debetur otium, ſolve ſenectutem mature*, &c.

3. I read in former Laws, that old Men were made *emeriti & rude donati*: And one ſevere Law that ſaith, *Sexagenarius de ponte*, whereupon they are called *Depontanei.* And *Plato*, *lib.* 6. *de legibus*, ſpeaking of a great Magiſtrate which was *Præfectus legibus ſervandis*, determineth thus, *Minor annis* 50 *non admittatur*; *nec major annis* 70 *permittatur in eo perſeverare*: And to this Law, reſpecting both mine Office, and my Years, I cannot but yield. But leaving Foreign Laws, the Stat. *anno* 13 *E.* 1. ſpeaketh plainly, *Homines excedentes ætatem* 70 *annorum non ponantur in Aſſiſis & Juratis.* So as it appeareth, that Men of that Age are by that Law, diſcharged of greater, painful and careful, eſpecially Judicial Offices.

4. Beſides, I find many examples of Men of great Wiſdom, Knowledge and Judgment, meet and worthy to be followed; of which (leaving all other) I will remember that of *William Wharam*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*, who after long ſervice, was upon his humble ſuit, diſcharged of the Office of Chancellor of *England*, in reſpect of his great Age. Seeing then ſuch a Cloud of Witneſſes againſt me, which in my private Soliloquies and Meditations, are daily and continually repreſented to my view, and mine own Conſcience (more then a thouſand witneſſes) concurring with me; Pardon me, my moſt gracious Sovereign, to conclude with good *Barzillai*, *Quot ſunt dies annorum vitæ meæ? quare ſervus tuus ſit oneri domino noſtro Regi? obſecro ut revertar ſervus tuus & moriar*, &c. So I moſt humbly beſeech your ſacred Majeſty, graciouſly to regard the great Age, infirmity and impotency of your moſt devoted, Obedient, Loyal and Faithful Servant: Let me not be as *Domitius* after was, *Maluit deficere quam deſinere*; but, with your Princely Favour, give me leave to retire my

ſelf from the careful Service of this great Office, and from the Troubles of this World, and to ſpend the ſmall Remnant of my Life in Meditation and Prayer; and I will never ceaſe to make my humble Supplications to Almighty God, to bleſs and proſper your Majeſty, the Queen, the Prince, all your Royal Iſſue, with all heavenly and earthly Felicity; which is the laſt and beſt Service your poor, aged, weak, and decayed Servant can do for you.

THO. ELLESMERE, *Canc.*

Ferdinand *the Emperor*, *to* Don Belthazar de Zuniga.

To the Honorable and ſincerely beloved, Don Belthazar de Zuniga, *Couſin and Councellor of State to the moſt excellent, and Catholick King of* Spain.

Honorable, and ſincerely Beloved,

WHat my mind and purpoſe is touching the Tranſlation of the Electorſhip to the Duke of *Bavaria*, according to the Promiſe I made him, and wherefore I think that Buſineſs ſo neceſſary and profitable, as for *Germany* in general, ſo particularly, for ſecuring our Houſe from all Attempts of Hereticks, as his Holineſs exhorts me not to be further delay'd: You ſhall underſtand, as well by Conference with Father *Jacinthus*, whom his Holineſs hath for that purpoſe addreſſed unto me, his Majeſty of *Spain*, my Nephew, and other Catholick Princes of *Germany*, as by theſe enſuing Reaſons, whereof the principal are: That when I repear from the beginning the whole Courſe of my Reign, and the Difficulties through which I have attained my Kingdoms and Provinces; I behold with Reverence, the admirable Providence of God over me, which makes me the more bound to repoſe my Truſt in him, and not to omit any Occaſion which may tend to the Advancement of his Glory, and the Honor of ſo admirable tryed Providence: and therefore that I ſhould uſe that moſt notable Victory to the Honor of God, and Extirpation of all ſeditious Factions, which are nouriſhed chiefly among the *Calviniſts*; and that I ſhould withdraw my ſelf from that Judgment that the Prophet threatens to the King of *Iſrael*, *Becauſe thou haſt diſmiſſed a Man worthy of Death, thy Soul ſhall be for his Soul.* The Palatine keeps now in *Holland*, exiled not only from the Kingdom, which he raſhly attemped, but deſpoiled almoſt of all his own Territories, expecting as it were the laſt Caſt of Fortune; whom, if by any impious kind of Commiſeration and ſubtil Petitions, I be perſwaded to reſtore to his Electoral Dignity, and nouriſh in my Boſome a trodden half living Snake, what can I expect leſs than a deadly Stinging? For it is in vain for me to think that he ſhould be able to diſcern the Greatneſs of ſuch a Benefit: For the Polititians Saying is true, *Ultionem quæſivi, gratiam oneri habere*; eſpecially ſince the Injuries he did me are ſo heinous, his Projects ſo ſubtil, that although I ſhould overcome him with Chriſtian Charity, yet I ſhould never be able to take him from the Guilt of his Offences, and make him ſoundly faithful unto me; but he will always gape at all Occaſions whereby he may free himſelf from fear of his ill Deſervings, and cover his own proſtituted Honor with new Attempts. Add hereunto the *Calviniſts* Inſtitution, of whoſe Sect the proper Genius is to hold nothing unlawful, either Fraud or Wickedneſs, which is undertaken for the Religion; no Sanctity of Oath, nor Fear of Diſhonor hinders them. From ſuch an one, what Caution can either the Houſe of *Auſtria*, or other Catholick Princes, with whom he is no leſs in Enmity, becauſe for Religion, as becauſe they are intereſſed in the War, receive? The King of *England* will be engaged, but of the ſame Religion; nor is there any thing more eaſie, than when there is occaſion of perpetrating any Wickedneſs, to palliate it with a Pretext of a Breach of the League. Hiſtories are fraughted with Examples; in ſome there are no Cautions ſufficient in ſuch a Buſineſs: than to drive him where he cannot hurt, all other Means are frail, and he which once believed is deſpiſed. It is likewiſe a Conſideration of no leſs moment, that the *Palatinate* being reſtored, will draw all his Power and Policy, as hitherto, ſo hereafter, where he thinks he can do moſt Hurt, and that moſt eaſily, to wit, to *Bethlem Gabor*, and the *Turks*, whom he hath already incited to Hoſtility againſt me, and will never ceaſe hereafter to inſtigate the *Calviniſts* entire Hopes in them. Theſe, until they recover Breath, and recollect their Forces, they endeavor to diſarm and exhauſt me of Moneys, ranging in my Territories as they have done hitherto, by Fire and Sword. But if with them alſo, whom notwithſtanding I cannot truſt alike, I ſhould make Peace, what Conditions will *Gabor*, who remains yet unconquered, require, if I ſhould reſtore the *Palatine* (already conquered) to his Electoral Dignity.

Therefore, ſince long before God granted me that famous Victory, I firmly forecaſt with my ſelf, that the *Palatine* could not be reſtored to his Electoral Dignity without the extream Danger of the Catholicks and my Houſe, I offered freely, on my own Motion, but being directed queſtionleſs by God, the Electorſhip to the Duke of *Bavaria*, a moſt eager Defender of the Catholick Cauſe, whoſe

Territories

Territories on the other ſide lye as a Rampire between me and other Princes of *Germany*; and ſince I made ſo good uſe of his Help, and ſo profitable in the Recovery of my Kingdoms and Provinces, and continue yet to this Day, time it ſelf, more than the ſaid Duke doth, cry out that I ſhould accompliſh my Promiſe without further delay, and by a Tranſlation of the Electorſhip, take away quite all Hopes from the Palatine and them that ſollicite us ſo importunately for a Reſtitution, that we may be freed from all moleſtation; which thing, ſince it needs the Help of his Majeſty of *Spain*, although I know his Majeſty be propenſe enough of himſelf to all things which appertain to the Honor of God, and the Security of our Houſe, yet I thought good to admoniſh you of this Occaſion, leſt this Opportunity of eſtabliſhing of our Religion and Family eſcape, which I conceive might conveniently be done by you. Neither do I ſuppoſe his Majeſty to be ignorant, that it was always judged of our Anceſtors, that the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which by Gods Permiſſion doth now Seigniorize far and near upon the Earth, to have its chief Foundation here in *Germany*, which is the more to be defended, the nearer its Ruine depends thereupon. In times paſt this Houſe hath had proof of many Adverſaries to its Greatneſs, as the Hiſtories under *Maximilian* the Firſt, *Charles* the Fifth, *Ferdinand* the Second, and *Rodulf* the Second, do ſhew: the perfidiouſneſs of *Holland* againſt his Majeſty's Grand-father, *Philip* the Second, fetched her Food from the Palatinate; neither can his Majeſty ever reduce the rebellious *Hollanders* to Obedience, unleſs his Root be pluckt up; which only Motive, beſide theſe which I alledged before, might juſtly induce him not to ſuſter, a fallen Enemy, to riſe, and reſume (as his Stomach will never fail him) ſtrength again.

But albeit it is not to be diſſembled, that the *Lutheran* Princes, eſpecially the Elector of *Saxony* will not approve haply of this Tranſlation, becauſe they fear it conduceth too much to the corroborating of the Catholick Cauſe: Nevertheleſs, ſince he cannot accuſe that Act of *Charles* the Fifth, who for a far lighter Cauſe, deprived *John Frederick* of the Electorſhip, and conferred it on *Maurice*, this Dukes Great Uncle; and perceiving that all the Councels of the *Calviniſts* do aim to bring in the *Turk*, he will not condemn this Tranſlation: For no leſs is the *Lutherans* Hatred againſt the *Calviniſts*, as the Catholicks and they think leſs Danger do proceed from the latter. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Elector of *Saxony*, and other *Lutheran* Princes, when they ſee the Buſineſs brought to this Point, will not ſo far diſapprove thereof, as to put themſelves in Arms; which I ſhall ſhortly underſtand of the moſt excellent Arch-Duke *Charles*, my Brother, who is for this Cauſe to treat with the Elector of *Saxony*. And theſe Motives, as they are of great Conſequence, ſo I imagine you, which are daily of his Majeſties Councel, have pondered them as diligently as my ſelf; and therefore that you will omit nothing that is pertinent to eſtabliſh this Buſineſs, whereby we may obtain the long and wiſhed Fruit thereof, which is the Propagation of the Honor of Almighty God through the Empire, and the Augmentation of the Common Safety, Family and Dignity.

Beloved, *Don Balthazar*, I underſtand that there was a Motive of great Conſideration omitted in my Letter; to wit, that if we had more Countenance of his Catholick Majeſty than we have at this preſent, the Empire ſhould always remain in the Hands of Catholicks; and ſo, according to reaſon, in our Houſe; to whoſe Advancement the Duke of *Bavaria* will willingly concur in Recognition of ſuch a Benefit, being promoted by an Emperor of that Houſe, to ſo eminent and high a Dignity, as in our Letters.

Vienna, October the 15*th.* 1621.

The Lord Faulklands *Petition to the King.*

MOſt humbly ſhewing, that I had a Son, until I loſt him, in your Highneſs's Diſpleaſure, where I cannot ſeek him, becauſe I have not Will to find him there. Men ſay, there is a wild young Man now Priſoner in the *Fleet*, for meaſuring his Actions by his own private Sence. But now that for the ſame your Majeſty's Hand hath appeared in his Puniſhment, he bows and humbles himſelf before, and to it: Whether he be mine, or not, I can diſcern by no Light, but that of Your Royal Clemency; for only in Your Forgiveneſs can I own him for mine. Forgiveneſs is the Glory of the ſupremeſt Powers, and this the Operation, that when it is extended in the greateſt Meaſure, it converts the greateſt Offenders into the greateſt Lovers, and ſo makes Purchaſe of the Heart, an eſpecial Priviledge peculiar and due to Sovereign Princes.

If now Your Majeſty will vouchſafe, out of Your own Benignity, to become a ſecond Nature, and reſtore that unto me which the firſt gave me, and Vanity deprived me of, I ſhall keep my Reckoning of the full Number of my Sons with Comfort, and tender the Tribute of my moſt humble Thankfulneſs; elſe my weak old Memory muſt forget one.

A Declaration of Ferdinand, *Infanta of* Spain.

Unto all thoſe to whom this preſent Writing ſhall come, greeting.

France having, contrary to Reaſon and Juſtice, moved and maintained War in the States of the Emperor, and of my Lord the King, given extraordinary Succors both of Men and Money to their rebellious Subjects; procured the *Swedes* to invade the Empire, received and bought of them the Towns of *Alſatia*, and other hereditary Countreys of our moſt Royal Houſe, not ſparing the Catholick League it ſelf, which had taken Arms for no other end but for the good of Religion: And it being notorious, that the ſame *France* (after all theſe publick and manifeſt Contraventions to the Treaties of Peace) hath finally proceeded to a Breach thereof: whereas we had cauſe to denounce the War, in that ſhe hath ſent her Armies to over-run the Low Countreys, the Durchy of *Milan*, and other Feoffees of the Empire in *Italy*, and now lately the Country of *Burgundy*, contrary to the Laws of Neutrality, contrary to the publick Faith, and contrary to the expreſs Promiſes of the Prince of *Conde*, diſguiſing, in the mean time theſe Attempts and Breaches of Faith before all Chriſtendom, with certain weak Pretexts and falſe Surmiſes, contained in divers Declarations, approved in the Parliament of *France*; and accompanying all theſe unjuſt Proceedings with ſundry Inſolencies, Calumnies and Contempts of ſecret Perſons. And having alſo obſerved, that this ſo long Continence of ours at ſo manifold Injuries hath ſerved to no other purpoſe, but to make our Enemies more audacious and inſolent, and that the Compaſſion we have had of *France* hath drawn on the Ruine of thoſe whom God hath put under the Obedience of their Majeſty's: For theſe Conſiderations, according to the Power which we have received from his Imperial Majeſty, we have commanded our Armies to enter into *France*, with no other purpoſe than to oblige the King of *France* to come to a good and ſecure Peace, for removing thoſe Impediments which may hinder this ſo great a Good. And for as much as it principally concerneth *France* to give end to theſe Diſorders, we are willing to believe that all the Eſtates of that Kingdom will contribute not only their Remonſtrances, but alſo, if need be, their Forces, to diſpoſe their King, to chaſtiſe thoſe who have been the Authors of all theſe Wars, which theſe ſeven or eight Years paſt have been in Chriſtendom; and who after they have provoked and aſſailed all their Neighbours, have brought upon *France* all thoſe Evils which ſhe doth now ſuffer; and draw on her thoſe other which do now threaten her. And although we are well informed of the Weakneſs and Diviſions into which theſe great Diſorders and evil Counſels have caſt her; yet we declare, that the Intentions of their Majeſties are not to ſerve themſelves of this Occaſion, to ruine her, or to draw from thence any other Profit, then by that means to work a Peace in Chriſtendom, which may be ſtable and permanent.

For theſe Reaſons, and withal, to ſhew what Eſtimation their Majeſties do make of the Prayers of the Queen Mother of the moſt Chriſtian King, we do give to underſtand; that we will protect and treat as Friends all thoſe of the *French* Nation, who either joyntly or ſeverally ſhall ſecond theſe our good Deſigns; and have given Order that Neutrality ſhall be held with thoſe of the Nobility, and with the Towns, which ſhall deſire it, and which ſhall refuſe to aſſiſt thoſe who ſhall oppoſe the Good of Chriſtendom, and their own Safety; againſt whom ſhall be uſed all manner of Hoſtility, without giving Quarter to their Perſons, or ſparing either their Houſes or Goods. And our further Will is, that all men take notice that it is the Reſolutions of their Majeſties not to lay down Arms, till the Queen Mother of the moſt Chriſtian King be ſatisfied and contented, till the Princes, unjuſtly driven out of their Eſtates, be reſtored: and till they ſee the Aſſurances of Peace more certain than to be diſturbed by him who hath violated the Treaties of *Ratisbon*, and others made before, and ſithence he hath had the managing of the Affairs of *France*. Neither do we pretend to draw any other Advantage from the good Succeſs which it ſhall pleaſe God to give unto our juſt proſecutions, then to preſerve and augment the Catholick Religion, to pacifie *Europe*, to relieve the Oppreſſed, and to reſtore to every one that which of right belongeth unto him.

Given at Ments, July 5. 1636.

Mr. Gargrave, *to the Lord* Davers.

My very good Lord,

I Have heretofore many times both ſent and written to you, touching the inſupportable Burthen of Wrong, which hath many Years lain upon my Shoulders, but you were not pleaſed to return me any Anſwer for my Satisfaction therein: my Opinion, at the firſt, was, that it was meerly the Reſpect of ſome, whom you would not, or might not offend, that you ſuffered your Name to be uſed

uſed by others, to wound and afflict me in my Eſtate: to which ſo fair an Opinion I was induced, partly by ancient Judgment of your honorable Diſpoſition, partly, and much rather, by the Privity of my Heart, which ever conſtantly affected a good Correſpondency with you every way. But ſince now this Oppreſſion which I ſuffer hath had its Continuance ſo many Years without Relaxation, in which I ſmart beyond all Example, and the Admiration of the World hath concurred with my ſenſe of ſo great a Bitterneſs from ſo near Allies; I cannot but, to my Grief and Wonder, obſerve your too much, either Conſent or Connivency to theſe my Harms, which before I have not eaſily ſuffered my Thoughts to admit; wherein, if I have not miſtaken your Lordſhips Intereſts, I have yet conceived Hope, that although you had in the beginning a juſt Ground to make me feel the Weight of your Diſpleaſure and Alienation from me, yet that the Sufferance of ſo many Years, and ſuch a Sufferance under pretence of Juſtice, as can hardly be parallel'd, might yet, at the laſt, have ſatiated a very deeply intended Revenge, much more ſatisfied a moderate Mind, poſſeſſed with Honor or Religion, as I conceive your Lordſhips to be. Herein, after a various Agitation in my ſelf, I am enforced to honor the wonderful Providence of God, who hath pleaſed to convert the Affinity which I affected with your Noble Houſe, for my Comfort and Aſſiſtance, to my Ruine; and that in the Boſom of our neareſt and deareſt Friendſhip ſhould breed ſo inteſtine a Hatred, as ſhould tend to the Overthrow of my Credit, Wealth, Lands, Liberty, Houſe, Wife and Children, and all thoſe Comforts which ſhould either ſupport or ſweeten the Life of Man.

Wherefore I have adventured, after ſo long ſilence, to mind your Lordſhip of this my unfortunate Eſtate, wherein I rather dye than live, whereunto I have been ſo long ſince percipitated by your Lordſhips Countenance, as I hope, pretended only by the Inſtruments of my Miſchief to proceed from you; that if now your Lordſhip ſhall think it enough, that I have ſo many Years, ſo many Ways, endured the Croſſes of ſo high a Nature, and can be induced to affect a Reparation, or at leaſt a Determination of thoſe Injuries which undeſervedly have been heaped upon me; I may yet at length conclude this Tragedy of my Life paſt with ſome comfortable Fruit of that Love and Kindneſs which at the firſt I aimed at in ſeeking your Lordſhips Alliance, and which I endeavored to deſerve for the Countenance, and which after ſo long Intermiſſion, I ſhall think my ſelf happy to enjoy, if ſo be your Lordſhip ſhall out of your charitable Conſideration, think my Motion to concur with my Deſire, that I may not be enforced to advance my Complaint further, which I wiſh may be prevented by this my Expoſtulation, ſpringing from the Sence of ſo great and intollerable a Miſery, wherein I languiſh every day.

Ab ignoto, *to the Conde* Gondomar, *concerning the Death of* Philip *the Third.*

UPon the laſt day of *February*, being Sunday, 1620. his Catholick Majeſty, after he had heard Maſs and the Sermon in the Chappel, was taken with a Fevor, which continued with him eight days, with a Ruddineſs, and Pimples which appeared plainly in his Face, which afterwards began to diminiſh; but he was ſuddenly taken with a Vomiting and a great Fevor, which continued with him till the 21*ſt.* day, and the Phyſicians were of Opinion to have him riſe out of his Bed, which was accordingly done both that day and the next; but about Dinner time there happen'd unto him a great Swouning, which much aſtoniſh'd him; and the 23*d.* Day, in the Night, his Fevor did redouble upon him, with a Vomiting and a Flux in the Belly, and a great Melancholly, and an Opinion that he ſhould die: which Fevor continued with divers Reduplications, the Phyſitians having an ill Opinion of him, till on Saturday Night, the 27*th.* when his Reduplications were more violent, his Water bad; and the King perſevered in ſaying how he ſaw well that he ſhould die, he commanded that the Image of our Lady of *Antiochia* ſhould be carried about, which was performed on Sunday the 28*th.* in a ſolemn Proceſſion, wherein the Councellors of *Spain* aſſiſted.

In the Evening, Commandment was given to the Churches, that the Bleſſed Sacrament ſhould be ſet upon the Altar, and the Body of St. *Iſidore* ſhould be placed in the Court. On Monday the 29*th.* about four of the Clock in the Evening, his Diſeaſe then grew violent, and ſome Ulcers appeared on his Belly, on his Reins, and on his Thighs, and the King ſtill aſſuring himſelf that he ſhould die; the Phyſicians then feeling his Pulſe, affirmed, that undoubtedly they aſſented unto the King in the Opinion he conceived of his Infirmity. At the ſame time the Preſident of *Caſtile* was ſent for, and the Confeſſor, who having had ſome ſpeech with the King, and the Duke of *Oſſuna*, they went and fetch'd the Councellors, before whom, and the Grandees of *Spain*, who were preſent, the King ſealed his Teſtament, which *John de Serita*, Secretary of State, had ſet down in Writing in his Preſence. Afterwards they cauſed him to eat ſomewhat; and being adviſed how it would be good for him to ſleep, he made this Anſwer in Spaniſh, *En jornada tan longa y tiempe tan bréve ne conviéue repoſar*; Upon ſo long a Journey, and ſo ſhort a time to perform it, I muſt not reſt. Then he ſent for the Prince,

Prince, and the young Child *Don Carlo*; to whom having ſpoken for a good while, at length in particular to the Prince he ſaid aloud, how he recommended unto him the Child, and that he grieved that he ſhould have been unprovided, but he hoped he left him in the Hands of a good and loving Brother. Then ſaid he to the Prince, that he requeſted him, that he would not do as he did at his coming to the Crown, in removing his Fathers old Officers and Servants, but that he would employ thoſe who were experienced in Affairs of the Common-wealth: He then commended unto him, particularly, *John de Luenza*, Secretary of the Memorials, and his Confeſſor, and afterwards the Duke of *Oſſuna*. Then was preſently brought in the Infanta *Maria*, and the Infant-Cardinal. He cryed out when he ſaw the Infanta, and ſaid, *Maria*, I am full ſorry that I muſt dye before I have married thee; but this thy Brother ſhall have care of. He then turned towards her Brother, and ſaid unto him, Prince; do not forſake her, till you have made her an Empreſs. Then he ſpake unto the Cardinal Infant, whom he appointed to be a Prieſt, ſo ſoon as he ſhould come to be of fit Age; and ſaid, that he ſhou'd be much grieved, if he thought he would not undertake this Profeſſion. He had ſent for Madam the Princeſs, but ſhe ſwooned upon her Entry at the Chamber-door, which was the Cauſe that ſhe was conducted back again unto her own Chamber, fearing leſt it might be prejudicial unto her, being great with child. Which being reported to the King, he ſhewed great Compaſſion thereat, and ſaid, that he ever conſtantly believed, that Madam the Princeſs loved him as well as any of his own Children. After that he began to ſpeak of the Queen, ſaying, how ſhe ſhould loſe a good Husband, and that he had always loved her dearly. Afterwards he diſtributed, between the Prince and the Infanta, the Reliques and other Memorials he had, except one Crucifix, which hung at the Teſtern of the Bed, and ſaid unto the Prince, that he could not give it him then, becauſe it was the ſame with which his Grand-father and Father had died; but he commended it to him, to be held with great Reverence after his Death, and that the Popes had given unto it ſpecial Indulgences. Afterwards, giving them all his Bleſſing, he cauſed them to go forth; and ſo calling for the bleſſed Sacrament, which was adminiſtred unto him about Midnight, he received the Extreme Unction at two of the Clock in the Morning, and ſo commended himſelf unto God. Yet did he not, for all this, forbear to ſeal to a great Number of Papers which were brought him: And complaining very much, he refuſed ſuch Meat as they would have had him take. About Noon, the Body of St. *Iſidore* was placed near unto his Bed, his Confeſſor and Father *Florence* perſwading him to make a Vow for his Health, and that he would build a Chappel to the ſame Saint; which he did, but withal ſaid, *Peró ya es tárde*, But now it is very late. He continued all the reſt of the Day, ſpeaking continually to the Father Confeſſor, Father *Florence* and *Rochus*. Many Proceſſions of Pennance were ſolemnized in the Town, and the Council aſſembled twice. About the Evening, his Infirmity renewed with Violence; and having languiſhed the whole Night, in the Morning his Departure was publiſhed, though indeed it was not till about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, the laſt of *March*, the ſelf-ſame day of our Return; which will inform you of all things paſſed, at leaſt, of ſuch as came any ways to our Knowledge. The Queen ſtirr'd not out of her Bed all that Day, for fear, leſt either Trouble or Grief of Mind (whereof ſhe gave plentiful Teſtimony by her Tears) might prejudice her Health, or the Fruit of her Body, which ſhe hath paſſed over (thanks be to God;) whereof we ſend you Word, that the good News may ſhut up the Diſcourſe of an Accident ſo lamentable and unlooked for.

To Count Gondomar.

My Lord,

I Thought my Hands bound, that I could no ſooner have occaſion to write unto you, being forced, againſt my Will, to delay my Writing from day to day, in expectation of the News of your arrival at that Court; aſſuring my ſelf, that I ſhould then receive from you ſome ground whereupon to write. But after a long expence of time before that I could hear of your arrival, and, in the Pacquet that his Majeſty's Embaſſador ſent thereafter, receiving no Letters nor Word from you, as I expected, I do now by theſe break my long ſilence unto you.

As for News from hence, I can in a word aſſure you, That they are, in all Points, as your Heart could wiſh; for here is a King, a Prince, and a faithful Friend and Servant unto you, beſides a number of other good Friends, that long ſo much for the happy accompliſhment of this Match, as every day ſeems a year unto us; and I can aſſure you, in the Word of your honeſt Friend, That we have a Prince here, that is ſo ſharp ſet upon the Buſineſs, as it would much comfort you to ſee it, and hear there to hear it. Here are all things prepared upon our parts; Prieſts and Recuſants all at liberty, all the *Roman* Catholicks well ſatisfied; and which will ſeem a wonder to you, our Priſons are emptied of Prieſts and Recuſants, and filled with zealous Miniſters, for preaching againſt the Match; for no Man can ſooner, now, mutter a Word in the Pulpit, though indirectly, againſt it, but he is preſently

ſently catched, and ſet in ſtreight Priſon. We have alſo publiſhed Orders, both for the Univerſities, and the Pulpits, that no Man hereafter ſhall meddle, but to preach Chriſt crucified: Nay, it ſhall not be lawful for them hereafter to rail againſt the Pope, or the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, further than for edification of ours; and for proof hereof, you ſhall, herewith, receive the Orders ſet down and publiſhed. But if we could hear as good News from you, we ſhould think our ſelves happy Men: But, alas, now that we have put the Ball at your feet, although we have received, a comfortable Diſpatch from his Majeſties Embaſſador there; yet from all other parts in the World the effects appear directly contrary. For Mr. *Gage* brings us News from *Rome*, that the Diſpenſation there is at a ſtand, except a number of new Conditions be granted, which we never dreamed of, and can tend to no other end, but to bring our Maſter in Jealouſie with the greateſt part of his Subjects; nay, which is ſtrangeſt of all, we find ſome points, yielded unto by us (which would have given the Pope good ſatisfaction) to be concealed from him by the King your Maſters Miniſter there. We were never more troubled to put a good face upon an ill game, than we were upon *Gage*'s arrival here, which, in your phraſe, is to put a good Sauce to an unſavoury Diſh.

For the whole World being in expectation of bringing the Diſpenſation with him, we are now forced to make him give it out here to all his Friends, that 'tis paſt in *Rome*, and ſent from thence to *Spain*. And from *Bruxels* we find, that notwithſtanding both of the King your Maſters Promiſes, and undertaking of the *Infanta* there, who hath long ago acknowledged to have had power from the Emperor, for granting of this long-talk'd of Ceſſation; yet now, after innumerable delays on her part, *Heidelberg* is beſieged by Count *Tilley*, and that at ſuch a time, as his Majeſty cannot imagin what ground or ſhadow of excuſe can be found for his Commiſſion: For the Treaty hath been twice reformed at her deſire, and all the Auxiliaries, ſuch as *Brunſwick* and *Mansfelt*, have taken another courſe; his Majeſty's Son-in-Law ſtaying privately in *Sedan*, ready to obey all his Majeſty's Directions; and the Places in the *Palatinate*, which are not already in his Enemies hands, being only poſſeſſed by his Majeſty's Souldiers. So as now, if the War ſhall continue, it muſt be directly between the Emperor and our Maſter; his Majeſty having ſent a Commandment to his Embaſſador at *Bruxels*, that if *Tilley* will needs go on with that Siege, that he return hither with all ſpeed: For his Majeſty in Honour cannot endure, that whilſt he is treating for a Ceſſation of Arms, at *Bruxels*, the War ſhould go on in the *Palatinate*, eſpecially when they have no body to invade, but his Majeſty's own Subjects and Servants. And indeed, his Majeſty thinks he is very ill dealt withal, for all that great Sincerity and Candor, wherewith he hath conſtantly carried himſelf, from the very beginning of this Buſineſs, that no leſs can ſatisfie the Emperors Revenge, than the utter extermination of his Children, both of Honour, and Inheritance, and not without a direct breach of his former Promiſe, avowedly ſet down in his laſt Letter to his Majeſty.

And now let me, I pray you, in the Name of your faithful Friend and Servant, beſeech you to ſet apart all partiality in this caſe; and that you would be pleaſed indifferently to conſider of the ſtreights we are driven into, if the Emperour ſhall in this faſhion conquer the *Palatinate*, the ancient Inheritance of his Majeſty's Children, what can be expected, but a bloody and unreconcileable War between the Emperor and my Maſter, wherein the King of *Spain* can be an Auxiliary to the Emperour, againſt any other Party but his Majeſty. And therefore, as my Maſter lately offered to the *Infanta*, for ſatisfaction of her deſire, that in caſe the Auxiliaries would not be contented with Reaſon, but ſtill perturb the Treaty, he offered, in that caſe, to aſſiſt the Emperour and her againſt them; ſo can he, in Juſtice, expect no leſs of the King your Maſter, that if the Emperour will, contrary to all Promiſes, both by his Letters, and Embaſſadours, proceed in his Conqueſt, and refuſe the Ceſſation, that the King your Maſter will, in that caſe, and in ſo juſt a Quarrel, aſſiſt him againſt the Emperor, in imitation of the King my Maſter's juſt and real Proceedings in the Buſineſs from the beginning, who never looked (as you can well be witneſs) to the riſing or falling Hopes of his Son in Law's Fortunes; but conſtantly kept on that courſe that was moſt agreeable to Honour and Juſtice, to the peace of Chriſtendom, and for the faſtening of a firm and indiſſoluble Knot of Amity and Alliance betwixt the King your Maſter and him, which was begun in the time of the Treaty with *France* and then broken, at your deſire, that we might embrace this Alliance with you. You are the Perſon that many times, before your departure hence, beſought his Majeſty once to ſuffer himſelf to be deceived by *Spain*: We, therefore, do now expect to find that great reſpect to Honour in your Maſter, that he will not take any advantage by the changing of Fortune, and ſucceſs of time, ſo to alter his Actions, as may put his Honour in the terms of Interpretation. You ſee how all the reſt of Chriſtendom envy and malign this Match and wiſhed Conjunction; how much greater need then hath it of a haſty and happy Diſpatch? And what comfort can the Prince have in her, when her Friends ſhall have utterly ruined his Siſter, and all her Babes? You remember how your ſelf praiſed his Majeſty's Wiſdom, in the election of ſo fit a Miniſter as Sir *Richard Weſton*, in this buſineſs; but you ſaw what deſperate Letters he writes, from time to time, of their cold and unjuſt treating with him in this Buſineſs: You could not but wonder that any ſpark of Patience could be left us here. And to conclude this point in a word, we ever received comfortable Words from *Spain*; but find ſuch

contrary effects from *Bruxels*, together with our Intelligences from all other parts of the World, as all our Hopes are not only cold, but quite extinguiſhed here. Thus far for the Bye; and yet ſuch a Bye, as may put by the Main, if it be not well and ſpeedily prevented. As to the Main, which is the Match, his Majeſty, and we all here, thought we had done our part, and put the Ball at your foot, when we agreed upon the twenty and five Articles more: Whereupon, as your ſelf often anſwered, and aſſured us the beſt Divines in *Spain* concluded, That the Pope not only might, but ought to grant a Diſpenſation to this Marriage; but now we are ſurcharged with a number of new Articles from *Rome*, and, in the mean time, the Diſpenſation is as far off as ever it was.

His Majeſty hopes that you are not ignorant, that the Treaty is between him and your Maſter: He hath no Treaty with *Rome*, neither lies it in his way to diſpute with them upon this Queſtion; yet that his readineſs to embrace your Maſter's Friendſhip may the better appear, he is contented to yield to ſo many of their Demands, as either his Conſcience, Honour, or Safety can permit, if ſo the King your Maſter ſhall think it neceſſary. But, on the other part, we three remember, that whenas you firſt moved this Match unto him, and perſwaded him to break off with *France*, you then promiſed, That he ſhould be preſſed to nothing, in this buſineſs, that ſhould not be agreeable to his Conſcience and Honour, and ſtand with the love of his People. As to the particular Articles new added at *Rome*, I will not clog this Paper with them, which, I fear, without them, will be too troubleſome unto you: For what his Majeſty's Opinion is of them, his Majeſty's Embaſſador there will particularly acquaint him.

But whereas the Pope deſires, in the end of his Articles, that he may ſee what *bonum publicum* the King our Maſter will grant unto, that may perſwade to grant this Diſpenſation; I will remit it to your Conſcience and Knowledge, Whether the Favours his Majeſty daily grants to thoſe of his Religion, and is reſolved ſtill to continue, if not encreaſe them, if they ſhall by their good behaviour deſerve it, be not a real *bonum publicum*? conſidering that if the Match ſhould break off (which God forbid) his Majeſty would be importunately urged by his People (to whoſe aſſiſtance he muſt have his recourſe) to give life and execution to all the Penal Laws now hanging upon their heads.

It only reſts now, that as we have put the Ball to your foot, you take a good and ſpeedy reſolution there, to haſten a happy concluſion of this Match. The Prince is now two and twenty years of age, and ſo a year more than full ripe for ſuch a buſineſs; the King our Maſter longeth to ſee an Iſſue proceed from his Loins; and I am ſure you have reaſon to expect more Friendſhip from the Poſterity that ſhall proceed from him, and that little Angel your *Infanta*, than from his Majeſty's Daughters Children. Your Friends here are all diſcomforted with this long delay; your Enemies are exaſperated and irritated thereby; and your Neighbours, that envy the felicity of both Kings, have the more leiſure to invent new Plots, for the croſs and hinderance of this happy Buſineſs: and for the part of your true Friend and Servant, *Buckingham*, I am become odious already, and counted a Betrayer both of King and Country.

To conclude all, I will uſe a ſimilitude of Hawking (which you will eaſily underſtand, being a great Faulconer) I told you already, that the Prince is (God be thanked) extreamly ſharp ſet upon this Match; and you know that a Hawk, when ſhe is firſt dreſſed, and made ready to fly, having a great will upon her, if the Faulconer do not follow it at that time, ſhe is in danger to be dull'd for ever after.

Take heed therefore, leſt in the fault of your Delays there, our Prince and Faulcon-gentle (that you know was thought ſlow enough, to begin to be eager after the Feminine prey) become not ſo dull, upon theſe Delays, as in ſhort time hereafter he will not ſtoop to the Lure, though it were thrown out to him.

And here I will end to you, my ſweet Friend, as I do in my Prayers to God, (*Only in thee is my truſt*) and ſay, as it is written on the out-ſide of the Pacquets, *Haſte, Haſte, Poſt-haſte.*

The Conde de Gondomar, *to the Duke.*

Moſt Excellent Sir,

AT laſt, Sir, the Earl of *Gondomar* goes for *England*: There will be many good Diſcourſes made in *Holland* about this Voyage; but the truth is, that the intention of his Journey is not to offend any one, but only to deſire and procure Peace, and the publick good: And only with this intent the King my Maſter commands me to go thither, and I go with a great deal of joy, as well for this, as for to kiſs his Majeſty's and his Highneſs's Hands, and your Excellency's in particular.

And therefore I do appoint for the Field of our Battel, your Excellencies Gallery over the *Thames*, where, I hope, your Excellency ſhall ſee, that the Earl of *Gondomar* is an honeſt Man, and that he hath

hath been, is, and ever ſhall be, a faithful and true Servant and Friend to Sir *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, whom God preſerve many happy years.

The Counteſs my Wife, and my ſelf, kiſs my Lady the Counteſs, and my Lady Dutcheſs their Hands,

Your Excellency's conſtant and faithful Friend,
Gondomar.

King Henry *the Eight, to the Clergy of the Province of* York, *Anno* 1533. *touching his Title of* Supream Head of the Church of *England.*

RIght Reverend Father in God, Right Truſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well; and have received your Letters dated at *York* the 6th. of *May*, containing a long Diſcourſe of your Mind and Opinion concerning ſuch Words as have paſſed the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, in the Proeme of their Grant made unto us, the like whereof ſhould now paſs in that Province. Albeit ye interlace ſuch Words of ſubmiſſion of your Judgment, and diſcharge of your Duty towards us, with humble faſhion and behaviour, as we cannot conceive diſpleaſure, nor be miſ-content with you, conſidering what you have ſaid to us in times paſt, in other matters, and what ye confeſs, in your Letters, your ſelves to have heard and known, noting alſo the effect of the ſame: We cannot but marvel at ſundry Points and Articles, which we ſhall open unto you, as hereafter followeth.

Firſt, Ye have heard (as ye ſay ye have) the ſaid Words to have paſſed in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, where were preſent ſo many learned in Divinity and Law, as the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *London*, St. *Aſaph*, Abbots of *Hyde*, St. *Bennets*, and many other; and in the Law, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Bath*; and in the Lower Houſe of the Clergy, ſo many notable and great Clerks, whoſe Perſons and Learning you know well enough. Why do ye not, in this caſe, with your ſelf, as you willed us, in our great matter, conform your Conſcience to the Conſcience and Opinion of a great number? Such was your Advice to us in the ſame (our great Matter) which now, we perceive, ye take for no ſure Counſel; for ye ſearch the Grounds, not regarding their Sayings. Nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as ye examine their Grounds, Cauſes and Reaſons; in doing whereof, ye ſeem rather to ſeek and examine that thing which might diſprove their Doings, than that which might maintain the ſame: We ſhall anſwer you briefly, without long Diſcourſe, to the chief Points of your ſaid Letters. Wherein taking for a ground, That Words were ordained to ſignifie Things, and cannot therefore, by ſiniſter Interpretation, alter the truth of them, but only in the Wits of perverſe Perſons, that would blind or colour the ſame; by reaſon whereof, to good Men, they ſignifie, that they mean only doing their Office; and, to Men of worſe ſort, they ſerve for maintenance of ſuch meaning as they would imagine: So in uſing Words, we ought only to regard and conſider the expreſſion of the Truth in convenient ſpeech and ſentences, without over-much ſcruple of ſuper-perverſe Interpretations, as the Malice of Men may excogitate; wherein both over-much negligence is not to be commended, and too much diligence is not only, by daily experience in Men's Writings and Laws, ſhewed fruſtrate and void; inſomuch as nothing can be ſo clearly and plainly written, ſpoken, and ordered, but that ſubtile Wit hath been able to ſubvert the ſame; but alſo the Spirit of God, which in his Scripture taught us the contrary, as in the places which ye bring in and rehearſe: If the Holy Ghoſt had regard to that which might have been perverſly conſtrued of theſe Words, *Pater major me eſt*; and the other, *Ego & Pater unum ſumus*, there ſhould have been added to the firſt, *Humanitas*; to the ſecond, *Subſtantia*. And wherefore doth the Scripture call Chriſt, *Primogenitum*? whereupon, and the Adverb *Donec*, was maintained the Errour, *Contra perpetuam Virginitatem Mariæ*. Why have we in the Church St. *Paul's* Epiſtle, which St. *Peter* writeth to have been the occaſion of Errors? Why did Chriſt ſpeak many Words, which the Jews drew *ad Calumniam*, and yet reformed them not? as when he ſaid, *Deſtruite Templum hoc*, &c. meaning of his Body, where *Templum* with them had another ſignification; and ſuch other like? There is none other cauſe but this, *Omnia quæ ſcripta ſunt, ad noſtram doctrinam ſcripta ſunt.* And by that Learning, we ought to apply and draw Words to the Truth, and ſo to underſtand them as they may ſignifie Truth; and not ſo to wreſt them as they ſhould maintain a Lye: For otherwiſe, as Hereticks have done with the holy Scripture, ſo ſhall all Men do with familiar Speech: And if all things ſhall be brought into familiar diſputation, he that ſhall call us *Supremum & unicum Dominum*, by that means, and as goeth your Argument, might be reproved; for Chriſt is indeed *unicus Dominus & Supremus*, as we confeſs him in the Church daily; and now it is in Opinion, that Saints be not Mediators; the contrary whereof ye affirm in your Letters, becauſe of the Text of St. *Paul*, *Unus eſt Mediator inter Deum & hominem.* And after that manner of Reaſon which ye uſe in the entry, if any Man ſhould ſay, This Land is mine own, and none hath Right in it but I; he might be reproved by the Pſalm, *Domini eſt terra*: For why ſhould a Man call *terram aliquam* only his, whereof God is the chief Lord and Owner? Why is it admitted in fami-

liar ſpeech to call a Man dead, of whom the Soul, which is the chief and beſt part, yet liveth? How is it that we ſay, this Man or that Man to be Founder of this Church, ſeeing that in one reſpect God is only Founder? We ſay likewiſe, that he is a good Man to the Church, a ſpecial Benefactor of the Church; and that the Church is fallen down, when the Stones be fallen down, the People preſerved and living: And in all this manner of ſpeech, when we hear them, it is not accuſtomed nor uſed to do as ye do; that is to ſay, to draw the word *Church* to that ſence wherein the ſpeech may be a Lye, but to take it in that wherein it ſignifieth Truth. Which accuſtomed manner if ye had followed, you ſhould not have needed to have laboured ſo much in the declaration of the word *Eccleſia*, in that ſignification wherein it is moſt rarely taken, and cannot, without maintenance of too manifeſt a Lye be applied to any Man: For, taking *Eccleſia* in that ſence ye take it, St. *Paul* wrote amiſs, writing to the *Corinthians*, ſaying, *Eccleſia Dei quæ eſt Corinthi*: For, by your definition, *non circumſcribitur loco Eccleſiæ*. In the Goſpel, where Chriſt ſaid, *Dic Eccleſiæ*, muſt needs have another interpretation and definition than ye make *de Eccleſia* in your ſaid Letters, or elſe it were hard to make complaint to all Chriſtendom, as the caſe of the Goſpel requireth: *Sed eſt candidi pectoris verba veritati accommodare, ut ipſam referre quod eorum officium eſt non corrumpere videantur.* Furthermore, the Lawyers that write how *Eccleſia fallit & fallitur*, what blaſphemy do they affirm, if that definition ſhould be given to *Eccleſia* which you write in your Letters; wherein albeit ye write the truth for ſo far, yet foraſmuch as ye draw that to the words ſpoken of us to the reprobation of them, yet ye ſhew your ſelves contrary to the teaching of Scripture, rather inclined, by applying a divers definition, to make that a Lye which is truly ſpoken, then *genuino ſenſu addita & candida interpretatione* to verifie the ſame. It were *nimis abſurdum*, for us to be called *Caput Eccleſiæ repreſentans Corpus Chriſti myſticum, & Eccleſiæ quæ ſine ruga eſt & macula quam Chriſtus ſibi Sponſam elegit, illius partem vel oblatum accipere vel arrogare.* And therefore albeit *Eccleſia* is ſpoken of in theſe words, touched in the Proeme, yet there is added *Et Cleri Anglicani*; which Words conjoyned, reſtrain, by way of interpretation, the word *Eccleſiam*, and is as much as to ſay, the Church; that is to ſay, the Clergy of *England*. Which manner of ſpeaking in the Law ye have profeſſed, ye many times find; and likewiſe in many other places.

But proceeding in your ſaid Letter, ye have ſhewed Chriſt to be *Caput Eccleſiæ*, ye go about to ſhew how he divided his Power in Earth after the diſtinction *temporalium & ſpirſtualium*, whereof the one, ye ſay, he committed to Princes, the other *Sacerdotibus*; for Princes, ye alledge Texts which ſhew and prove Obedience due to Princes of all Men without diſtinction, be he Prieſt, Clerk, Biſhop, or Lay-man, who make together the Church: And albeit your own Words make mention of temporal Things, wherein ye ſay they ſhould be obeyed; yet the Texts of Scripture which ye alledge having the general words *obedite & ſubditi eſtote*, contain no ſuch words, whereby ſpiritual Things ſhould be excluded; but whatſoever appertaineth to the tranquillity of Man's life is of neceſſity included, as the words plainly import, as ye alſo confeſs; wherefore *Gladium portat Princeps*, not only againſt them that break his Commandment and Laws, but againſt him alſo that in any wiſe breaketh God's Laws: For we may not more regard our Law than God, nor puniſh the breach of our Laws, and leave the tranſgreſſor of God's Laws unreformed: So as all ſpiritual Things, by reaſon whereof may ariſe bodily trouble and inquietation, be neceſſarily included in Princes Power, and ſo proveth the Text of Scripture by you alledged; and alſo the Doctors by you brought in, confirm the ſame. After that ye intend to prove, which no Man will deny, the miniſtration of ſpiritual Things to have been by Chriſt committed to Prieſts, to preach and miniſter the Sacraments, them to be as Phyſicians to Men's Souls; but in theſe Scriptures neither by ſpiritual Things ſo far extended, as under colour of that vocabule be now-a-days, nor it proveth not that their Office being never ſo excellent, yet their Perſons, Acts, and Deeds, ſhould not be under the power of their Prince by God aſſigned, whom they ſhould acknowledge as their Head; the excellency of the matter of the Office, doth not always in all points extol the Dignity of the Miniſter. Chriſt who did moſt perfectly uſe the Office of a Prieſt, *& nihil aliud quam vere curavit animas*, gainſaid not the Authority of *Pilate* upon that ground; and St. *Paul* executing the Office of Prieſt, ſaid, *Ad tribunal Cæſaris ſto, ubi me judicari oportet*: And commanded likewiſe, indiſtinctly, all others to obey Princes; and yet unto thoſe Prieſts, being as Members executing that Office, Princes do Honour, for ſo is God's Pleaſure and Commandment: Wherefore, howſoever ye take the words in the Proeme, we indeed do ſhew, and declare, That Prieſts and Biſhops preaching the Word of God, miniſtring the Sacraments according to Chriſt's Law, and refreſhing our People with ghoſtly and ſpiritual Food, we not only ſuccor and defend them for tranquillity of their life, but alſo with our preſence, and otherwiſe do honour them as the caſe requireth, for ſo is God's Pleaſure. Like as the Husband, although he be Head of the Wife, yet, ſaith St. *Paul*, *Non habet vir poteſtatem ſui corporis, ſed mulier*, and ſo is, in that reſpect, under her: And having our Mother in our Realm, by the Commandment of God we ſhall honour her; and yet ſhe, for reſpect of our Dignity, ſhall honour us by God's Commandment likewiſe. And the Miniſter is not always the better Man, *ſed cui miniſtratur*: The Phyſician is not better than the Prince, becauſe he can do that the Prince cannot, *viz. curare morbum*. In conſecration of Archbiſhops, do not Biſhops give more Dignity by their Miniſtration than they have themſelves? The Doctors ye bring in, taking for their Theme to extol Prieſthood, prefer it to the Dignity of a Prince; after which manner

of

of reaſoning, it may be called *dignus imperare affectibus quam populis*, and ſo every good Man in conſideration of every Dignity to excel a King not living ſo perfectly as he doth. And why is a Biſhop better than a Prieſt, ſeeing and conſidering, in the matter of their Office, *Epiſcopus etiam ſi adminiſtret plura, non tamen adminiſtrat majora.* Emperors and Princes obey Biſhops and Prieſts as doers of the Meſſage of Chriſt, and his Embaſſadors for that purpoſe; which done *ſtatim fiunt privati*, and in order and quietneſs of living, acknowledge Princes as Head. For what meant *Juſtinian* the Emperor to make Laws *de Epiſcopis & Clericis*, and ſuch other ſpiritual matters, if he had not been perſwaded *Illi eſſe curam Eccleſiæ à Deo mandatam*? This is true, that Princes be *filii Eccleſiæ*; that is to ſay, *illius Eccleſiæ* which ye define: Wherewith it may agree, that they be nevertheleſs *Suprema Capita* of the Congregations of Chriſtian Men, *Non eſt abſurdum vocare ſuperiores Capita*, as they be called indeed, and may be called *Primi & Supremi*, in reſpect of thoſe Countries. And why elſe doth the Pope ſuffer any other beſides himſelf to be called Archbiſhop, ſeeing that he himſelf indeed challengeth to be *Princeps Apoſtolorum & Epiſcoporum* in *Peter's* ſtead, which the Name of an Archbiſhop utterly denieth. But by addition of the Country they ſave the ſence: Whereunto in us to be called *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, yet at the laſt agree, ſo that there were added *in temporalibus*; which addition were ſuperfluous, conſidering that Men being here themſelves earthly and temporal, cannot be Head and Governor to Things eternal, not yet ſpiritual, taking that word *ſpiritual* not as the common ſpeech abuſeth it, but as he ſignifieth indeed: For, *quæ ſpiritu aguntur, nulla lege aſtringuntur*, as the Scripture ſaith, *Quæ Spiritu Dei aguntur libera ſunt.* And if you take *Spiritualibus* for Spiritual Men; that is to ſay, Prieſts, Clerks, their good Acts and Deeds worldly, in all this both we and all other Princes be at this day Chief and Heads, after whoſe Ordinance, either in general, or in particular, they be ordered and governed. For, leaving old ſtories, and conſidering the ſtate of the World in our time, is there any Convocation, where Laws be made for the order of our Clergy, but ſuch as by our Authority is aſſembled? And why ſhould not we ſay as *Juſtinian* ſaid, *Omnia noſtra facimus quibus à nobis impartitur auctoritatis*? Is any Biſhop made but he ſubmitteth himſelf to us, and acknowledgeth himſelf as Biſhop to be our Subject? Do not we give our Licenſe and Aſſent to the election of Abbots? And this is concerning the perſons and Laws ſpiritual. As touching their Goods, it is in all Mens Opinions learned in our Laws, *Extra controverſiam*, that Debate and Controverſie of them appertaineth to our Occaſion and Order. And as for the living of the Clergy, ſome notable Offences we reſerve to our correction, ſome we remit by our ſufferance to the Judges of the Clergy; as Murther, Felony, and Treaſon, and ſuch-like Enormities we reſerve to our examination; other Crimes we leave to be ordered by the Clergy; not becauſe we may not intermeddle with them, for there is no doubt but as well might we puniſh Adultery and Inſolence in Prieſts, as Emperors have done, and other Princes at this day do; which ye know well enough: So as in all thoſe Articles concerning the Perſons of Prieſts, their Laws, their Acts, and order of Living, foraſmuch as they be indeed all temporal, and concerning this preſent Life only, in thoſe we (as we be called) be indeed in this Realm *Caput*; and becauſe there is no Man above us here, be indeed *ſupremum Caput.* As to ſpiritual Things, meaning by them the Sacraments, being by God ordained as inſtruments of efficacy and ſtrength, whereby Grace is of his infinite Goodneſs conferred upon his People; foraſmuch as they be no worldly nor temporal Things, they have no worldly nor temporal Head, but only Chriſt that did inſtitute them, by whoſe ordinance they be miniſtred here by mortal Men, elect, choſen, and ordered as God hath willed for that purpoſe, who be the Clergy: who for the time they do that, and in that reſpect *tanquam miniſtri verſantur in his quæ hominum poteſtati non ſubjiciuntur, in quibus ſi male verſantur ſine ſcandalo Deum ultorem habent, ſi cum ſcandalo hominum cognitio & vindictæ eſt.* Wherein, as is before-ſaid, either the Prince is chief doer, this Authority proceeded to the execution of the ſame; as when by ſufferance or priviledge the Prelates intromit themſelves therein: Wherefore in that which is derived from the Prince at the beginning, why ſhould any obſtacle or ſcruple be to call him Head from whom that is derived? Such things as although they be amongſt Men, yet they be indeed *Divina, quoniam ſupra nos ſunt nihil ad nos.*——And being called Head of all, we be not indeed, nor in name, to him that would ſincerely underſtand it Head of ſuch Things being not ſpiritual as they be not temporal, and yet to thoſe words ſpoken of us *ad evitandam illam calumniam*, there is added *quantum per legem Chriſti licet*; for interpretation of which Parentheſis, your ſimilitude added of *homo immortalis eſt quantum per naturæ legem licet* is nothing like; for *natura lex* is not immortality, as is *lex Chriſti* to ſuperiority; for *lex naturæ* nor ſpeaketh, nor can mean of any immortality at all, conſidering that the Law of Nature ordaineth mortality in all things; but Chriſt's Law ſpeaketh of ſuperiority admitteth ſuperiority, ſheweth alſo and declareth *obediendum eſſe Principibus*, as ye do alledge. Wherefore if in the Law God permitteth Superiority, and commandeth obedience; to examine and meaſure *modum obedientiæ & ſuperioritatis*, there can to no other thing ſo good a relation be made. For as ye underſtand the Scripture, though it ſay nay to part, it ſaith not nay to the whole, whereas Nature denieth utterly all immortality; and ſo though in ſpeaking of immortality of Man it were ſuperfluous to ſay *quantum per naturæ legem licet*; yet is not ſo ſpeaking *de ſuperioritate & modo Principatus*, referring the certain limits to the Law of Chriſt, *ad cujus normam quicquid quadrat planum & rectum eſt, quicquid non quadrat pravum & iniquum.*

And

And as touching the doubt and difficulty you make to give a ſingle anſwer, yea or no, for that the queſtion propounded containeth two things, whereof the one is true, the other falſe, as ye ſay, meaning, as ye write; that in *temporalibus*, we be *Caput*, and in *Spiritualibus* we be not. It ſeemeth that neither your example agreeth in ſimilitude with that ye bring it in for; nor is there in learning or common ſpeech uſed the ſcrupuloſity in anſwers ye write of. Truth it is, that the queſtion in plain words containeth two parts expreſly, whereof the one is true, the other falſe; our yea or nay cannot be anſwered: for there ſhould appear a manifeſt lye, which Gods Law deteſteth: and naturally is abhorred, as if it ſhould be asked us, if we were King of *England* and of *Denmark*, our nay or yea ſhould not ſuffice. But it is far otherwiſe both in matters of Learning and common Speech, where the words in the queſtion may by divers interpretations or relations contain two things, and yet in expreſſion contain but one: As if a Man ſhould ask us *An filius & Pater unum ſunt* We would not doubt to anſwer and ſay, Yea, as the Scripture ſaith, for it is truly anſwered, and to make a lye is but ſophiſtication, drawing the word *unum* to perſon, wherein it is a lye. If one were asked the queſtion, whether the Man and Wife were one, he might boldly and truly ſay, Yea, and yet it is *diſtinctione corporum naturalium* a lye, and to the queſtion, *Utrum Eccleſia conſtet ex bonis & malis*, Yea, and yet, as ye define *Eccleſiam*, it is a lye. The reaſon of diverſity is this, for that it is not ſuppoſed Men would abuſe words, but apply them to ſignifie truth, and not to ſignifie a lye, wherein the *Arrians* offending, took occaſion of Hereſies.

For that which is in Scripture written is a moſt certain Truth; and as it is there written, ſo and no otherwiſe would Chriſt have anſwered, if the queſtion had been asked *An Pater eſſet major illo?* he would have ſaid yea, as it is written, and if the *Arrians* would have taken for a truth that of him that is truth, and ſpeaketh truth, and from whom proceedeth but truth, they would have brought a diſtinction with them to ſet forth truly, and not diſprove that it was truly written, by ſophiſtication of the word. When St. *James* wrote, *Fides ſine operibus mortua eſt*, he wrote truth, and ſo did St. *Paul*, *Quod fides juſtificat abſque operibus legis*: which it could not do, if it were *mortua*. Either of theſe made a ſingle aſſeveration of a ſentence, by interpretation containing two; truſting that the Reader would *pio animo* ſo underſtand them, as their Sayings might, as they do indeed, agree with truth. It is never to be thought Men will willingly and without ſhame lye; and therefore the ſence, if any may be gathered true, or like to be true, is to be taken, and not that which is a lye. And when we write to the Pope *Sanctiſſimo*, we mean not holier then St. *Peter*, though it ſound ſo; and he that in our Letters ſhould object that, ſhould be thought ridiculous. He that ſhould ſay he rode beyond the Sea, were not conveniently interrupted in his tale by him that would object Sailing upon the Sea, where he could not ride at all, and rather then Men would note a lye when they know what is meant, they will ſooner by allegory or methaphor draw the word to the truth, then by cavillation of the word note a lye. Hath not the Pope been called *Caput Eccleſiæ*? And who hath put any addition to it? Have not Men ſaid that the Pope may diſpence *cum Jure divino*, and yet in a part *Juris divini*, viz. *moralis & naturalis*, the ſame Men would ſay he might not diſpence: wherefore if in all other matters, it was never thought inconvenient to ſpeak abſolutely the truth without diſtinction, why ſhould there be more ſcruple in our caſe? The truth cannot be changed by words: that we be, as Gods Law ſuffereth us to be, whereunto we do and muſt conform our ſelves. And if ye underſtand, as ye ought to underſtand, *Temporalibus* for the paſſing over this life in quietneſs, ye at laſt deſcend to agree to that which in the former part of your Letters you intend to impugne; and ſticking to that, it were moſt improperly ſpoken, to ſay, We be *illius Eccleſiæ Caput in temporalibus*, which hath not *temporalia*.

Sir John Hipſley, *to the Duke.*

My Noble Lord,

I Find that all my Lord of *Briſtol's* Actions are ſo much extolled, that what you command me to ſay is hardly believed. I will ſay no more in it, but leave the reſt to Mr. *Greſham*; only this, that you have written much to the King in ſome Mans behalf, and Mr. *Greſley* hath a 100 (a Year) given him during his life; all which, I think, is without your knowledge; and Mr. *Killegrew* hath the like, that came for your ſake after the other was granted. Mr. *Greſham* can tell you how that came. My Lord of *Southampton* hath offered his Son to Marry with my Lord Treaſurers Daughter, and tells him this reaſon, that now is the time he may have need of Friends, but it is refuſed as yet; the event I know not what that will be.

I have ſpoken to the King of all that you gave me in command, and he doth proteſt, that what he hath done was meerly for your ſake, and indeed he is very careful of all your buſineſs, as if you were here your ſelf; but yet for Gods ſake make what haſte you may home, for fear of the worſt. For the carriage of Captain *Hall*, I will not trouble you, till you come home, only this by the way,

that

that my Lord Treaſurer hath it; but upon what Terms I know not, nor indeed deſire you ſhould be troubled with it. Sir *George Goring* came home but this laſt Night, and is gone to the Court, and deſires to be excuſed for Writing to you. My Lady *Hatton*, and my Lady *Purbeck*, came home with him from the *Hague*.

My Lord of *Arundel* hath not been at Court ſince the death of his Son. I fear the News, that *Charles Gleman* did ſhew you was true. For I can aſſure you, Marqueſs *Hamilton* was much troubled till I had ſpoken with him. There be ſome have done no good Offices betwixt you. Pray have a care of the Letter, I mean the Man Mr. *Gleman* did ſhew you, and keep as many Friends as you may. I have ſpoken with no Man, but my Lord Keeper, who is yours, or not his own, as he ſwears. And Mr. Secretary *Conway* is yours, Body and Soul; I never heard of the like of him, for he flies at all Men that be not yours. Here is much admiration, that they hear not from you; but I thank God, the King is not troubled at it; for I do aſſure him, that it is the beeter, that he hears not from you; for now he may be confident, that you keep your day in coming away, which doth much pleaſe him. I will write nothing of my own buſineſs, though there be nothing done in it, but do hope, that you will not ſee your Servant periſh.

If I be too tedious, I pray pardon me, it is my love that makes me ſo, and yet I have an humble ſuit unto you, which is to beg at your hands for patience; for now is the time to ſhew it, or never; for all the Eyes of the World are upon you, and this is the time to win Honour and Fame; and for Gods ſake carry the buſineſs with patience betwixt my Lord of *Briſtol*, and you; for here be thoſe that do laugh in their ſleeves at you both. I beſeech you, let me hear from you, what you will command me, for I will do nothing (as near as I can) but what will give content: For you have that power in me, that you need but ſay, and it is done (if it lye in my power) ſo ſhall you ever command

Your faithful, and obedient ſervant, till death,

London 1. Septemb. 1623. Jo. Hipſley.

The Lord Herbert, *to his Majeſty.*

My moſt Gracious Sovereign,

NOw, that I thank God for it, his Highneſs according to my continual Prayers, hath made a ſafe, and happy return, unto your Sacred Majeſty's preſence, I think my ſelf bound by way of compleat obedience to theſe Commandments I received from your Majeſty, both by Mr. Secretary *Calvert*, and my Brother *Henry*, to give your Majeſty an account of that ſence which the general ſort of People doth entertain here concerning the whole Frame and Context of his Highneſs's Voyage. It is agreed on all Parts, that his Highneſs muſt have received much contentment, in ſeeing two great Kingdoms, and conſequently, in enjoying that ſatisfaction, which Princes, but rarely, and not without great peril, obtain. His Highneſs's diſcretion, diligence, and Princely behaviour every where likewiſe is much praiſed. Laſtly, ſince his Highneſs's journey hath fallen out ſo well, that his Highneſs is come back, without any prejudice to his perſon or dignity; they ſay, the ſucceſs hath ſufficiently commended the Council. This is the moſt common cenſure (even of the biggeſt Party, as I am informed) which I approve in all, but in the laſt point, in the delivery whereof I find ſomething to diſlike, and therefore tell them, that things are not to be judged alone, by the ſucceſs, and that, when they would not look ſo high as Gods Providence, without which no place is ſecure, they might find even in reaſon of State, ſo much, as might ſufficiently warrant his Highneſs's perſon, and liberty to return.

I will come from the ordinary Voice to the ſelecter judgment, of the Miniſters of State, and more intelligent People in this Kingdom, who, though they nothing vary from the above recited Opinion, yet as more profoundly looking into the ſtate of this long treated of Alliance betwixt your Sacred Majeſty, and *Spain*, in the perſons of his Highneſs, and the Infanta, they comprehended their ſentence thereof (as I am informed) in three Propoſitions.

Firſt, that the proteſtation which the King of *Spain* made to his Highneſs upon his departure, whereby he promiſed to chaſe away, and diſ-favour all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe this Marriage, doth extend no further, then to the ſaid Kings Servants, or at furtheſt, not beyond the temporal Princes, his Neighbours, ſo that the Pope being not included herein, it is thought his conſent muſt be yet obtained, and conſequently, that the buſineſs is in little more forwardneſs then when it firſt began.

Secondly, That the Pope will never yield his conſent, unleſs your Sacred Majeſty grant ſome notable Priviledges and Advantage to the Roman Catholic Religion in your Sacred Majeſties Kingdoms.

Thirdly

Thirdly, That the said King of *Spain* would never insist upon obtaining those Priviledges, but that he more desires to Form a Party in your Sacred Majesty's Kingdoms, which he may keep always obsequious to his Will, then to maintain a friendly correspondence between your Sacred Majesty, and himself. I must not, in the last place, omit to acquaint your Sacred Majesty, very particularly, with the sence which was expressed by the *bon: Franconis*, and Body of those of the Religion, who heartily wish, that the same Greatness which the King of *Spain* doth so affect over all the World, and still maintains even in this Country, which is to be Protector of the Jesuited, and Bigot Party, your Sacred Majesty would embrace, in being Defender of our Faith. The direct Answer to which, though I evade, and therefore reply little more, then that this Council was much fitter, when the Union in *Germany* did subsist, then at this time; Yet do I think my self obliged to represent the affection they bear unto your Sacred Majesty. This is as much as is come to my notice, concerning that point your Sacred Majesty gave me in charge, which therefore I have plainly laid open before your Sacred Majesty's Eyes, as understanding well, that Princes never receive greater wrong, then when the Ministers they put in trust do palliate and disguise those things which it concerns them to know. For the avoiding whereof let me take the boldness to assure your Sacred Majesty, that those of this King's Council here will use all means they can, both to the King of *Spain*, and to the Pope (in whom they pretend to have very particular interest) not only to interrupt, but if it be possible to break of your Sacred Majesty's Alliance with *Spain*. For which purpose the Count *de Tilliers* hath strict command, to give all punctual Advice, that accordingly they may proceed. It rests, that I most humbly beseech your Sacred Majesty to take my free relation of these particulars in good part, since I am of no faction, nor have any passion, or interest, but faithfully to perform that Service, and Duty which I owe to your Sacred Majesty, for whose perfect Health and Happiness, I pray with the Devotion, of

From *Morton* Castle, the 31. of *October*, 1623. Stil No.

Your Sacred Majesty's most obedient, most Loyal, and most affectionate Subject and Servant,
Herbert.

The Earl of Holland, *to his Majesty.*

May it please your most Excellent Majesty.

WE are in all the pain that may be, to know what to answer to the malicious and continual complaints made by *Blanvile*, of wrongs and violences done him, even to the assaulting of him in his own Lodging, the which he hath represented with so much bitterness as it took great impression here in the hearts of all, especially of the Queen Mother, whom Yesterday I saw in the accustomed priviledge hath ever been given me, to have at all times my entrance free into the *Louvre*. And I the rather went, because I would not shrink at all their furies and clamors; and it came to such a height, as Petitions were given by Madam *de Blanvile*, that she might, for the injuries done to her Husband his Embassador, have satisfaction upon our Persons. But she was (as she deserved) despised for so passionate a folly; yet was it in consideration (as I suspect) by a word that the Queen-Mother uttered in her passion to me, who with Tears before all the World, being accompanied by all the Princes and Ladies, told me, (but softly That if your Majesty continued to affront, and suffer such indignities to be done to the Embassador of the King her Son, your Majesty must look that your Embassadors shall be used *a là pareylie*. I confess this stirred me so much, as I told her, That if the intentions of your Majesty were no better considered by the King here, your Majesty commanding us for the Good and Happiness of his Kingdom, to endeavour to bring, and give him (the which we have done) the greatest blessing in this World, Peace in his Country, then to be balanced with a person, that in requital hath stirred up, and daily desires to do it, disputes and jarres, even between your Majesty and the Queen, we had reason to believe your Majesty most unjustly, and most unworthily, requited. And it might take away, upon any such occasion, the care that otherwise you would have had to do the like. And for my part, it took from me all desire ever to be imployed upon any occasion hither, where our Actions, that their acknowledgments have been acceptable but a few days past, are now of so little consideration, as we are of no more weight then the unworthiest Minister that ever was imployed. Upon that I found, she was sorry for having expressed so much. But this day we had from her a more favourable Audience, and from the King the effects and circumstances of that which we have in our Dispatch presented unto my Lord *Conway*.

Sir,

Sir, the Malice of this *Blanvile* is ſo great unto your worthy Servant, my Lord Duke, as he hath written a private Letter unto the King, the which I ſaw by the Favor of a Friend, that he is in a Condition of Danger to be ruined by the Fury and Power of the Parliament. And to confirm him in that Opinion, hath ſent all the Paſſages amongſt them that concern my Lord Duke; adding to that, of great Factions againſt him at the Council-Table, and naming ſome Lords, the which makes me ſee, he hath intelligence with all thoſe that he believes may contribute any thing towards the miſchiefing of him. But thoſe that know the Magnanimity and Nobleneſs of your Majeſties Heart, know, that ſo noble a Veſſel of Honor and Service as he is, ſhall never be in danger for all the Storms that can threaten him: when it is in your Majeſties Hands, not only to calm all theſe Tempeſts, but to make the Sun and Beams of your Favor to ſhine more clearly upon his Deſervings than ever, the which upon this Occaſion, your Courage and Vertue will not doubt to do, to the Encouragement of all deſerving and excellent Servants, and to his Honor and Comfort that is the moſt worthy that ever Prince had: And ſo affectionate, that the World hath no greater Admirations, than the Fortunes that the Maſter and Servant have run together. And certainly, our good God will ever preſerve that Affection, that in ſo many Accidents, and (one may ſay) afflictions, hath preſerved your Perſons.

Sir, This Boldneſs that I take, proceeds not from the leaſt Doubt theſe fooliſh Rumors give me of Changes, but out of a paſſionate Meditation of thoſe Accidents that your Courage and Fortune hath carried you through, bleſſing God for your Proſperity, the which will be by his Grace moſt glorious and laſting, according to the Prayers of

Your Majeſties moſt Humble,
and moſt Obedient
Subject and Servant,
Holland.

Paris $\frac{1}{13}$ March, 1625.

The Earl of Holland, *to the Duke.*

My deareſt Lord;

WE have made a final Concluſion of this great Treaty, upon what Terms the Diſpatch at large will ſhew your Grace: We have concluded honorably, that which we could not do ſafely; for to receive Words, that obliged not, would have appeared an unwiſe and unperfect Treaty, of our Part, and no way worthy of the Greatneſs of our Maſter, nor the Paſſion of his Highneſs, the which now hath a brave Expreſſion, ſince his Miſtreſs is only conſidered, and deſired, and the only Object of our Treaty. But I muſt tell you, that ſince we have proceeded thus, they ſay, they will out-go us in the like Bravery, doing ten times more than we expect, or they durſt promiſe, fearing the World would conceive all their Doings conditionally; the which would be diſhonorable for Madam. But that being ſafe, they now ſay their Intereſt is greater than ours for the Recovering of the *Palatinate*, and they will never abandon us in that Action. I hope we ſhall ſhortly have the Honour and Happineſs to ſee your Grace here; where you will be (as juſtly you deſerve) adored. You muſt make haſte, for we are promiſed our ſweet Princeſs within ſix Weeks. I beſeech you let me know your Reſolution, that I may contrive which way I may beſt ſerve you againſt your Coming. I have carefully laboured, according unto your Commands, in that with the Marqueſs *de Fiat*. You may aſſure him of a ſpeedy and good Succeſs in it, the which he will more fully underſtand, when Monſieur *de la Ville-aux-Cleres* ſhall be in *England*. He begins his Journey from hence within three days: He is worthy of the beſt Reception that can be given him, having throughout all this Treaty carried himſelf diſcreetly and affectionately. I beſeech you put the Prince in mind to ſend his Miſtriſs a Letter: And though I might, as the firſt Inſtrument imployed in his Amours, expect the Honor to deliver it; yet will I not give my Colleague that cauſe of Envy. But if his Highneſs will write a private Letter unto Madam, and in it expreſs ſome particular Truſt of me, and that my Relations of her have increaſed his Paſſion and Affection unto her Service, I ſhall receive much Honor, and ſome Right, ſince I only have expreſſed what concerned his Paſſion and Affection towards her. If you think me worthy of this Honor, procure a Letter to this purpoſe, and ſend it me to deliver unto her, and likewiſe your Commands, the which I will receive for my greateſt Comforts: living in Unhappineſs, until I may by my Services expreſs how infinitely, and eternally I am

Your Grace's moſt Humble,
and moſt Obliged,
and Devoted Servant,
Holland.

POSTSCRIPT.

The Preſents that the Prince will ſend unto Madam, I beſeech you haſten.

The Earl of Holland, *to the Duke.*

My dear Lord,

THis Meſſenger is ſo rigid, and ſuch an Enemy to all *Jantileſſe*, as by him I will not ſend any News in that kind; but when the little *Mercury* comes, you ſhall know that which ſhall make you Joy, and grieve that you cannot enjoy what your Fate and Merit hath ſo juſtly deſtined unto you. We have ſuch daily Alarms here out of *England* from *Blanvile*, of the beating of his Servant, and at the laſt, the Danger that of late he himſelf hath been in, of being aſſaſſinated in his own Houſe; for the firſt Word that his Servant ſaid unto the King, and the whole Court, was, The Embaſſador had run ſuch a Hazard of his Life, as no Man that heard him believed he had eſcaped with leſs than five or ſix Wounds. Inſomuch as your Friend *Bouteve* asked, *Fait un belle fine*: And this hath ſo animated this Court, being (as your Lordſhip knows) apt upon all Occaſions to be fired and ſtirred up, as the King hath been moved to forbid us our Entries, and Liberties here. And yeſterday Madam *de Blanvile* did openly petition the King, to impriſon us for the Wrongs and Injuries done unto her Husband and his Embaſſador, that ſhe feared was by this time dead. But that had no other Effect but to be laugh'd at. I never (I confeſs) ſaw the Queen Mother in ſo much Diſtraction and Paſſion, for ſhe never ſpeaks of her Daughter but with Tears, and yeſterday with ſome Heat and Bitterneſs, to me, about it: the Circumſtances I have taken the Boldneſs to preſent unto his Majeſty. That which diſtracts me infinitely, is to hear, that they do traduce you as the Cauſe of all theſe Misfortunes, and that you ſtir up the King to theſe Diſpleaſures. And ſo much Impreſſion it hath made into the Queen Mother, as this day at the Audience ſhe told me, That you had made the Marriage, and were now, as ſhe imagined, and was informed, reſolved to deſtroy your Work. I asked her what particularity could make her ſay, and believe ſo, againſt the general and continual Actions and Endeavors, that the whole World ought to be ſatisfied of your infinite Care and Affection, to faſten and tye together a good and conſtant Intelligence and Friendſhip between theſe Crowns. She told me, that you intreated Madam *de St. George* to do ſome Service for you to the Queen, the which ſhe did, and inſtead of giving her Thanks, you threatned the Sending of her away. I told her, though I had as yet heard nothing of this particularity, yet I knew your Nature to be ſo generous, as you would never do any Action unjuſt. I told her, that ſhe muſt diſtinguiſh between what you ſay, as commanded by the King, and what you ſay of your ſelf: for if it be his Pleaſure to make the Inſtrument to convey his Will upon any occaſion of his Diſpleaſure, you are not to diſpute, but to obey his Command in that, and in all other things. I told her Father, that I ſaw the continual Malice of the Embaſſador, that invents daily Injuries and Falſhoods of your Lordſhip, to unload himſelf from his Inſolencies and Faults; but I hoped that nothing ſhould light upon your Lordſhip but what you deſerved, the which, to my Knowledge, was more Value and Eſteem than any Man in the World could, or can ever merit from this Kingdom. And I deſired her, not to entertain the Belief of theſe things too haſtily, untill we had News out of *England*, that we knew would contradict all theſe malicious Diſcourſes. And I muſt tell your Grace, that by a Friend (whom I am tied not to name) I was ſhewed the private Letter that *Blanvile* wrote to the King, in the which he ſent him, the whole Proceedings of the Parliament, and concludes they will ruine you, naming great Factions againſt you, and as it were, a Neceſſity to deſtroy you. But I hope he, and the whole World here, will fall, before any Misfortunes ſhould fall upon ſo generous, and ſo noble a Deſerver of his Maſter and ſo excellent a Friend and Patron unto

Your Graces moſt Humble,
and moſt Obedient Servant,
Holland.

POST-SCRIPT.

Though the Embaſſador deſerves nothing but Contempt and Diſgrace, as *Blanvile*, yet I hope, as Embaſſador, he ſhall receive (for publick Honors and accuſtomed Reſpect to Embaſſadors) all poſſible Satisfaction, and it will be conceived a generous Action.

The Earl of Holland, *to the Duke.*

My deareſt Lord,

ALL the Joy I have, hath ſuch a Flatneſs ſet upon it by your Abſence from hence, as, I proteſt to God, I cannot reliſh it as I ought; for though Beauty and Love I find in all Perfection and Fulneſs, yet I vex, and languiſh to find Impediments in our Deſigns and Servicesfor you: firſt, in the Buſineſs; for I find our Mediation muſt have no place with this King concerning a Peace. We muſt only uſe our Power with thoſe of the Religion, to humble them to reaſonable Conditions; and that done, they would, as far as I can gueſs, have us gone, not being willing that we ſhould be ſo much as in the Kingdom when the Peace is made, for fear the Proteſtants may imagine we have had a Hand in it. For our Confederation, made by you at the *Hague*, they ſpeak ſo of it, as they will do ſomething in it, but not ſo really or friendly as we could wiſh. But for theſe things, you allow me, (I truſt) to refer you to the general Diſpatch: I come now to other Particulars; I have been a careful Spie, how to obſerve Intentions and Affections towards you. I find many things to be feared, and none to be aſſured of a ſafe and real Welcome. For the ♃ continues in his Suſpects, making (as they ſay) very often Diſcourſes of it, and is willing to hear *Villanis* ſay, That ♀ hath infinite Affections, you imagine which way. They ſay there is whiſpered amongſt the fooliſh young Bravado's of the Court, That he is not a good *French* Man that ſuffers ♃ to return out of *France*, conſidering the Reports that are raiſed, many ſuch Bruits fly up and down. I have ſince my coming, given the Queen-Mother, by way of Diſcourſe, occaſion to ſay ſomewhat concerning your coming, as the other night when ſhe complained to me, That things were carried harſhly in *England* towards *France*; I then ſaid, That the greateſt Unkindneſs and Harſhneſs came from hence, even to forbid your coming hither, a thing ſo ſtrange, and ſo unjuſt, as our Maſter had cauſe, and was infinitely ſenſible of it. She fell into diſcourſe of you, deſiring you would reſpect and love her Daughter; and likewiſe that ſhe had, and would ever command her to reſpect you above all Men, and follow all your Counſels (the Matter of her Religion excepted) with many Proteſtations of value and reſpect unto your Perſon; but would never either excuſe what I complained of, or invite you to come upon that Occaſion. Nor though neither the Buſineſs gives me cauſe to perſwade your coming, nor my Reaſon for the Miniſter of your Safety; yet know, you are the moſt happy unhappy Man alive, for ♀ is beyond Imagination right, and would do things to deſtroy her Fortune, rather than want Satisfaction in her Mind. I dare not ſpeak as I would, I have ventured, I fear, too much, conſidering what Practices accompany the Malice of the People here, I tremble to think whether this will find a ſafe Conveyance unto you. Do what you will, I dare not adviſe you; to come is dangerous, not to come is unfortunate. As I have lived with you, and only in that enjoy my Happineſs, ſo I will die with you, and, I proteſt to God, for you, to do you the leaſt Service, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

Have no doubt of the Party that accompanied me, for he is yours with his Soul, and dares not now (as things go) adviſe your coming.

The Earl of Holland, *to the Univerſity.*

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen, the Senate of the Univerſity of Cambridge,

THE Condition of Man is ſo frail, and his Time ſo ſhort here, that in the Sum of his Account, there are few Accidents can deliver him worthy to Poſterity: yet to prevent my Deſtiny in this Defect, you have made my Name to live, by your generall and free Election of me to be your Chancellor; the which will give me ſo to the World, not my Merit. I take but my beginning by this Creation; and will endeavor to proceed with ſuch ſtrength, in my ſerious Affection to ſerve you all, as you ſhall ſee this Honor is not conferred upon an unthankful Perſon. It is my Hap to ſucceed the moſt excellent Example of the beſt Chancellor, who had both Will and Power to oblige you: for the firſt, none can exceed me, that I am tied by my Education to ſerve you: for my Power, although it be but ſhort in all other things, yet in what concerns you, my Mother, whoſe Work you have, and whoſe Thanks you will receive in my Behalf, will for her own ſake, if not for mine, accept of all humble Requeſts for you, which may conduce to the Support of every particular Member, and to any way advantage your whole Body, or advance the Several Intereſts of your Univerſity. For whoſe

Increase of Fame and Honor, I do wish, from an affectionate Heart, as I profess my self obliged, being

Your most Thankful Friend,
and Humble Servant,
Henry Holland.

The Lady Elizabeth Howard, *to the King.*

WHen I waited upon you at *Theobalds*, to beseech your Majesty that my Lord of *Suffolk* might not come into the Star-Chamber, you protested that you loved the Man, but that you must shew cause to the World why you took the Staff from him, but for his Fortune, that your Majesty would not meddle with it; the same my Lord of *Buckingham* told me, with this Assurance of your Promise, I went away secure in that Point. Sithence his Cause was heard, he moved all that heard it with much Compassion to him; and the People did think, that when you sent him to the *Tower*, you would have sent for him to have kissed your Hand. But your Majesty is abused, for they do not let you know; what is thought of the Proceeding against this good Man, knowing how truly he loveth you, with the Truth of his Cause, that you would not follow him and his Children with Cruelty. My Lord hath spent in running a Tilt, in Masques, and following the Court, above 20000 *l.* And, Sir, shall his Reward now be to be turned out of this Place without any Offence committed? Sir, I am the Child of your old Servant, and am now great with Child, I know it will kill me; and I shall willingly die, rather than desire Life to see my unfortunate self, and mine, thus miserably undone. Sir, I beseech your Majesty, remember my Father that is dead, and me his distressed Child; for if he could know any worldly thing, he would wonder to see me, and those that shall come of me, thus strangely used. But my hope is still in your Majesty's Goodness, and that you will not be carried away with the Malice of other Men. In this Confidence I rest, with my daily Prayers for your Health and Happiness, as

which might have been better spent.

Yours, &c.
E. H.

The History of the Reign of King Henry *the Eighth, King* Edward *the Sixth, Queen* Mary, *and part of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth.

*THE Books which are written, do, in their Kinds, represent the Faculties of the Mind of Man; Poesie, his Imaginations; Philosophy, his Reason; and History, his Memory: of which three Faculties, least Exception is commonly taken to Memory, because Imagination is oftentimes idle, and Reason litigious. So likewise, History of all Writings deserveth least Taxation, as that which holdeth least of the Author, and most of the things themselves. Again, the use which it holdeth to Mans Life, if it be not the greatest, yet assuredly it is the freest from ill Accident or Quality. For those that are conversant much in Poets, as they attain to greater Variety, so withal they become conceited; and those that are brought up in Philosophy and Sciences do wax (according as their Nature is) some of them too stiff and opinionative, and some others too perplexed and confused; whereas History possesseth the Mind with Conceits which are neareſt allied unto Action, and imprinteth them, so as it doth not alter the Complexion of the Mind, neither to Irresolution, nor Pertinacity. But this is true, that in no sort of Writings there is a greater Distance between the Good and the Bad, no not between the most excellent Poet, and the vainest Rimer; nor between the deepest Philosopher, and the most frivolous School-man, than there is between good Histories, and those that unworthily bear the same, or the like Title. In which regard, having purposed to write the History of *England*, from the beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth of that Name, near unto the present time wherein Queen *Elizabeth* reigneth in good Felicity; I am delivered of the Excuse wherewith the best Writers of Histories are troubled in their Poems, when they go about (without breaking the Bounds of Modesty) to give a Reason why they should write that again which others have written well, or at least tolerably, before. For those which I am to follow, are such, as I may fear, rather the Reproach of coming unto their Number, than the Opinion of Presumption, if I hope to do better than they: But in the mean time it must be considered, That the best of the ancient Histories were contrived out of divers particular Commentaries, Relations, and Narrations, which it was not hard to digest with Ornament, and thereof to compound one entire Story.

Story. And as at first such Writers had the Ease of others Labors; so since they have the whole Commendation, in regard their former Writings are for the most part lost, whereby their Borrowings do not appear. But unto me the Disadvantage is great, finding no publick Memories of any Consideration or Worth, that the Supply must be out of the Freshness of Memory and Tradition; and out of the Acts, Instruments, and Negotiations of State themselves, together with the Glances of Foreign Histories; which, though I do acknowledge to be the best Originals and Instructions, out of which to write an History, yet the Travel must be much greater, than if there had been already digested any tolerable Chronicle, as a single Narration of the Actions themselves, which should only have needed, out of the former Helps, to be enriched with Counsels and Speeches, and notable Particularities. And this was the reason, while I might not attempt to go higher to more ancient Times, because those Helps and Grounds did more and more fail; although, if I be not deceived, I may truly affirm, that there have no things passed ever in this Nation, which have produced greater Actions, nor more worthy to be delivered to the Ages hereafter: For they be not the great Wars and Conquests (which many times are Works of Fortune, and fall out in barbarous times) the Rehearsal whereof maketh the profitable and instructing History; but rather times refined in Policies and Industries, new and rare Variety of Accidents and Alterations, equal and just Encounters of State and State in Forces, and of Prince and Prince in Sufficiency, that bring upon the Stage the best Parts for Observation. Now if you look into the general Natures of the Times (which I have undertaken throughout *Europe*) whereof the Times of this Nation must needs participate; you shall find more Knowledge in the World, than was in the Ages before, whereby the Wits of Men (which are the Shops wherein all Actions are forged) are more furnished and improved: Then if you shall restrain your Consideration to the State of this Monarchy; first, there will occur unto you Changes rare, and altogether unknown unto Antiquity, in Matters of Religion, and the State Ecclesiastical. Then to behold the several Reigns of a King, that first, or next the first, became absolute in the Sovereignty; of a King, in Minority; of a Queen, married to a Foreigner; and lastly, of a Queen that hath governed without the Help, either of a Marriage, or of any mighty Man of her Blood, is no small Variety in the Affairs of Monarchy; but such, as (perhaps) in four Successions in any State, at any time, is hardly to be found. Besides, there have not wanted Examples within the compass of the same Times, neither of an Usurpation, nor of Rebellions under Heads of Greatness, nor of Commotions meerly popular, nor of sundry desperate Conspirators (an unwonted thing in hereditary Monarchies) nor of Foreign Wars of all sorts, invasive, repulsive, of Invasion open and declared; covert and under hand, by Sea, by Land, *Scottish*, *French*, *Spanish* Succours, Protections, new and extraordinary Kinds of Confederations with Subjects: Generally without question, the State of this Nation had never a longer Reach to import the unusual Affairs of *Europe*, as that which was in the former part of the time the Counterpoise between *France* and *Spain*; and in the Latter, the only Encounter and Opposition against *Spain*. Add hereunto, the new Discoveries and Navigations abroad, the new Provisions of Laws and Presidents of State at Home, and the Accidents memorable, both of State and of Court, and there will be no doubt, but the Times which I have chosen are of all former Times in this Nation, the fittest to be registred, if it be not in this respect, that they be of too fresh a Memory; which Point, I know very well, will be a Prejudice, as if this Story were written in favor of the Time present. But it shall suffice unto me, without betraying mine own Name and Memory, or the Liberty of a History, to procure this Commendation to the Time with the Posterity; namely, That a private Man living in the same Time, should not doubt to publish an History of the Time, which should not carry any Shew or Taste at all of Flattery; a Point noted for an infallible Demonstration of a good Time.

King Henry, the Seventh of that Name, after he had lived about 52 years, and thereof reigned 23 and some Months, deceased of a Consumption thy 22 Day of *April*, in the Palace which he had built at *Richmond*, in the Year of our Redemption 1504. This King attained unto the Crown, not only from a private Fortune, which might endow him with Moderation; but also from the Fortune of an exiled Man, which had quickned in him all Seeds of Observation and Industry. His Times were rather prosperous, than calm; for he was assailed with many Troubles, which he overcame happily; a Matter that did not less set forth his Wisdom, than his Fortune; and yet such a Wisdom, as seemed rather a Dexterity to deliver himself from Dangers when they pressed him, than any deep Fore-sight to prevent them afar off: Jealous he was over the Greatness of his Nobility, as remembring how himself was set up. And much more did this Humor increase in him, after he had conflicted with some such Idols and Counterfeits, as were *Lambert Symnell*, and *Perkin Warbeck*. The Strangeness of which Dangers, made him think nothing safe, whereby he was forced to descend to the Employment of secret Espials, and suborned Conspirators, a necessary Remedy against so dark and subtile Practices, and not to be reprehended, except it were true which some report, That he had Intelligence with Confessors, for the revealing Matters disclosed in Confession; and yet if a Man compare him with the King his Concurrents in *France* and *Spain*; he shall find him more politick than *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, and more entire and sincere than *Ferdinando* of *Spain*; upon whom, nevertheless, he did handsomely bestow the Envy of the Death of

Edward

Edward Plantagenet Earl of *Warwick*. Great and devout reverence he bare to Religion, as he that employed Eccleſiaſtical Men in moſt of his Affairs and Negotiations, and as he that was brought hardly, and very late, to the aboliſhing of the Priviledges of Sanctuaries in caſe of Treaſon, and that, not before he had obtained it by way of ſuit from Pope *Alexander*; which Sanctuaries, nevertheleſs, had been the forges of moſt of his Troubles. In his Government he was led by none, ſcarcely by his Laws; and yet he was a great obſerver of formality in all his proceedings, which notwithſtanding, was no impediment to the working of his Will, and in the ſuppreſſing and puniſhment of the Treaſons which during the whole time of his Reign were committed againſt him; he had a very ſtrange kind of interchanging of very large and unexpected Pardons, with ſevere executions; which, his Wiſdom conſidered, could not be imputed to any Inconſtancy or Inequality, but to a Diſcretion, or at leaſt to a Principle that he had apprehended, that it was good, not obſtinately to purſue one courſe, but to try both ways. In his Wars, he ſeemed rather confident than enterprizing; by which alſo he was commonly not the poorer, but generally he did ſeem inclinable to live in peace, and made but offers of War to mend the conditions of Peace; and in the quenching of the commotions of his Subjects, he was ever ready to atchieve thoſe Wars in Perſon, ſometimes reſerving himſelf, but never retiring himſelf, but as ready to ſecond. Of Nature, he coveted to accumulate Treaſure, which the People (into whom there is infuſed, for the preſervation of Monarchies, a natural deſire to diſcharge their Princes, though it be with the unjuſt Charge of their Counſellors and Miniſters) did impute unto Cardinal *Morton* and Sir *Reynold Bray*, who, as it after appeared, as Counſellors of ancient Authority with him, did ſo ſecond his Humor, as nevertheleſs they tempted it, and refrained it; whereas *Empſon* and *Dudley*, that followed, being Perſons that had no Reputation with him, otherwiſe than following of his own Humor, gave him way, and ſhaped him way to theſe Extremities, wherewith himſelf was touched with Remorſe at his Death, and with his Succeſſor diſavowed. In expending of Treaſure, he never ſpared Charge that his Affairs required; and in his Foundations, was magnificent enough, but his Rewards were very limitted; ſo that his Liberality was rather upon his own State and Memory, than towards the Deſerts of others. He choſe commonly to employ cunning Perſons, as he that knew himſelf ſufficient to make uſe of their uttermoſt Reaches, without danger of being abuſed with himſelf.

The reſt is wanting.

King James, *to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of* London, *after he was proclaimed.*

To our truſty and well-beloved, Robert Lee, *Lord Mayor of Our City of* London, *and to our well-beloved, the Aldermen and Commons of the ſame.*

TRuſty and well-beloved, we greet you heartily well. Being informed of your great forwardneſs in that juſt and honorable Action of proclaiming us your Sovereign Lord and King, immediately after the Deceaſe of our late deceaſed Siſter the Queen; wherein you have given a ſingular good Proof of your ancient Fidelity, a Reputation hereditary to that our City of *London*, being the Chamber of our Imperial Crown, and ever free from all Shades of tumultuous and unlawful Courſes: We could not omit, with all poſſible ſpeed we might, to give you hereby a Teſt of our thankful Mind for the ſame; and withal, aſſurance that you cannot crave any thing of us, fit for the Maintenance of you all in general, and every one of you in particular, but it ſhall be moſt willingly performed by us, whoſe ſpecial Care ſhall ever be, to provide for the Continuance and Increaſe of your preſent Happineſs; deſiring you, in the mean time, to go conſtantly forward in doing all and whatſoever things you ſhall find neceſſary or expedient for the good Government of our ſaid City, in execution of Juſtice, as you have been uſed to do in our ſaid deareſt Siſter's time, till our Pleaſure be known to you in the contrary. Thus not doubting but you will do, as you may be fully aſſured of our gracious Favour towards you in the higheſt degree, we bid you heartily farewel.

Holy-rood Houſe, March 28*th*. 1603. JAMES R.

King

King James, *to the University of* Cambridge.

JACOBUS Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, *&c.* Academiæ Cantabrigiæ communi, salutem.

SI jus civitatis impetret à nobis Cantabrigia, veremur ne æmula urbis potentia crescente minuatur Academiæ securitas sat erit apud nos metus vestri judicium feciſſe; nec enim tam vobis convenit Academiæ periculum deprecari quam nobis, sponte nostra quicquid in speciem illi noxium sit avertere. Glorietur urbis illa se à Majoribus nostris electam doctrinarum sedem, ingeniorum officium, sapientiæ palæstram. Quicquid his titulis addi potest, & non honestatur plebeia Civitatis appellatione, Musarum domicilium vel sane literatorum dicatur Civitas, vel quod in villa villæ & in incolarum tegitur celebritate. Hæc ejus fuerint privilegia Academiæ dignitatem comiter observare (cujus frequentia facta & seipsa major affluentia bonarum artium studiosos amicè excipere quorum congressu dilatata est) Literatorum denique honori ancillari unde hæc illa nata est fœlicitas, hæ artes quibus crevit tenendæ, non aucupanda titulorum novitas incerti eventus faceſſat popularis vacabuli fastus, unde cerie oriatur æmulationis necessitas quæ eo turpior urbi est futura quo majori erga Academiam obstricta est reverentia, nolumus sacrum illum musarum asylum minuti Prætoris ense temerari nec strepere tetrica edicta, ubi septem geminus vestri Chori auditur concentus satis & in veteri purpura invidiæ nova pompa tam illi futura, & supervacua quam vobis suspecta. In nostra tutela salva est, & post Deum opt. max. Alma scientiarum Matur nostro fovebitur sceptro, indefessa illius fœcunditas non abortiet, ad prætorii gladii terriculum nullum honoris titulum Cantabrigiæ indulgemus, qui cum Academiæ sollicitudine conjunctus sit. Valete. Datum è Palatio nostro Westmonast. 4. Calend. Mar. 1616.

JACOBUS REX.

The University of Cambridge, *to King* Charles.

Serenissimo invictissimoq; Principi ac Domino nostro, Caroli Dei Gratia, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, Regi, Fidei Defens. *&c.*

SEreniſſime Domine noſter, invictiſſime Carole, *multum nos fortunæ nostræ, sed tuæ clementiæ infinitum quantum debemus; satis nempe erat judicio nostro satisfaciſſe cum illum nobis præficeremus, quem unum certiſſime prefici posse constabat. At tua admirabilis bonitas non patitur nos gratis nobismetipsis benefacere, sed tibi imputari vis quod nobis facimus beneficium. Enimvero arduam aliquam sibi materiam obsequium nostrum poscebat, & cujus tenuitas sublimitatem vestram assequi non posset difficultatem——se, & molestia commendaret. Tu autem à te gratiam——quod tanti Patroni beneficio usi sumus, qui ita nos amat, ut plurimum velit, ita à te amatur, ut plurimum nostra causa posset per quem vestra in nos transeat benignitas, & difficultates nostras discutiat: si quæ tamen in hæc divina bonitate tua existere possit difficultas superasti, nempe majorum tuorum Clementiam, qui & easdem nobis immunitates indulges, & id etiam prospicis, ut iis rectiſſime utamur. Et quod unum tantæ fœlicitati reliquum erat ut esset perpetua, id ipsum precibus nostris supereſſe non sinis; præcurris enim vota nostra, & spem ipsam, qua nihil est importunius, exuperas: nam & ipsa fines suas habet, quos tuæ bonitati nullos esse experti sumus. Exhausisti votorum nostrorum materiam, Sereniſſime Regum, nec quicquam nobis deinceps optandum est, quam ut tu regnes ut vincas, ut nos in perpetuum simus quod sumus,*

Datæ frequentiſſimo Senatu noſtro,
sexto Idus Junii, 1626.

Excellentiſſimæ Majestatis vestræ
humillimi servi & subditi,
Procancellarius, & reliquus Senatus
Academiæ Cantabrigienſis.

A Copy of a Letter from His Majesty, to the Lords, read at the Board, November *the* 21*ſt.* 1617. *touching the Abatement of His Majesty's Houſhold Charge.*

My Lords,

NO worldly thing is so precious as Time: Ye know what Task I gave you to work upon during my Abſence; and what time was limited unto you, for the performance thereof. This same

ſame Chancellor of *Scotland* was wont to tell me twenty four years ago, that my Houſe could not be kept upon *Epigrams*; long Diſcourſes and fair Tales will never repair my Eſtate. *Omnis virtus in actione conſiſtit.* Remember that I told you, the Shooe muſt be made for the Foot; and let that be the Square of all your Proceeding in this Buſineſs. Abate Superfluities in all things, and multitudes of unneceſſary Officers, where-ever they be placed. But for the Houſhold, Wardrobe, and Penſions, cut and carve as many as may agree with the poſſibility of my Means. Exceed not your own Rule of 50000 *l.* for the Houſhold. If you can, make it leſs, I will account it for good Service. And that you may ſee I will not ſpare mine own Perſon, I have ſent, with this Bearer, a Note of the ſuperfluous Charges concerning my Mouth, having had the happy Opportunities of this Meſſenger, in an Errand ſo nearly concerning his Place. In this, I expect no Anſwer in Word, or Writing, but only the real Performance, for a beginning to relieve me out of my Miſeries. For now the Ball is at your Feet, and the World ſhall bear me Witneſs, that I have put you fairly to it; and ſo praying God to bleſs your Labors, I bid you heartily farewel.

Your own,
JAMES R.

A Copy of His Majeſty's ſecond Letter.

My Lords,

*I Received from you, yeſternight, the bluntest Letter, that, I think, ever King received from his Council. Ye write, that the Green-Cloth will do nothing, and ye offer me no Advice. Why are ye Councellors, if ye offer no Counſel? An ordinary Meſſenger might have brought me ſuch an Anſwer. It is my Pleaſure, that my Charges be equally with my Revenue; and it is juſt and neceſſary ſo to be. For this a Project muſt be made, and one of the main Branches thereof, is my Houſe.

This Project is but to be offered unto you, and how it may be better laid, then, to agree with my Honor and Contentment, ye are to adviſe upon, and then have my Conſent.

If this cannot be performed without diminiſhing the Number of Tables, diminiſhed they muſt be; and, if that cannot ſerve, two or three muſt be thruſt into one. If the Green-Cloth will not make a Project for this, ſome other muſt do it: If ye cannot find them out, I muſt only remember two things: That time muſt no more be loſt, and that there are twenty ways of Abatement, beſides the Houſe, if they be well looked into. And ſo farewell,

JAMES R.

King James, *to the Earl of* Briſtol, *Embaſſador in* Spain.

Right Truſty, and right Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, We greet you well.

THere is none knows better than your ſelf, how we have laboured, ever ſince the beginning of theſe unfortunate troubles of the Empire, notwithſtanding all oppoſition to the contrary, to merit well of our dear Brother, the King of *Spain*, and the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*, by a long and lingring patience, grounded ſtill upon his Friendſhip and Promiſes, That care ſhould be had of our Honour, and of our Childrens Patrimony and Inheritance. We have acquainted you alſo, from time to time, ſince the beginning of the Treaty at *Bruxels*, how groſly things have there proceeded, notwithſtanding the fair Profeſſions made unto us, both by the King of *Spain*, the Infanta, and all his Miniſters, and the Letters written by him unto the Emperour, and them effectually (at the leaſt, as they endeavoured to make us believe) but what fruits have we of all theſe, other than diſhonour and ſcorn? Whilſt we are treating, the Town and Caſtle of *Heidelberg* taken by force, our Gariſon put to the Sword, *Manheim* beſieged, and all the hoſtility uſed that is within the power of an Enemy, as you will ſee by the relation which we have commanded our Secretary to ſend you.

Our Pleaſure therefore is, That you ſhall immediately, as ſoon as you can get audience, let the King underſtand, how ſenſible we are of thoſe proceedings of the Emperor towards us; and withal, are not a little troubled, to ſee that the *Infanta*, having an abſolute Commiſſion to conclude a ſuſpenſion and ceſſation of Arms, ſhould now at laſt, when all Objections were anſwered, and the former (ſolely pretended) Obſtacles removed, not only delay the concluſion of the Treaty, but refuſe to lay her Command upon the Emperor's Generals, for abſtaining from the ſiege of our Garriſons, during the Treaty, upon pretext of want of Authority: So as, for avoiding of further diſhonour, we have been enforced to recall both our Embaſſadors, as well as the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who is already return'd to our pre-

preſence) as alſo the Lord *Chicheſter*, whom we intended to have ſent unto the Emperor to the Dyet at *Ratisbone*. Seeing therefore, that out of our extraordinary reſpect meerly to the King of *Spain*, and the firm confidence we ever put in the Hopes and Promiſes which he did give us; deſiring nothing more than for his cauſe principally, to avoid all occaſions that might put us into ill underſtanding with any of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; We have hitherto proceeded with a ſtedfaſt patience, truſting to the Treaties, and neglecting all other means which might probably have ſecured the remainder of our Childrens Inheritance; thoſe Garriſons we maintained in the *Palatinate*, being rather, for Honours ſake, to keep a footing until the general Accommodation, than that we did rely ſo much upon their ſtrength, as upon his friendſhip; and by that confidence and ſecurity of ours, are thus expoſed to diſhonour and reproach. You ſhall tell that King, That ſeeing all thoſe Endeavours and good Offices which he hath uſed towards the Emperor in this Buſineſs, on the behalf of our Son-in-Law, upon cofidence whereof that our ſecurity depended, which he continually, by his Letters and Miniſters here, laboured to beget and confirm in us, have not ſorted to any other iſſue, than to a plain abuſe both of his Truſt and ours: whereby we are both of us highly injured in our Honour, though in a different degree; we hope, and deſire, that out of a true ſence of this wrong offered unto us, he will, as our dear and loving Brother, faithfully promiſe and undertake, upon his Honour, confirming the ſame alſo under his Hand and Seal, either that the Caſtle and Town of *Heidelbergh* ſhall, within threeſcore and ten days after this your Audience and Demand made, be rendred into our hands, with all things therein belonging to our Son-in-Law, or our Daughter, as near as may be, in the ſtate wherein they were taken; and the like for *Mauheim* and *Frankendalt*, if both or either of them ſhall be taken by the Enemy whilſt theſe things are in treating; as alſo, that there ſhall be, within the ſaid term of threeſcore and ten days, a ceſſation or ſuſpenſion of Arms in the *Palatinate* for the future, upon the ſeveral Articles and Conditions laſt propounded by our Embaſſador, Sir *Richard Weſton*: and that the general Treaty ſhall be ſet on foot again, upon ſuch honourable Terms and Conditions as were propounded unto the Emperour, in a Letter written unto him in *November* laſt, and with which the King of *Spain* then (as we underſtand) ſeemed ſatisfied: Or elſe, in caſe all theſe Particulars be not yielded unto, and performed by the Emperor, as is here propounded, but be refuſed, or delayed beyond the time afore-mention'd; that then the King of *Spain* do joyn his Forces with ours, for the recovery of our Children's Honours and Patrimony, which upon this truſt hath been thus loſt: Or if ſo be his Forces, at this preſent, be otherwiſe ſo employed, as that they cannot give us that aſſiſtance which we here deſire, as we think we have deſerved; yet, at the leaſt he will permit us a free and friendly paſſage through his Territories and Dominions, for ſuch forces as we ſhall ſend and employ into *Germany* for this ſervice: Of all which disjunctively, if you receive not of the King of *Spain*, within ten days at the fartheſt, after your Audience and Propoſition made, a direct aſſurance under his Hand and Seal, without delay, or putting us off to further Treaties and Conference; that is to ſay, of ſuch Reſtitution, Ceſſation of Arms, and proceeding to a general Treaty, as is before-mentioned; or elſe, of aſſiſtance, and joyning his Forces with ours againſt the Emperor, or, at leaſt, permiſſion of paſſage for our Forces through his ſaid Dominions; that then you take your leave, and return unto our preſence, without further ſtay; otherwiſe, to proceed in the negotiation of the Marriage of our Son, according to the inſtruction we have given you. Given, *&c.* at *Hampton-Court*, October 3. 1622.

King James, *to* Ferdinand *the Emperor, concerning the* Palatinate.

JAmes, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* wiſheth Health and conſtant Peace unto the moſt mighty and invincible Prince *Ferdinando*, by the ſame Grace elected *Roman* Emperour, King of *Germany*, *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, &c. our loving Friend and Couſin.

Moſt mighty and invincible Prince, Brother, Couſin, and ſpecial loving Friend; It is not unknown unto the whole World, much leſs to your Imperial Majeſty, how earneſtly we have hitherto ſought and endeavoured, as well by the diligence of our Embaſſadors whom we have ſent, as by the interceſſion of the chief *German* Princes, the appeaſing of thoſe *Bohemian* Wars, ever ſince they firſt began; and with what ardent Zeal and Affection we have ſo much hunted after the deſire of peace: Let it not therefore ſeem ſtrange to any Man, that we take it ill, that all the very time when we were (to the uttermoſt of our power) treating of peace, and giving our beſt furtherance for the overture of wholſome means to effect it; even then, notwithſtanding, we found clean contrary effects to enſue thereupon; whereat we much marvelled, ſeeing the Treaty was in hand, and already begun on all ſides: As namely, among the reſt, that our Son-in-Law was wholly diſpoiled and robbed of his hereditary Patrimony that remained unto him, excepting the lower *Palatinate*, which was all, by commandment of your Imperial Majeſty, taken and poſſeſſed by the Duke of *Bavaria*, according as himſelf confeſſed, with ſtrong hand and force of Arms, and that for ſuch Reaſons as are meerly new, and

ſuch, as the like were never hitherto once heard of. That notwithſtanding it plainly appeareth, by the Anſwer given unto our Embaſſador, that your Imperial Majeſty had cauſed the ſuſpenſion of that Bann or Proſcription in thoſe Countries; yet did your Imperial Majeſty permit the taking of Arms again in hand; which, alſo after the ſame your Imperial Majeſty's Anſwer, was yet again likewiſe commanded to be done in the lower *Palatinate*, whereby there hath therein been ſince raiſed a grievous and cruel War, and moſt part of the Country taken in by the *Spaniard*'s powerful ſtrength. But as we diligently obſerved thoſe things, we cleary ſee what great trouble and miſery hath been occaſioned by this our great patience, and long delaying, forbearing and doubtfulneſs, which, without all doubt, may be hereafter further occaſioned, and which may, perhaps, prove heavier than the chief Reaſons of this miſery it ſelf. And therefore we hold it beſt, and moſt expedient, that your Imperial Majeſty do at length put a period to this moſt unhappy Buſineſs: And for that end and purpoſe have thought good, at this time, to propound what we preſcribe our Son-in-Law, on the one part, to perform towards your Imperial Majeſty, which we have always counſelled and exhorted our Son-in-Law to do; nor will we ſo much as, in the leaſt, once doubt of the contrary, and adverſe ſucceſs therein; but are perſwaded, that your Imperial Majeſty will be moſt graciouſly moved to receive our Son-in-Law into Grace and Favour, to re-deliver unto him his hereditary Lands and Titles, which he had enjoyed before thoſe *Bohemian* Wars, and fully to reſtore him to his former Honours and Dignities. In regard whereof, the Count *Palatine* ſhall perform unto your Imperial Majeſty as followeth.

1. He ſhall, for himſelf and his Son, wholly renounce and acquit all pretenee of Right and Claim unto the Crown of *Bohemia*, and the incorporated Countries thereof.

2. He ſhall from henceforward yield all conſtant due Devotion unto the Imperial Majeſty, as do other obedient Princes Electors of the Empire,

3. He ſhall, upon his Knee, crave pardon of the Imperial Majeſty.

4. He ſhall not hereafter, any manner of way, either unfittingly carry or demean himſelf towards the Imperial Majeſty, or diſturb your Kingdoms or Countries.

5. He ſhall upon reaſonable Conditions reconcile himſelf with other his neighbour Princes and States of the Empire, and hold good friendſhip with them.

6. And ſhall really do all other like things as is above contained, and that ſhall be reaſonable and neceſſary.

Which propoſed Conditions, if your Imperial Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to receive and accept of the ſame will be a notable teſtimony of your Imperial Majeſty's Goodneſs and Grace; which how well and acceptable it will be unto us, ſhall be acknowledged and ſhewed by our very willing Service and unfeigned friendſhip, as well towards your Imperial Majeſty, as towards the moſt renowned Houſe of *Auſtria*. But if it ſhall fall out, contrary to our expectation, that theſe our juſt Demands and well-will'd Preſentation ſhall not find acceptance, or after this our diligent endeavour you ſhall ſeek to delay us, by the uſing ſome new tergiverſation, and pretend to uſe that long counſel and deliberate Advice of the Princes of the Empire, upon theſe our propounded Conditions, whereas notwithſtanding your Imperial Majeſty expreſly promiſed in your laſt Anſwer, freely to declare what ſhould be your purpoſe and reſolution therein: So that there being no ground to the contrary (as we call God and the World to witneſs there is not) and being forced and conſtrained by the Duty and natural Affection which we owe and bear to our Children, for the preſervation of their Honour and Welfare, we are reſolved to try the uttermoſt of our power for their relief; eſpecially ſeeing we ſue for, deſire, and would obtain and retain no new Title of Honour for our Son-in-Law, but only to have again thoſe of his own now loſt, which he then had and enjoyed when we matched him with our dear and only Daughter: For if, in this diſtreſs, we ſhould leave our Children and their Partiſans without counſel, help and protection, it would be a foul ſtain to our Honour.

Let not therefore your Imperial Majeſty in regard hereof blame us at all, if we with a mighty and puiſſant Army, by force and ſtrong hand, ſeek to recover that which by propounded and reaſonable Conditions we could not obtain for the continuance of our Friendſhip. But foraſmuch as it is moſt certain this cannot be without the great hurt and prejudice of all Chriſtendom, the breach of publick Peace, and the wounding of our contracted Amity and Friendſhip with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which we have ever hitherto, by manifold Teſtimonies, uprightly, faithfully and inviolably obſerved: It is therefore requiſite and neceſſary, that your Majeſty of your innate gracious Mildneſs and Goodneſs, and of that moſt reverent diſcretion wherewith you are endowed, to ſeek in time to meet with and prevent theſe ſo great Evils likely to enſue, and uſe brotherly love and good-will. God Almighty long preſerve your Imperial Majeſty's Life, and at laſt ſo direct your Heart, that ſweet Peace and the Concord of all Chriſtendom, now rent aſunder, may be recovered and again maintained,

At our Royal Reſidence-Town of Royſton,
Novemb. 12. 1621.

Jacobus Rex,

His

His Imperial Majeſty, to King James.

Conſtans atque eadem nobis ſemper fuit mens, idem deſiderium, non tam verbis quam re ipſa demonſtrandi quanti tranquillitatem in Imperio publicam & mutuæ amicitiæ cum vicinis Principibus, potiſſimum Serenitatis veſtræ ſincere colendæ ſtudium æſtimarimus. Inde ſi præteriti temporis ſucceſſus de rebus in utroque Palatinatu, *tam ſuperiore quam inferiore, innovat; de quo literis ad nos datis Serenitas veſtra conqueritur deflevisſe videre poſſint, illi culpa venit omnis imputanda, quem ab improba cupiditate aliena regna captantem, nec divini nec humani juris reſpectus, nec ſupremi Domini ſui reverentia, nec ſacri Jus jurandi religio, nec prudentiſſimi Socers conciliũm cohebere potuerint; imo qui juſto Dei judicio ea acie in fugam profligatus uſque adeo abſtinatione ſua pertinaciter etiamnum inhæret, ut continuis machinationibus per* Jagarndorfium, Mansfeildum, *alioſque credules pacis publicæ perturbatores, Acheronta potius movere quam ſanioribus acquieſcere conſiliis ab uſurpatoque regni noſtri titulo deſiſtere (non officiis per Serenitatem veſtram per quam ſane diligenter interpoſitis, ſua ex parte quid deferens) videatur, nec ullum in hanc uſque horam animi pœnitentis ſignum dederit. Itaque in tractatu de pace inſtituenda uti condeſcendamus videt Serenitas veſtra ab eis quos principaliter id concernit quam nulla nobis cauſa vel occaſio præbeatur. Id quidem ingenue profitemur, in exulceratiſſimo eo negotio, cujus calamitas univerſum pene orbem involvit, eum Serenitatis veſtræ candorem, eam animi moderationem, & equitatis juſtitiæque reſpectum enituiſſe, ut nihil ſit viciſſim quod non ejuſdem deſiderii ſalva ſuprema auctoritate noſtra Cæſarea, ſalvisque Imperii legibus, libenter tribuamus, qui non innata nobis benignitate ——— æquiſque conditionibus Arma poni & optatam afflictiſſimæ* Germaniæ *pacem reſtitui quam legitime executiones inſiſti per cædes & ſanguinem Chriſtianum glorioſa nomini noſtro trophea figi nunquam non maluimus. In gratiam itaque Serenitatis veſtræ, ut res ipſa deprehendat quanti nobis ſit perpetuum cum eadem amicitia cultum novo fomite ſubinde revocari, licet hactenus proſperos militiæ noſtræ ſucceſſus divina benignitas tribuit, acquieſcimus, ut benevolo tractatu almæ pacis redenti grandæ rationes opportunæ ineantur, eumque in finem ad evitandum viarum temporumque diſpendia, nunc in eo ſumus ut Sereniſſimæ Principi Dominæ* Elizabethæ *Claræ Eugeniæ natæ Infanti Hiſpaniarum; Archiducisſæ Auſtriæ, Ducisſæ Burgundiæ, Stiriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ, & Wirtinburgiæ, & Provinciarum Belgiæ, Burgundiarumque Dominæ Conſobrinæ ac ſorori noſtræ chariſſimæ, ut iſtic in aula ſua, quorſum veſtra quoque Serenitas ſi ita libuerit ſuos cum plena cum facultate ablegare poterit primum eumque proximum aſſequendæ pacis gradum ceſſationem ab armis æquis conditionibus nomine noſtro Cæſarii ſtabiliendum permittemus, prope diem expediturî Legatum noſtrum, virum nobilem, qui diligentiſſime in graviſſimo hoc negotio mentem noſtram plenius aperiet, atque inde ad Serenitatem veſtram animum noſtrum ad redintegrandæ pacis ſtudia proclivem, qui non aliter quam quibuſcunque benevolentiæ officiis cum Serenitate veſtra certare ſtudet magis magiſque teſtificetur, cujus interim conſilia generoſa præpotens Deus publico orbis commodo infæliciſſimos eventus diſponat.*

Dat. Viennæ, 14. Jan. 1621.

The Earls of Worceſter, Arundel and Surrey, Montgomery, to the King.

May it pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

According to the Orders and Conſtitutions made and eſtabliſhed by your Majeſty, and all the Companions of the Order, at the laſt general Chapter held at *Whitehall*, the 21ſt of *May* laſt paſt, we are bold to inform your Majeſty, that we having diligently viewed divers of the Records of the ſaid Order, do in the black Book find, that the keeping of the little Park at *Windſor*, next adjoyning unto the Caſtle, is, in direct words, annexed for ever to the Office of the Uſher for the ſaid Order. So humbly kiſſing your Royal Hands, We reſt

Your Majeſty's humble and faithfull Subjects and Servants,

Whitehall, 1. July, 1622.

E. Worceſter, Arundel and Surrey, Montgomery.

King James, to the Earl of Briſtol.

WE have receiv'd yours, brought us by *Grieſley*, and the Copy of yours to our dear Son; and we cannot forbear to let you know how well we eſteem your dutiful, diſcreet, and judicious Relation, and humble Advice to our ſelf and our Son: Whereupon having ripely deliberated with our ſelf, and communicated with our dear Son, we have reſolved with the great liking of our Son, to reſt upon that ſecurity (in point of doubt of the *Infanta*'s taking a religious Houſe) which you in your Judgment ſhall think meet. We

have further thought meet to give you knowledge, that it is our ſpecial deſire that the betrothing of the *Infanta* with words *de præſenti*, ſhould be upon one of the days in Chriſtmas *new ſtyle*, that holy and joyful time beſt fitting ſo notable and bleſſed an Action.

But firſt, We will that you repair preſently to that King, and give him knowledge of the ſafe arrival of our dear Son to our Court, ſo ſatisfied and taken with the great Entertainments, perſonal Kindneſs, Favour and Reſpect he hath received from that King and Court, as he ſeems not able to magnifie it ſufficiently, which makes us not know how ſufficiently to give thanks; but we will that by all means you endeavour to expreſs our thankfulneſs to that King, and the reſt to whom it belongs, in the beſt and moſt ample manner you can. And hereupon you may take occaſion to let that King know, that according to our conſtant Affection to make a firm and indiſſoluble Amity between our Families, Nations and Crowns, and not ſeem to abandon our Honour, nor at the ſame time we give Joy to our only Son, to give our only Daughter her Portion in Tears: By the Advice of that King's Embaſſadors, we have entred a Treaty concerning the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, as will more particularly appear to you by the Copies herewith ſent. Now we muſt remember you, that we ever underſtood and expected, that upon the Marriage of our Son with the *Infanta*, we ſhould have a clear reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, and Electoral Dignity to our Son-in-Law, to be really procured by that King, according to the Obligation of our Honour, as you have well expreſſed in your Reaſons why the Perſon of our Son-in-Law ſhould not be left out of the Treaty, but that the Emperor ſhould find out a great Title, or by encreaſing the number of Electorate Stiles wherewith to ſatisfie the Duke of *Bavaria*. We now therefore require you, that preſently in your firſt Audience, you procure from that King a punctual Anſwer what courſe that King will take for the reſtitution of the *Palatinate* and Electorate to our Son-in-Law; and in caſe that either the Emperor or the Duke of *Bavaria*, oppoſe any part of the expected Reſtitution, what courſe that King will take to give us aſſurance for our Content in that point, whereof we require your preſent Anſwer; and that you ſo preſs expedition herein, that we may all together receive the full joy of both in Chriſtmas, reſting our ſelf upon that faithful Diligence of yours we have approved in all your Service. Though almoſt with the lateſt we muſt remember to you, as a good ground for you to work on, that our Son did write us out of *Spain*, that that King would give us a Blank, in which we might form our own Conditions concerning the *Palatinate*, and the ſame our Son confirms to us now. What obſervation and performance that King will make, we require you to expreſs, and give us a ſpeedy account, *&c. Given*, &c.

The Earl of Briſtol, *in Anſwer to* King James.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

I Have received your Majeſty's Letters of the 8th of *October*, on the 21ſt of the ſame Month, ſome hours within night; and have thought fit to diſpatch back unto your Majeſty with all poſſible ſpeed, referring the Anſwer to what your Majeſty hath by theſe Letters commanded me, to a Poſt that I ſhall purpoſely diſpatch when I ſhall have negotiated the Particulars with this King, and his Miniſters; wherein God willing all poſſible diligence ſhall be uſed.

But foraſmuch as I find both by your Majeſty's Letter, as likewiſe by Letters which I have received from the Prince his Highneſs, that you continue your Deſires of having the Match proceeded in, I held it my Duty that your Majeſty ſhould be informed, that although I am ſet free in as much as concerneth the Doubt of the *Infanta's* entring into Religion, for the delivering of the Powers left with me by his Highneſs, yet by this new Direction I now received from your Majeſty, that the Depoſories ſhould be deferred till Chriſtmas, the ſaid Powers are made altogether uſeleſs and invalid, it being a clauſe in the Bodies of the ſaid Powers, that they ſhall only remain in force till Chriſtmas, and no longer, as your Majeſty may ſee by the Copy I ſend herewith incloſed.

Your Majeſty, I conceive, will be of Opinion, that the ſuſpending of the execution of the Powers, until the force and validity of them be expired, is a direct and effectual revoking of them; which not to do, how far his Highneſs is in his Honour engaged, your Majeſty will be beſt able to judge by viewing the Powers themſelves. Further, if the date of theſe Powers do expire, beſides the breach of the Capitulations, although the Match it ſelf, Jealouſies, and Miſtruſts be hazarded, yet the Princeſs's coming at the Spring, will be almoſt impoſſible: For by that time new Commiſſions and Powers ſhall be after Chriſtmas granted by the Prince, which muſt be to the ſatisfaction of both Parties, I conceive ſo much of the year will be ſpent, that it will be impoſſible for the Fleets, and other Preparations, to be in a readineſs againſt the Spring; for it is not to be imagined, that they will here proceed effectually with their Preparations, until they be ſure of the Deſpoſorio's, eſpecially when they ſhall have ſeen them ſeveral times deferred on the Prince his part, and that upon pretexts that are not new, or grown ſince the granting of the Powers, but were before in being, and often under debate, and yet were never inſiſted upon, to make ſtay of the buſineſs; ſo that it will ſeem that they might

might have better hindred the granting of them, than the execution of them. Now, if there were not ſtaggering in former Reſolutions, they which altho' really there is not, yet can it not but be ſuſpected; and the clearing of it between *Spain* and *England* will coſt much time. I moſt humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon, if I write unto you with the plainneſs of a true-hearted and faithful Servant, who ever hath co-operated honeſtly unto your Majeſty's ends. I know them; I kdow your Majeſty hath been long time of Opinion, that the greateſt aſſurance you could get, that the King of *Spain* would effectually labour the entire reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, was, that he really proceeded to the effecting of the Match; and my Inſtructions under your Majeſty's Hands, were, to inſiſt upon reſtoring the Prince *Palatine*; but not to annex it to the Treaty of the Match, as that thereby the Match ſhould be hazarded: for that your Majeſty ſeemed confident, that here it would never grow to a perfect concluſion, without a ſetled Reſolution to give your Majeſty ſatisfaction in the buſineſs of the *Palatinate*. The ſame courſe I obſerved in the carriage of the Buſineſs by his Highneſs and my Lord Duke, at their being here; who though they inſiſted on the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, yet they held it fit to treat of them diſtinctly, and that the Marriage ſhould proceed as a good Pawn for the other.

Since their departure, my Lord Embaſſador, Sir *Walter Aſhton*, and my ſelf, have been preſſed to have this King's Reſolution in writing, concerning the *Palatinate*; and the Diſpatches which your Majeſty will receive herewith, concerning that Buſineſs, were writ before the receit of your Majeſty's Letters; and doubtleſs it is now a great part of their care, that that Buſineſs may be well entred before the Infanta's coming into *England*: And his Highneſs will well often remember, that the *Conde de Olivarez* often proteſted a neceſſity of having this Buſineſs compounded and ſetled before the Marriage, ſaying, Otherwiſe they might give a Daughter, and a War within three Months after, if this ground and ſubject of quarrel ſhould ſtill be left on foot. The ſame Language he hath ever held with Sir *Walter Aſhton* and my ſelf, and that it was a firm Peace and Amity, as much as an Alliance, which they ſought with his Majeſty. So that it is not to be doubted, but that this King, concluding the Match, reſolveth to employ his uttermoſt power, for your ſatisfaction, in the reſtitution of the Prince *Palatine*.

The queſtion now will be, whether the Buſineſs of the Prince *Palatine* having relation to many great Princes that are intereſſed therein, living at diſtance, and being (indeed) for the condition and nature of the Buſineſs it ſelf, impoſſible to be ended but by a formal Treaty, which of neceſſity will require great length, whether the concluſion of the Match ſhall any way depend upon the iſſue of this Buſineſs, which I conceive to be far from your Majeſty's intention; for ſo the Prince might be long kept unbeſtowed by any averſneſs of thoſe which might have particular intereſt in the Prince's remaining unmarried, or diſlike with his matching with *Spain*. But that which I underſtand to be your Majeſty's aim, is only to have the concluſion of this Match accompanied with as ſtrong an Engagement as can be procured from this King, for the joyning with your Majeſty not only in all good Offices for the entire reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, but otherwiſe, if need require, of his Majeſty's aſſiſtance herein.

Theſe days paſt I have laboured, with all earneſtneſs, and procured this Kings public anſwer which I am told is reſolved of, and I ſhall within theſe few days have it to ſend to your Majeſty, as alſo a private Propoſition which will be put into your hands; and ſhall not fail further to purſue your Majeſty's preſent directions, of procuring this Kings Declaration, in what ſort your Majeſty may rely upon this Kings Aſſiſtance, in caſe the Emperour or the Duke of *Bavaria* hinder the entire reſtitution of the Prince Palatine. But I conceive (if it be your intention) that I ſhould firſt here procure this Kings peremptory anſwer in the whole buſineſs, and how he will be Aſſiſtant unto your Majeſty in caſe of the Emperours or the Duke of *Bavaria's* averſneſs. And that if I ſhould ſend it to your Majeſty, and receive again your anſwer, before I deliver the Powers for the Depoſorios, the match would thereby if not be hazarded, yet I conceive the *Infanta's* going at Spring would be rendred altogether impoſſible. For if upon the arrival of the Approbation I cannot refuſe them, but upon ſome Grounds; if I alledge your Majeſty's deſire of having the Depoſorios deferred until Chriſtmas, they know, as well as my ſelf, that his Highneſs's Proxy is then out of date, beſides the infringing of the Capitulations; and they will judge it is a great ſcorn put upon this King, who ever ſince the Princes granting of the Powers hath called himſelf the *Infanta's* Deſpoſado, and to that effect the Prince hath writ unto him in ſome of his Letters. Beſides, it will be held here a point of great diſhonour unto the the *Infanta*, if the Powers called for by her friends ſhould be detained by the Prince his part: and whoſoever elſe may have deſerved it, ſhe certainly hath not deſerved diſreſpect nor diſcomfort. Further, upon my refuſal to deliver the Powers, all preparations which now go on cheerfully and a pace will be ſtayed, there will enter in ſo much diſtruſt, and ſo many troubles and jealouſies, that if the main buſineſs run not hazard by them, at leaſt much time will be ſpent to cleer them.

I muſt therefore, in diſcharge of my duty, tell your Majeſty, that all your Majeſty's buſineſſes here are in a fair way; the Match, and all that is capitulated therein, they profeſs punctually to perform.

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In the buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, I continue my earneſt and faithful Endeavours, and they proteſt they infinitely deſire, and will, to the utmoſt of their Powers, endeavour to procure your Majeſty's ſatisfaction.

The Prince is like to have a moſt worthy and vertuous Lady, and who much loveth him; and all things elſe depending upon this Match, are in a good and hopeful way.

This is now the preſent ſtate of your Majeſty's Affairs, as it appeareth unto me and to Sir *Walter Aſhton*, with whom I have communicated this Diſpatch, as I do all things elſe concerning your Majeſty's ſervice. And I muſt clearly let your Majeſty underſtand, I conceive by the retaining of the Powers when this King ſhall call for them, and offering to defend the Depoſorio's until *Chriſtmas*, that your Majeſty's Buſineſs will run a hazard, what by the diſtaſte and diſguſt that will be raiſed here, and what by the Art and Induſtry of thoſe which are Enemies to the Match, whereof every Court hath plenty in Chriſtendom.

That therefore which I preſume with all humility, is, That you would be pleaſed to give me order, with all poſſible ſpeed, that when the Buſineſs ſhall come cleared from *Rome*, and that the Powers of the Marriage ſhall be demanded of me, in the behalf of this King, that I may deliver them, and no ways ſeek to interrupt or ſuſpend the *Depoſorio*'s, but aſſiſt and help to a perfect concluſion of the Match.

And for the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, I continue my earneſt and faithful Endeavours to engage this King as far as ſhall be poſſible, both for the doing of all good Offices, and for the *Palatinate*'s entire reſtitution; herein I will not fail (as likewiſe for this King's Declaration of Aſſiſtance, in caſe the Emperor or Duke of *Bavaria* ſhall oppoſe the ſaid reſtitution) to uſe all poſſible means; and I conceive the diſpatch of the Match will be a good Pawn in the Buſineſs, and the Help and Aſſiſtance which the Prince's being once betrothed, would be able to give in this Court to all your Majeſty's Buſineſs, would be of good conſideration.

So fearing I have already preſumed too far upon your Majeſty's patience, I humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon, and recommend you to the holy protection of God, reſting

Madrid, Octob. 29. 1623.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful Subject and Servant,
Briſtol.

King James *his Inſtructions to the Archbiſh. of* Canterbury, *concerning Orders to be Obſerved by Biſhops in their Dioceſſes*, 1622.

1. THat the Lords, the Biſhops, be commanded to their ſeveral Sees, excepting thoſe that are in neceſſary attendance at Court.

2. That none of them reſide upon his Land or Leaſe that he hath purchaſed, nor on his *Commendam*, if he hold any; but in one of his Epiſcopal Houſes, if he have any, and that he waſte not the Woods where any are left.

3. That they give their Charge in their Triennial Viſitations, and at other convenient times, both by themſelves and the Archdeacons, and that the Declaration for ſetling all queſtions in difference be ſtrictly obſerved by all Parties.

4. That there be a ſpecial care taken by them all, that the Ordinations be ſolemn, and not of unworthy perſons.

5. That they take great care concerning the Lectures in their ſeveral Dioceſs, for whom we give theſe ſpecial Directions following:

Firſt, That in all Pariſhes the afternoon Sermons may be turn'd into Catechiſing by Queſtion and Anſwer, when and whereſoever there is no great cauſe apparent to break this ancient and profitable order.

Secondly, That every Biſhop ordain in his Dioceſs, that every Lecturer do read Divine Service, according to the Liturgy printed by Authority, in his Surplice and Hood, before the Lecture.

Thirdly, That where a Lecture is ſet up in a Market-Town, it may be read by a company of grave and Orthodox Divines near adjoyning, and in the ſame Dioceſs, and that they preach in Gowns, not in Cloaks, as too many uſe to do.

Fourthly, That if a Corporation do maintain a ſingle Lecturer, he be not ſuffered to preach till he profeſs his willingneſs to take upon him a Living with Cure of Souls within that Incorporation, and that he actually take ſuch Benefice or Cure, ſo ſoon as it ſhall be fairly procured for him.

Fifthly, That they Biſhops do countenance and encourage the Grave and Orthodox Divines of their Clergy, and that they uſe means by ſome of the Clergy, or others, that they may have knowledge

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how both Lecturers and Preachers within their Dioceſs, do behave themſelves in their Sermons, that ſo they may take order for any Abuſe accordingly.

Sixthly, That the Biſhops ſuffer none under Noblemen, or Men qualified by Law, to have any private Chaplain in his Houſe.

Seventhly, That they take ſpecial care that Divine Service be diligently frequented, as well for Prayers and Catechiſms, as for Sermons, and take particular note of all ſuch as abſent themſelves, as Recuſants, or others.

Eightly, That every Biſhop that by our Grace and Favour, and good Opinion of his Service, ſhall be nominated by us to another Biſhoprick, ſhall from that day of nomination not preſume to make any Leaſe for three Lives, or one and twenty Years, or concurrent Leaſe, or any way renew any Eſtate, or cut any Wood or Timber, but merely receive his Rents due, and to quit his place: For we think it an hateful thing, that any Man leaving the Biſhoprick, ſhould almoſt undo his Succeſſor. And if any Man ſhall preſume to break this Order, we will refuſe him our Royal Aſſent, and keep him at the place he hath ſo abuſed.

Ninthly and laſtly, We command you to give us an account, every year, the ſecond of *January*, of the performance of theſe our Commands. Subſcribed at *Dorcheſter*,

James R.

King James, *to the Palsgrave.*

My moſt dear Son,

WE have been careful, and are at this preſent, to perform the Promiſe which we made unto you, to employ all our Power to re-eſtabliſh you into your Eſtate and Dignities; and having, by the Patience and Induſtry which we have uſed, reduced Matters within a more near circle, and of a leſs extent than the generality in which they were heretofore: We have thought good to give you knowledge of ſuch things, whereof hope is given to us that we ſhall in all appearance obtain them, to the end you may have recourſe to your Wiſdom, and after a mature deliberation, make choice agreeable to the Providence, Honour and Safety of your Eſtate, duly weighing and examining all Circumſtances: And therefore we preſent unto you theſe Propoſitions; to wit, in the firſt place, a due ſubmiſſion to the Emperor, under convenient limittaions, which firſt ſhall be granted and agreed in conformity to that which is Noble, with a ſafe Conduct and Aſſurance requiſite and ſufficient for the free and ſafe going and return of your Perſon and Train. This being done, we make you offer of a preſent and full reſtitution of all the *Palatinate* unto the Perſon of your Son, and that you ſhall be his Adminiſtrator during your life; and that after the death of the Duke of *Bavaria*, your Son be re-eſtabliſhed in the Electorate Dignity; and for the better confirming the ſound Amity, and aſſuring your Poſſeſſions, and enjoying of all according to the Contract, which is preſently to be made, and alſo to ſerve for a preparation for the bettering of the ſaid Conditions to your Perſon, which will be, in all likelihood, when the Matriage will be reſolved and concluded to be made betwixt your eldeſt Son our Grandchild, and one of the Emperor's Daughters. In contemplation whereof they have approached a degree nearer, to wit, That the Electoral Dignity ſhall come again to your Perſon, after the Duke of *Bavaria*'s death. In which Treaty of Marriage, to clear the principal Difficulty, which conſiſted with the Education of your Son with the Emperor, we have taken from them all hope therein (wherein we aſſure our ſelves you will be content) and are purpoſed that he ſhall have his Education with our Son, and with and in the preſence of the Infanta, when ſhe ſhall be in our Court. We have exactly ſhewed you the ſtate of this Negotiation, which chiefly concerns you and yours, to the end you may fix your Eyes upon your neceſſity and bare condition and manner of living, which dependeth on the courteſie and aſſiſtance of others, and that you may judge adviſedly, whether your ready entrance into the poſſeſſion of your own, and with a kind of preſent liberty of living (with inſurance in time to recover the poſſeſſion of it) ſhall not be more convenient for you than a hazardous long expectation, upon other uncertain means: The former whereof I prefer before the latter. We pray you to conſider, what probable and feaſible means we may undertake to reduce your condition to that ſtate as you promiſe your ſelf; wherein we doubt not, but you will weigh our Forces, and thoſe of our Allies, and ſuch other whereof we may hope to be aſſured, to the end, that if it ſhould happen that we cannot obtain to the entire of that we deſire, by way of Treaty, or that we ſhould take another courſe, you may be partaker of Counſels, as well as the Iſſues and uncertain Events. And forasmuch as we are deſirous to conſider with you for your perſonal Eſtate, and as we are obliged to have regard to the Right of our only Daughter, and to the Inheritance of your Children, with the hope of their Poſterity, by what way it may be moſt eaſily eſtabliſhed, and by what fit means proviſion may be made beſt to that effect. And herein I remain your moſt affectionate Father,

From White-Hall, *Novemb.* 20. *James* Rex.

The

The Palſgrave's Anſwer to King James.

Sir,

I Take as a great Honor and Favour, your Majeſties Letter of the 20*th.* of *November*, delivered unto me by the Hands of your Embaſſador, Sir *Dudley Carleton*, who hath further explained your Majeſties Intention, touching that which concerneth my Reſtitution unto my Honors and patrimonial Eſtate, that you continue firm and conſtant (in conformity to your Promiſes) to labor and effect by one way or other, ſo that the ſaid Reſtitution may be entire and total, as well in that which concerneth the Electoral Dignity as the Palatinates; and that the Propoſitions which your Majeſty makes by your Letter (to content my ſelf to be Adminiſtrator to my Son, and he to be inveſted with the ſaid Dignity, and put into preſent Poſſeſſion of the Palatinate) is but, in all Events, if ſo be your Majeſty could not attain to the the total Reſtitution (the deſired Effect of your Intentions) leaving me nevertheleſs to be at liberty to chuſe the leſſer of the two Evils (if I may be permitted to term them ſo) the one by the total Reſtitution of my Eſtates, but with Diminution, or rather Annihilation (for ſo in effect it will be) in reſpect of my Perſon of the Electoral Dignity; the other, of the Recovery of both by War, the Events whereof are uncertain. Firſt, I moſt humbly thank your Majeſty, for the paternal Care which you continue and ſhew, in this Occaſion; and which doth more comfort me, and my dear Wife, in our Afflictions, than the Fear of human Events can grieve or incline us to be willing to recover the Loſs of Goods with the Loſs of Honors. I will therefore uſe the Liberty which your Majeſty is pleaſed to give me, in anſwering every particular Point of your Letter. In the firſt whereof, I obſerve the Proceeding of my Enemies, who require a perſonal Submiſſion (intended to precede all other things) under the ſafe Conduct of the Emperor; whereas by natural Order uſed in theſe Occaſions, the Reſtitution which is material and ſubſtantial, ought by reaſon to precede the other, being but a Point of Ceremony; at the leaſt, it is neceſſary that all things be reſolved, and concluded under ſuch Aſſurances as ſhall be held convenient; and then if the Intentions on the Emperors part be real and ſincere, and without any Aim to take Advantage upon my Perſon (as the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth did upon the Lant-grave of *Heſſen*, under the Subtilty of a Diſtinction of a Syllable in ſafe Conduct *Ewig* for *Einig*) the ſaid Submiſſion may as well be made by a Deputy as otherwiſe, whereby I ſhall be freed from the Apprehenſion which the Execution at *Pragne*, and other Cruelty exerciſed by the Imperialiſts, may eaſily impreſs in the Mind of him who is unwilling to loſe himſelf by a *quiete de Cœr*. Beſides, a ſimple Conſent to ſuch a Submiſſion under the ſpecified Condition, to yield the Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria*, will be ſufficient to prejudice my Cauſe for ever. For the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, who have always proteſted againſt the Tranſlation of the Electorate, and the other Princes of *Germany*, who have like feeling, will diſavow their Proteſtations in regard of him who ſhall abandon his own Pretentions, and in ſtead of favoring me upon ſome Breach of the Treaty, or otherwiſe, may be my Oppoſites. Moreover, the Experience of things paſt teacheth us what Iſſue we may hereafter expect of the like Conditions, conſented to on our part: The Emperor having manifeſtly abuſed us in two already. Firſt, in the Inſtrument which I ſigned for the Conditional Reſignation of the Crown of *Bohemia*, in the Year 1621. Then in my Ratification of the Suſpenſion of Arms this laſt Summer. The firſt having ſerved the Emperor to accelerate his Treaty then on foot with *Bethlem Gabor*: The ſecond, to intimidate the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, that they might not undertake any thing againſt the Emperor, both the one and the other being divulged to the ſame Effect, according to the Knowledge which the Emperor had of theſe Deſigns before any thing was therein reſolved and concluded: And ſo will the Emperor in all appearance make his Profit of this preſent Propoſition, and ſtrike with one Stone two Blows, by hindering the Progreſs of *Gabor* on the one ſide, and by continuing on the other, the Intimidation of the Princes of *Germany*, who may with reaſon excuſe themſelves if they move not for him, who hath bound himſelf hand and foot, and conſented to a Submiſſion, which being yielded to, it will be always in the Emperors Power to break or go on, as he ſhall hold it expedient for himſelf. I do alſo promiſe my ſelf that your Majeſty will have regard that by ſuch Submiſſion and Intreaty, by undue Proſcription and Baniſhment (which being done in prejudice of the Conſtitutions of the Empire, are therefore held by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* of no Validity) be not approved, and thereby a Mark of Infamy ſet upon me and my Poſterity. Touching the ſecond Point, your Majeſty may be pleaſed to remember, that on the part of *Spain* Hope hath always been given me from the beginning, of a total and entire Reſtitution to my own Perſon; yea, the Earl of *Briſtol* hath aſſured me by his Letters from *Madrid*, in *November* 1622. when the Marriage was not ſo much advanced as at this time, That the King of *Spain* (in caſe of refuſal of the total Reſtitution) would joyn his Forces with thoſe of your Majeſty againſt the Emperor to conſtrain him thereunto: And yet in ſtead of the ſaid Reſtitution, the Tranſlation of my Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria* was ſince at *Ratisbone* agreed, and congratulated unto him from *Bruxels*; the inferior Palatinate diſmembred by the Grant of the *Bergſtreat*, one of the beſt

pieces

pieces thereof, to the Elector of *Mentz*, the Superior (with the Bailywicks) granted to the Duke of *Newburgh*, thereby to engage them further in the Quarrel, by the particular Defence of that which generally the Imperialists have usurped upon me; they confiscate and seize the Goods of my Subjects, and those that follow my Party, sparing neither Widow nor Orphans.

It seems therefore necessary, above all things, to have sufficient Assurance, for the total Restitution of my Electorate and Palatinates, before any new Treaty of Marriage be proposed: Of the which Treaties, as they are ordinarily handled and managed by the House of *Austria*, and drawn to length and Delays, with the only aim to the Augmentation of their Greatness, without respect to civil Honesty, Word or Promise; I have a doleful Experience in my own House, in the Person of one of my Predecessors, *Frederick* the Second, who contributed more to the first Foundation which was laid, for the Greatness of the House of *Austria*, than any other German Prince; and for Recompence, was allured and drawn by the space of many Years with Treaties and Promises of Marriage, without any real Intention (as was seen by the Effect) ever to bring them to Execution. Seeing therefore, that he who had so well deserved of the House of *Austria* (which, in all external appearance, held him in greater Estimation than any other *German* Prince) was (nevertherless) so unworthily used by them in a Treaty of Marriage; I, who have been unduly put into the Ban of the Empire, and spoiled of all my Honors and Goods, by the Eagerness, Hatred and Usurpation of the Emperor himself (whose Daughter is propounded for the Marriage in question) know not what to hope but the same Effect of Fraud and Deceit which my forenamed Predecessor found, with a sorrowful Repentance of the Evil when it was past Remedy. And the Emperor wanteth but two or three years of Leisure, which he shall easily gain by a Treaty of Marriage, to establish in *Germany* the Translation of my Electoral Dignity and Patrimonial Estate, without any hope ever hereafter to recover the like Opportunity as at this time, that my Pretensions are not prejudiced by a long Interposition of Time, and that the Memory of undue proceeding in the publication of the Ban against my Person, and the said Translation of my Electoral Dignity, and Seisure of my Patrimonial Inheritance, are yet fresh in the Affections and Minds of the Princes of *Germany*, who are by the Consideration of their own Interests moved with the greater Compassion, to see the Wounds of my Miseries yet fresh and bleeding, and with Passion and earnest Desire to see them remedied. And in this place, I will say something in answer to the last Point of your Majesties Letter, wherein you commanded me to consider the Means probable and feasible, whereby my Condition may be reduced to the former State, and to weigh your Majesties Forces with those of your Allies, and others whereof your Majesty may hope and be assured.

If your Majesty hopeth for my Restitution in *Germany*, as an Effect of the Marriage with *Spain*, nothing else is to be done but to attend the Event with patience: And if you continue to distinguish between the *Spaniards* and the *Imperialists*, there is no more to be said on this Subject, but as they have with joynt Consent conspired my Ruine with the same Forces, the same Counsels, and the same Designs, your Majesty will find (if you please to unmask the fair Seeming, and hidden Malice of the *Spaniards*, the same effect, as in the end you found the open and declared Violence and Hostility of the *Imperialists*, who besieged your Majesties Garrisons in my Towns, taken into your Protection. I will use the Liberty you have given me to discourse of your Majesties Forces, and those of your Allies, and what may further, with good probability, be hoped from other Friends and Well-willers.

In the last Rank I place what may be hoped from the Princes of *Germany*, who, to wit, the two Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, and in effect all the rest, except those of the Catholick League, have sufficiently declared the disavowing of the Emperors proceeding against me, and their Opinions that the Peace of *Germany* dependeth upon my Restitution; besides the Levies which they made in the beginning of the last Summer, though by the unlucky Accident of the Duke *Christian* of *Brunswick* they were soon after dismissed. And certainly no want of any other thing to be converted to my Aid, but the Countenance of a great Prince, to support them against the Power of the House of *Austria*, the same Affections remaining still in them, and the same Resolution to embrace the first good Occasion that shall be presented for the Liberty of *Germany*. Will there want Hands for the accomplishing of such a Work, when it shall be undertaken openly and earnestly? seeing that the Number of those that have their Interest conjoyned with mine, is great and mighty: For the greater part of the People, both Horse and Foot, which marched under the Catholick Banner, were of a contrary Religion to the Catholick, and of Affection (as it is notorious to all the World) more inclined to the Ruine of those Leagues, than to their preservation. But the Conduct of some powerful Prince is necessary, as well to the Men of War, as we have seen by experience the last year. The King of *Denmark* is he upon whom all have set their Eyes, but he being a Prince full of Circumspection, and unwilling to enter into play alone, answereth unto all Instances which are made unto him to that end, That as the other Princes have their Eyes upon him, so hath he his upon your Majesty.

It is not for me to judge; but ſince you have commanded me, I will weigh them by the Balance of common Judgment. That the Felicity wherewith God hath bleſſed the Perſon of your Majeſty, having conjoyned the three Crowns of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* upon one Head, the Power of the one of the three alone having done great Matters in the Affairs of *Europe* on this ſide the Sea; yea, when it was counterbalanced by the other, gives demonſtration what your Majeſty may do with the joynt Forces of the three together, when you ſhall be pleaſed to take a Reſolution therein, chiefly the Queſtion being for the Intereſt of your own Children; and by the voluntary Contribution which we have already had in our Support from your Majeſty, we may eaſily comprehend what may be promiſed of them when the publick Authority of your Majeſty ſhall be conjoyned with their particular Affections, there being no Prince in the World more loved and reverenced of his Subjects, nor more Sovereign over their Affections and Means for the Service of your Perſon and Royal Houſe. Touching the Allies, it is to my great Grief that the Unhappineſs of this time hath ſeparated a great part of them, the united Provinces of *Germany*, who make profeſſion of the ſame Religion whereof they acknowledge your Majeſty for Defender and Protector. But the ſame Affection remaineth ſtill in them entire and firm, though they have been conſtrained to yield to the preſent Neceſſity of their Affairs; and the Occaſion preſenting it ſelf, your Majeſty may account of them.

The reſt, the Eſtates of the United Provinces, to whom we have recourſe in our Afflictions, who ſupport themſelves by the Help of God, and the Seituation of their Country, and Forces of their People alone, until this time, againſt the Puiſſance of *Spain*, ſeconded by the Imperialiſts. And in ſtead of fainting under ſuch a Burthen, or of giving Ear unto the Overtures and Submiſſions which from day to day are preſented unto them, they now put themſelves to the Offenſive, by a good Fleet prepared and ready to ſet ſail to the *Weſt-Indies*, to the end they may at leaſt interrupt the peaceable and annual Return of the Gold and Silver of thoſe parts, by which the Houſe of *Auſtria* doth continually advance their Greatneſs. This is commended by all good Men, and Lovers of the public Liberty, as the ſole and only Means to caſt to the Ground the fearful Power of *Spain*, even as a great Tree of large extent cut up by the Root; but is held too great for ſuch a little extent of Country as this is, and yet practically, and to be done by forces anſwerable to the Importance of ſuch an Enterprize: And if your Majeſty would be pleaſed to uſe the Forces of this Eſtate by Sea and Land, to the Oppoſition of their Enemies, and by conſequence of mine, their profeſſion of a loyal and ſincere Affection, with the Hazard of their Lives and Goods for the Service or your Majeſty, grounded upon the Experience of things paſt, their preſent Intereſt, and the Judgment which may be made of the future, makes me aſſured that your Majeſty may abſolutely diſpoſe of them, and by their Means, being firmly conjoyned with your Majeſty, give the Law to *Europe*.

It is in Obedience to your Majeſty's Commandment that I have enlarged my ſelf ſo far into this Diſcourſe, which I will ſend with my moſt humble Thanks for the continuance of your moſt gracious and paternal Bounty, particularly ſhewed in the Care you have of the Education of my eldeſt Son in your Court, who with all the reſt, are at your Majeſty's diſpoſing; and we hope to live, notwithſtanding our hard and doleful Condition, to yield unto your Majeſty the Fruits of a devout and filial Gratitude; and I will remain, until the laſt day of my Life,

From the Hague, *Decemb.* 30*th.* 1623. *New Stile.*

Your Majeſty's moſt, &c.
FREDERICK.

POST-SCRIPT.

I am advertiſed from a good Party, that the Elector of *Ments*, and the other Princes of the Popiſh League, are very inſtant with the Elector of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, to perſwade them to acknowledge the Duke of *Bavaria* as an Elector of the Empire: which, if they obtain, it were eaſie to judge how much it would prejudice my Affairs, and the common Cauſe of the Empire. I therefore moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed to prevent and hinder ſuch an Evil, by the Interpoſition of good Offices, and Exhortations to the ſaid ſecular Electors, be it by ſome Embaſſador, by ſerious Letters, or ſuch other way as you ſhall hold meet and ſuitable to the importance of the Matter, which above all requireth ſingular Celerity. Your Majeſty ſhall increaſe more and more my Obligations, and that of the publick of *Germany*, &c.

King James *to my Lord* Bacon, *by occaſion of a Book; it was the* Organon.

*MY Lord, I have received your Letter, and your Book, then which ye could not have ſent a more acceptable Preſent unto me; how thankful I am for it, cannot better be expreſſed by me, than by a firm Reſolution I have taken, firſt, to read it through, with Care and Attention, though I ſhould ſteal ſome Hours from my Sleep, having otherwiſe as little ſpare time to read it

as

as ye had to write it; and then to uſe the Liberty of a true Friend, in not ſparing to ask you the Queſtion in any point whereof I ſhall ſtand in doubt, *Nam ejus eſt explicare cujus eſt condere:* As for the other part, I will willingly give a due Commendation to ſuch places, as, in my Opinion, ſhall deſerve it. In the mean time, I can with Comfort aſſure you, that ye could not make choice of a Subject more befitting your place, and your univerſal and methodick Knowledge; and in the general, I have already obſerved, that ye jump with me in keeping the middle way, between the two Extreams; as alſo in ſome particulars, I have found that ye agree fully with my Opinion; and ſo praying God to give your Work as good Succeſs as your Heart can wiſh, and your Labours deſerve, I bid you heartily farewell,

James R.

King James *his Letter to his Truſty and Well-beloved* Thomas Coventry, *Our Attorney General.*

*TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well; whereas our Right Truſty, and Right Well-beloved Coſen, the Viſcount of St. *Alban*, upon a Sentence given in the Upper Houſe of Parliament full three years ſince, and more, hath endured Loſs of his Place, Impriſonment and Confinement alſo for a great time, which may ſuffice for the Satisfaction of Juſtice, and Example to others; We being always graciouſly inclined to temper Mercy with Juſtice, and calling to mind his former good Services, and how well and profitably he hath ſpent his time ſince his Troubles, Are pleaſed to remove from him that Blot of Ignominy which yet remaineth upon him, of Incapacity and Diſablement; and to remit to him all Penalties whatſoever inflicted by that Sentence; having therefore formerly pardoned his Fine, and releaſed his Confinement; Theſe are to will and require you to prepare for Our Signature a Bill containing a Pardon in due Form of Law, of the whole Sentence: For which, this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant.

Ab ignoto, *from* Madrid.

THE *Spaniard* begins now to be ſenſible of the great Diſ-obligation and groſs Overſight he committed in ſuffering the Prince to go away without his *Infanta:* For it hath given an Occaſion of Advantage to the *Engliſh* (who now ſeem indifferent whether they match with him or no) to proceed more ſtoutly, and to add to the former Articles which the Prince had ſworn at his being here certain new Propoſitions about the *Palatinate*, which was thought to be unfit to motion at his being here, by reaſon of the Engagement of his Perſon. And there is a Commiſſion ſent to the Earl of *Briſtol* to treat of theſe two Buſineſſes joyntly; and if the King of *Spain* give not a ſatisfactory Anſwer therein, then he is to return home. *Buckingham* hath little Obligation to *Spain*, therefore for his own particular, he hath good reaſon, if he cannot prop himſelf this way, to find other Means for his Support: Unkindneſſes paſſed between him and *Olivarez*, and a hot Heart-burning between him and *Briſtol*, who told him here before the Prince, that being ſo far his Superior in Honor and Might, he might haply contemn him, but he could never hate him. Ever ſince his Departure he hath attempted to cruſh *Briſtol* to pieces, who is out of Purſe two thouſand Pounds of his own ſince his coming hither, and he is ſo croſſed that he cannot get a Penny from *England*. If he cannot get a Surrender of the *Palatinate* to the Kings Mind, he is in a poor Caſe, for he muſt hence preſently; he is much favoured of the King here and *Olivarez*, therefore they will do much for him before *Buckingham* work his Revenge upon him: he hath received lately more comfortable Diſpatches from *England*; and in the laſt the King ſent him, he requires his Advice in certain things. The Proxie the King of *Spain* had to marry the *Infanta* in the Princes Name, is prorogued till *March*. There is great Reſentment of the Delays in the Court here; and the *Infanta* hath given over ſtudying of *Engliſh*. The two Embaſſadors here, ever ſince the Princes Departure, have viſited the *Infanta* as Vaſſals; but now they carry themſelves like Embaſſadors again. We are all here in ſuſpenſe, and a kind of maze, to ſee the Event of things; and how Matters will be pieced together again, we know not.

Ab Ignoto, *Of the Affairs of* Spain, France, *and* Italy.

SIR,

THough it be now full three Months since I received any Line from you, yet I dare not, nor will I for that respect discontinue my Writing to you; and because no private Business occurreth, I will be bold to advise a Line or two concerning the publick Affairs of *Italy*: *Cassalle* is still made good against the *Spaniard*, not by the Duke of *Mantua*, for he, poor Prince, was long since bankrupt, but by the Succours of *France*, and this Seigniority, the former contributing monthly 40000 Dollars, the latter 20000, not only to maintain the *Cassallefchi*, but also to enable the Duke to stand fast against all other the *Spaniards* Attempts; mean while we here say boldly, that a League offensive and defensive against the *Spaniards* in *Italy* is concluded between the *French* and the *Venetians*; and that the *French* King hath already sent out two Armies, one under the Duke of *Guise* by Sea, who they say is landed at *Nizza*; the other under the Marquess *de Cœure*, who is marching hitherward through the *Valtoline*; and though I doubt something these Proceedings of the *French*, yet I am sure the Seignior doth daily give out new Commissions for the levying of Souldiers in that number, that now every one demands what strange Enterprize this State hath in hand, and all jump in this, that it is against the *Spaniard*. The Pope is still adverse to the *Spaniard*, and inclines strongly to the Good of *Italy*, animating this State to meet the *French* with a Declaration, and the *French* to conclude a Peace on any honorable Terms with us, that they may the more safely follow their present Designs, which is to suppress the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. His Catholick Majesty hath lost a great deal of Credit in these Parts, by the Loss of his Silver Fleet, and that he is in extream want of Money, is collected here from the present State of some of his publick Ministers. *Ognate* his ordinary Ambassador at *Rome*, being lately recalled, instead of going home into *Spain*, hath retired himself privately to *Monte Pincio*, being in such *premunire*, that he is not able to accommodate himself with Necessaries for his Journey. And *Mounterei*, who is to succeed him, is arrived as far as *Sienna*; but being foundred in his Purse, is able to get no farther; mean while living there in an Inn. Moreover, the Merchants in *Rome* are advised by their Correspondents in *Spain*, to be wary in letting either of them have Moneys; this is from a good Hand in *Rome*. Sir *Kenhelm Digby* hath lately been at *Delos*, where he hath laden great store of Marble; he is said to be in very good Plight and Condition. I trouble you no more,

Venice 5. January
1629 *Stilo novo.*

Your faithful Servant,
C. H.

Ab Ignoto, *concerning the Estate of* Rochel, *after the Surrender.*

SIR,

I Presume you have long since heard the particulars of *Rochel*, and that by far better Relations than mine; notwithstanding you may be pleased to know what I have observed and learned there my self, eight days after the King's entrance, whether Curiosity and some other Causes drew me. For the Siege and Dyke, they *præ cæteris excellent*, were in all parts most Royal, and far more perfect and uniform than relation could make me conceive: The misery of the Siege almost incredible, but to such only as have seen it, or some part thereof; Corn was worth after the rate of 800 Franks the Bushel; an Ox or Cow sold after the rate of 1000 Franks: The Host (where I lay) sold a Jade-horse, worth it may be four or five pounds, for 800 Franks, and for five and twenty Weeks tasted no Bread: Of twelve Persons in his Family, only he and his Wife are living; who also within two days had dyed, if the Town had not been rendred. He and his Wife made a Collation the day before the Town was rendred, which cost him about six or seven pound sterling; their cheer was a pound of Bread, made of Straw, Sugar, and other Spices; half a pound of Horse-flesh, three or four ounces of Comfits, and a pint of Wine, which they imagined was the last good cheer they should make together: And in like case were all the rest of the Town, only two or three Families of the better sort excepted; by which you may conjecture what rates such kind of Provision were at. There were eaten between 3000 and 4000 Cow-hides, all the Dogs, Cats, Mice and Rats they could get; not a Horse left alive, which was food for the better sort; only Madam *Rohan*, after having eaten her Coach-horse, and her Servants the Leather of her Coach, removed, though full sore against her Will, her Lodging from *Rochel* to the Castle of *Nioeul*, where she is under guard, and since (it is said) to the Bastile of *Paris*; God send her and hers to Heaven. There dyed, for want of food, in

Rochel

Rochel 15000, and reſted living, when the King entred, between three and four thouſand, of which there are ſince very many dead: They daily diſcover new miſeries, which when I was there were not ſpoken of; the Mother and the Child at the Breaſt both dead, the Child having eaten moſt part of the Mother's Breaſt; a Souldier was found dead with a piece of his Fellows fleſh in his mouth; a Burgher having a Servant kill'd, powdered her, which fed him and his Wife a long time, and dainty Meat too: Many languiſhing and finding themſelves draw near their ends, cauſed their Coffins to be carried into the Churches, laid them down in them, and ſo dyed: theſe were of the better ſort. The common ſort laid themſelves down in Coffins in the Church-yards, and there dyed; others in the Streets, others not able to go out of their Houſes, dyed and remained there, their Friends being not able to remove them. So that when the firſt Forces of the King entered, there were in the Town of Corps unburied, ſome in the Church-yards, others in the Streets, ſome in their Houſes, ſome on the Floor, others in their Beds, beſides them that dyed without the Gates under Hedges, and in Ditches round about the Town, which I ſaw my ſelf when I was there, half devoured with Ravens, and other Beaſts, and Fowls of the Air. In fine, the like miſery hath not been ſeen or heard of.

The King, on All ſaints day, which was the day of his entry, with a wax Candle in his Hand, together with the Cardinal and all the Nobility, in like manner, went all over the Town in proceſſion with the Bleſſed Sacrament. The chief Temple of the *Hugonots* ſhall be converted into a Church-Cathedral, and *Rochel* to be a Biſhoprick. All the Fortifications and Walls to Landwards to be razed, and the Foſſes filled, ſo that a Plough may paſs, as in arable Land. The Major, with ſome of the chiefeſt, are baniſhed for ever, others for a certain time limited, though quietly to poſſeſs their Goods, movable and immovable, and a general remiſſion of all Crimes paſt: And all others that were in the Town before the deſcent of the Engliſh into *Rhee*, and when the Town was rendred, ſhall likewiſe enjoy the ſame priviledge, though no Child or Heir abſent, is, or ſhall be, capable to inherit the Goods or Lands of his Parents deceaſed, but all is at the Kings diſpoſing. The King hath granted them free liberty of their Religion in the Town of *Rochel*, which in ſhort time will all be rooted out; for no Foreigner (though naturalized) ſhall be admitted to repair and inhabit in *Rochel*, nor French, but Roman Catholicks. The King hath added to the Revenues of his Crown 20000 Franks *per annum*, which was a Rent belonging to the Town-houſe, for the maintainance of the Fortifications and State of *Rochel*. The Town-houſe is to be razed, and a Pillar or Pyramid, with an ample Inſcription of the particulars of the Siege and Rebellion, there to be erected. The Forts of the Iſle of *Rhee* and *Oleron* to be razed, and (as it is ſaid) moſt of all the chief Forces of *France*, except on the Frontiers. Four Regiments are yet in *Rochel*, the reſt of the Army (at leaſt the moſt part) are gone to winter in thoſe parts of *France* towards the Coaſts of *Italy*, to be ready on all occaſions to ſuccor the Duke of *Mantua*, as it is thought. The Fathers of the Society have very fair Buildings given them for their eſtabliſhing there, and one thouſand Franks to begin to build; to which is added a Revenue which I know not; the place is ſaid to be where the Hereticks kept their Schools of Divinity, and Council of War, or Rebellion. And where the *Engliſh* had their Church, the *Oratorians* are likewiſe eſtabliſhed with large augmentations: the Capuchins are where was the chiefeſt Fort, called *Le Baſtion de Levangile*: the Minors are where the Dyke was, and divers other elſewhere. There are at leaſt 8000 Houſes in *Rochel*, which are fain to fall to the King to diſpoſe of for want of Heirs. The *Pariſians* are preparing a moſt ſumptuous and magnificent reception for the King, which is the cauſe he hath not been at *Paris*, ſince his return from *Rochel*, but is at St. *Germains*, and thereabouts, till all things are ready for his entry, which is thought will exceed in bravery and magnificence all the Preſidents of many years. The *Jeſuits* are by the Body of *Paris* employed to make the Speeches and Inſcriptions for that purpoſe, which the Body of the *Sorbon* take ill: The Prince of *Conde* doth daily get ground of *Rohan*, and hath lately taken Priſoners (as it is ſaid) thirty Captains, and eight hundred Souldiers. Thoſe of *Montauban* boaſt (as it is ſaid) that they have proviſion for three or four years, and will ſtand out till the laſt; though ſome of the beſt eſteem think it is only to draw the King to the beſt compoſition they can.

To King James, ab ignoto.

Your Majeſty,

BOth in the eminency of your Regal Dignity, and in the excellency of your Judgment, doth truly repreſent the common ſence, whoſe part it is to judge and diſcern of all things; whereas the other Senſes do but report their particular Objects. And in that manner do I humbly offer to your Majeſty's conſideration, in this importune *Criſis* of the Affairs of Chriſtendom, ſo much as I have obſerved in *France*, that may now concern your ſervice, in which place I have been heretofore employed in your Affairs.

And

And first considering the present estate of things in *France*, and weiging against it the seizure made of the *Valtoline* by the King of *Spain*, the late Invasion of the *Palatinate*, and now this new defeat arrived in *Bohemia*, I do put this for an infallible ground, That either the King of *France* will resolve out of jealousie of the progressions of the House of *Austria* effectually to succour the *Palatinate*, or else abandoning the Affairs of *Germany* to their own success, and neglecting the increase of the House of *Austria* on that side, he will think more than to recompence himself, by taking this opportunity to extinguish the Body of those of the Religion in *France*. And as undoubtedly he will resolve on one of those two points, so on both of them, for sundry Reasons, he cannot. To move him to the succour of the *Palatinate*, the main motive will be, the jealousie between those two Monarchies, which can never die, so long as they do both subsist in no greater a disproportion of Strength and Power; as also that *France* shall by their usurpation of the *Palatinate* be on all sides circled by the House of *Austria*, and particularly on that part where *France* hath before usurped on the Empire; in which regard, his Interest of State is greater than your Majesty's in the conservation of the *Palatinate*, though your personal Interest he incomparable with his. Then he cannot but think of the loss of his Correspondencies, and breach of his Confederacies in *Germany*, which have been very ancient, and very particular with the House of the *Palatine*: And if the reason of mutual Gratitude, and vindication of Injuries, may move *French*-men, there are plentiful Arguments on both kinds to move them to defend the House of the *Palatine* against that of *Austria*. But now, on the other side, to move him against those of the Religion at home, first doth present it self, his successful beginning against them in the business of *Bearn*; than which, nothing could be more unjust, both in regard of the Matter it self, and of his own Faith and Promise, and of the Desert of those of the Religion towards him, in these late Troubles; nor could any thing be more suddenly, or violently (I do not say, cruelly) executed, than that was. And again, the present terms, wherein that King, and those of the Religion do stand, will push him on. Then there will not want, to this purpose, the powerful Perswasions of the Pope and his Adherents, both by propounding Overtures to lay asleep the Jealousies of the House of *Austria*, and offering huge Sums towards the charge of the War; which if he should attempt, and prevail therein, it would prove of far greater prejudice, for many Reasons that may be given, in the Interest of Estate, to your Majesty, though not in the Interest of your Affection, than the loss of the *Palatinate*.

What may, in *France*, be resolved upon these motives, is uncertain.

But I do conceive hereupon, that it may be useful for your Majesty's Service, effectually to propound in *France* a Confederacy for the Conservation of the *Palatinate*; to which if they do hearken, your Majesty shall proceed in that Design with greater strength and reputation, and occasion the King of *Spain* to proceed with greater remisness, or else absolutely to relinquish the *Palatinate* by a Treaty: But if in *France* it be not hearkn'd to, your Majesty may take it for an assured Argument, that they mean to proceed against those of the Religion; in which case, your Majesty may make use of the same Embassage, to revive again some of their Factions in the Court, whereby those of the Religion may be strengthened in their defence; and it will not be hard to effect, if it be well proceeded in. And herein doth properly offer it self the person of the Duke of *Bovillon*, who for his great Experience and Wit, and Intelligence in that Court, is best able to guide and further your Majesty's Intentions; and for his Interest in the person of the *Palatine*, and in the Conversation of those of the Religion, doth precisely square with your Majesty's ends; whose Advice you may first suddenly and secretly enquire,

&c.

To King James, ab ignoto.

My most gracious King,

THese things which your Majesty did lately command to be spoken unto you, and now to be repeated in writing, are not such as they can be made to appear by legal and judicial Proofs; both because they by whose Testimony they may be confirmed, do, for fear of a most potent Adversary, withdraw themselves; and also, because they think it a Crime to come into the Embassadors House; yea, even they are afraid to do it who have commandment from your Majesty: But neither was it lawful for the Embassadors themselves to speak these things, especially, not to such as they directed, when the order of the Affairs required it, because they had never the freedom to speak unto your Majesty, and no audience was given or granted them in the absence of the Duke of *Buckingham*; an example, certainly, unusual with other Kings, and never to be taken in good part, unless it be, perhaps, when the King himself wanting Experience, and being of weak Judgment, and no Wisdom, some one that is familiar and inward with the King, a Man wise and circumspect, of great Judgment, and no less Experience, supplies the King's place. But here, when all things go preposterously, and the King himself being a most prudent and experienced Prince, he that is familiar, or favourite, doth in all things

things ſhew himſelf a raſh, heady young Man, a Novice in managing of Buſineſs, and to the Crown of *Spain* moſt offenſive: Certainly, by all juſt-right, this Man was to be kept away from the Audience of the Embaſſador of the State. We may alſo be bold to ſay, that his preſence, ſo earneſtly deſired of him, doth argue a great fear in him, and a great diſtruſt in him, as well of his own upright Conſcience, as alſo the King's Wiſdom. Hence, therefore, it is come to paſs, that your Majeſty's moſt faithful Vaſſals dare not ſo much as indirectly diſcloſe their Minds to the King, though they take it in very ill part, that a very good King ſhould be driven into ſuch ſtreights; and that a Man pleaſing himſelf in his own Deſigns, ſhould uſe the Favours of Princes ſo ſiniſterly, as he doth, of ſet purpoſe, to ſtir up breach of Friendſhip and Enmity, between moſt mighty Kings.

Beſides, who can, without a diſcontented Mind, endure, that the greateſt Affairs, and of greateſt moment (if any in the Chriſtian World can be ſo termed) ſhall be ordered, or concluded, at the pleaſure of your Parliament, and from thence all things carried on with a headlong violence, at his will and pleaſure, and a moſt deadly War to be preferred before a moſt happy Peace; whenas, nevertheleſs, I am not ignorant, that not ſo much the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, as the very claim to it, will very difficultly be obtained, or recovered, by force of Arms. Let your Majeſty exactly conſider, as it is uſed to do, whether this be not an evident Argument of that I have ſaid, that the Conference or Treaty about the *Palatinate* was taken from the Council of State, a ſociety of moſt prudent Men, only for this cauſe, that almoſt every one of them had, with one conſent, approved the Propoſition of the moſt Catholick King, and did not find in it any cauſe of diſſolving that Treaty. Hereupon, the Parliament of this Kingdom was procured by the Duke, becauſe he thought his Plots would be moſt acceptable to the Puritans, not without great injury to your Council of State, from which he fled, and diſclaimed by way of an appeal, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that we may be bold to ſay, that the Parliament is now above the King; nay, which is more, that this daring Duke propounded many things to the Parliament in the King's Name, your Majeſty being neither acquainted with them, nor willing to them: Yea, and that he propounded many things contrary to your Majeſty's Service. Who is there that doth not ſee and commend the Royal Diſpoſition of the Prince, adorned with ſo great Endowments of his Mind, that he doth not, in them all, ſhew and approve himſelf to be a very good Son of a very good King? And yet, nevertheleſs, that the Duke doth ſo much preſume upon his Favor, that he contemneth all Men, as knowing, that thoſe who are obedient to his Highneſs, will alſo ſubject themſelves to his Will. would to God he did direct thoſe his Actions to the good of the Prince: But that is a thing ſo far from the Opinion of good Men, that they rather believe, that he who hath overthrown the Marriage with *Spain*, will be of no leſs power to the breaking of any other Marriage, and that is it which many do propheſie.

They knew in *Spain*, that very ſame day that he had received Letters from the moſt Illuſtrious Prince *Palatine*, that he cauſed the Procuration to be revoked, and in a few days after, when the coming of the foreſaid Prince's Secretary, and the confirmation of his hope of having his Daughter married to her Highneſs's Son, all things were utterly daſhed in pieces. Let your Majeſty have a care of your ſelf, and the Prince, and foreſee the hurts and damages which a Man of ſuch turbulent humor may ſtir up; whoſe heady ſpirit, your Majeſty ſaith you have noted, and have deſired to mitigate.

A Man (I ſay) that is ambitious of popular air, as plainly appeared in Parliament; when, caſting off all odious matter upon your Majeſty, he did arrogate the thanks of all things that were acceptable to himſelf, being ſtiled, *The Redeemer of his Country.* I ſay again, a Man that hath envied ſo great a Good to the Chriſtian World, and principally, to the Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain*, having uſed ſome certain means, which do argue, that he aimed at ſuch an end, as many already do fear, and to propheſie in it the worſt event that can be. If the Puritans deſire a Kingdom (which they do againſt their Wills) they wiſh it not to the moſt illuſtrious Prince, the beſt and true Heir of your Majeſty, but to the Prince *Palatine*, whoſe Spy *Mansfelt* is, what ſhew ſoever he makes. He that makes theſe things known to your Majeſty, diſchargeth the part of a good Man, as well towards God, as your Majeſty, and the illuſtrious Prince; whom it now ſtandeth in hand to foreſee the Vengeance of God provided by the Duke's Plots, and the fury of the Parliament; there having been ſo many and ſo great Teſtimonies publiſhed againſt *Spain*, contrary to truth; ſo many, and ſo frequent, infamous Libels begotten and brought forth; and many ſuch other things, ſo full of bitterneſs and ignominy, that they cannot be read, even of our Enemies, without ſome taint upon the *Engliſh* Nation.

It is moſt apparent, and Stories will teſtifie, that here Leagues have been broken by the will and pleaſure of them whom it eſpecially concerneth to provide for your peace and quiet; and to wiſh, from the bottom of their Hearts, that after many, and theſe moſt happy years, that Motto of yours (*Bleſſed are the Peace-makers*) might be verified, in Letter, of the Perſon of your Majeſty; and to propound the ſame Counſel to the moſt illuſtrious Prince, to be imitated, which your Majeſty hath done to the whole World, to be commended and admired. A happy Prince will he be, if he comes and ſucceeds peaceably into the hereditary poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, and which will be of no leſs advantage to him, having his peace eſtabliſhed with thoſe Princes, whoſe Friendſhip and Amity your Majeſty hath procu-

procured, and deſerved. He would certainly love and commend thoſe that had given him thoſe Counſels of peace. Peace and tranquillity are by Hereditary Right devolved to the moſt Illuſtrious Prince, in as much as he is born of the Father, who hath with ſo much induſtry procured them, not only to this Iſland, but to the Continent alſo, eſteeming them at a higher value then his Kingdoms themſelves.

Which ſince it is thus, and that the Blood of his Father which is in him, and the love wherewith he is carried towards your Majeſty, and the experience of this your moſt happy Government, and that great example wherewith your Majeſty hath drawn and won the Chriſtian World to an admiration and love of you, did all direct the moſt Illuſtrious Prince, with a kind of connatural motion, to the ſame Counſel and purpoſe of Peace as might have heretofore been likewiſe hoped: Certainly, this machination is very ſtrong, violent and mighty, which doth ſuddenly labour to turn him into a clean contrary courſe.

And, queſtionleſs, if the very entrance into a War, the War it ſelf, if it want juſtice, it will want alſo happy ſucceſs. It cannot be unknown to your Majeſty, that the Duke of *Buckingham* carrieth himſelf ſo lofty, that he would have all Men perſwaded that he hath and doth exerciſe a kind of Dominion over the Will of your Majeſty, and of his Highneſs. All things ſhall be made manifeſt to your Majeſty, if you will have them ſo; for there are not means wanting, whereby you may free your vaſſal from fear and diffidence, who will otherwiſe dare nothing, nor ſay nothing; which certainly appears ſo far to be true, that all things ſtanding as they do, it is an eaſie matter to find who will ſpeak againſt your Majeſty, yet there is none that dare ſpeak againſt the Duke.

Let your Majeſty call ſome certain Men unto you, and ſift out of them the Opinion of the more moderate Parliament; and enquire of thoſe that come out of *Spain*, who did firſt give the firſt cauſe of falling out? Whether the complaints againſt the King of *Spain* be true, or no? Whether that foreſaid King were not deſirous to ſatisfie the deſire of the Prince his Highneſs? Whether he did not faithfully endeavour to effect the Marriage? Whether the Duke of *Buckingham* did not many things againſt the Authority and Reverence due to the moſt illuſtrious Prince? Whether he was not wont to be ſitting, whilſt the Prince ſtood, and was in preſence; and alſo having his feet reſting upon another ſeat, after an undecent manner? Whether, when the Prince was uncover'd, whilſt the Queen and Infanta looked out at the Windows, he uncover'd his Head, or no? Whether, ſitting at the Table with the Prince, he did not behave himſelf unreverently? Whether he were not wont to come into the Prince's Chamber with his Clothes half on, ſo that the doors could not be open'd to them that came to viſit the Prince from the King of *Spain*, the Door-keepers refuſing to go in for Modeſty's ſake? Whether he did not call the Prince by ridiculous Names? Whether he did not diſhonour and prophane the King's Pallace with baſe and contemptible Women? Whether he did not divers obſcene things, and uſed not immodeſt geſticulations and wanton tricks with Players, in the preſence of the Prince? Whether he did not violate his Faith given to the *Conde Olivarez*? Whether he did not preſently communicate his Diſcontents, Offences and Complaints, to the Embaſſadors of other Princes? Whether, in doing of his Buſineſs, he did not uſe frequent threatnings unto the Catholick King's Miniſters, and to Apoſtolick Nuncio's? Whether he did not affect to ſit at Plays, preſented in the King's Palace, after the manner and example of the King and Prince, being not contented with the Honour that is ordinarily given to the High Steward, or *Major Domo* of the King's Houſe? Beſides all theſe things, which have heretofore been told your Majeſty, there is yet this more that is new.

That the Duke of *Buckingham* (with what intention let others judge) hath divulged in Parliament ſome ſecret Treaty negotiated betwixt your Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, touching the Affairs of *Holland*; the ſecrecy whereof, nevertheleſs, your Majeſty had ſo recommended, that, beſides the King, and the *Conde Olivarez*, no Man in *Spain* knew of it.

If the Duke do not appear guilty of all theſe things, let him be ſtill your Majeſty's moſt Faithful Servant, and let your Majeſty yet confer upon him greater Honours, if you can. For I would have theſe things conceived to be ſpoken for the ſecurity of your Majeſty; not for the hurt of him, to whom I wiſh proſperity, if by him the Chriſtian World might be in proſperity.

It only remaineth, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to take in good part this my Service and Obedience ſhewed to your Commandments.

To the King, ab ignoto.

Beſt, and moſt Excellent King,

YOu will wonder, that he who, at firſt, proteſteth to be neither Papiſt nor Puritan, *Spaniard* nor *Hollander*, or yet in any *delirium* fit, ſhould preſume, in this Libel-like way, to lay down to your Majeſty the ſtrong zeal he beareth to the ſafety of your Majeſty, and his Country, by ſhewing,

in

in this dark Tablet, (drawn by the worst Painter) the common Opinion of all those which are not possessed as above.

They say, the business of greatest consequence that ever your Majesty handled, is now at point to go well, or ill; the Marriage, or none; and (as it is carried) a present War, or a continued Peace. The Match of your Son, they wish, you may perfect in your own time; and think, that, for the quiet of your Self and Kingdoms, the shortest Time's the best; and that this, already traced, will far sooner piece, than any new one have beginning, and accomplishment.

They fear this suspension, carried by *Killegrew*, was wrought by *Buckingham*, not for what he pretends; and plainly say, It was not only to prevent his Highness's Marriage there, but any where.

Whereby, 1. His particular Greatness may still stand absolute.

2. His Wife, and Tribe, still present the Princess Person.

3. And your Majesty be, and remain, their Pupil.

The Parliament, so much urged, they say, is to be a Marrying his Mightiness unto the Common-Weal; that as your Majesty is his good Father, It may be his Mother, and so he stand, not only by the King, but by the People, and popular humour, that he hath lately so earnestly courted, and especially from those who are noted to be of the most troubled humour.

How your Majesty should gain upon a Parliament, they cannot imagine, seeing all are resolved to sell your Courtesies at the dearest rate, both by ill words, and for double as much again; the humour of it being so unconstant, that, twenty to one, but those very Tongues which in the last did cry, *War*, *War*, *War*, will now curse him that urgeth for one poor Subsidy to raise a War; and miserable is he that is to make a War, or to defend against it, with Money that is to be given, or gathered, from them.

They say, our Great Duke hath, certainly, a brave desire to War; but, in that also, he hath some great end of enriching himself: which he too well loveth, being carried away with that sweet sound, how *Nottingham* gained Yearly, during that sickness, 40000 *l.* by his Admirals place; but what his Majesty gained, they find not, either in the Exchequer, or Kingdom.

Somewhat also they fear this his Grace's precipitate humour, and change of humour; both of pride, to shew his Power as great here, as is *Olivarez*'s there; as also, of revenge against him in particular. For were it love to his now much beloved Country, they say, there was as much reason for breach, both of the Match, and Peace, when the Parliament urged it, as there is now.

They say, there is a rumour of his Grace's, a match for his *Mary* with the young *Palatine*. It is no *Gorgon*; and will concern his Highness, if they that are now our best Friends, the *Hollanders*, should change their Copy.

In this his Highness coming off from *Spain*, they say, He hath advised him to no worse than he did himself; for how many did he deflour, abuse, and couzen with Marriage, by his Grace in Court, and Power with your Majesty?

In short, your Subjects, that have sense of your estate, do most earnestly beseech your Majesty, to have more especial care of your own preservation than ordinarily you have, both in respect of the desperate staggering which their Priests now stand in, and of your own *Phaeton* himself; who, in truth, wanteth nothing of Man enough, but a good nature; and being in custom to carry all with a high hand, must be desperate, if he fail in any *Punto* of his violent Will.

We know, your Majesty, according to the sweetness and virtue of your nature, agreeing with Gods blessed Will, hath long preserved your People in all Peace and Plenty: And all good and sensible People pray you, even for Gods sake, not to be couzened of your own Life and Liberty. Oh be not mis-led, to trouble your own Kingdoms quiet; but that, after many and many a happy Year, your may dye happily in Peace.

To his Sacred Majesty, ab ignoto.

May it please his most Excellent Majesty to consider,

THat this great opposition against the Duke of *Buckingham* is stirred up and maintained by such, who, either maliciously, or ignorantly and concurrently, seek the debasing of this free Monarchy; which because they find not yet ripe to attempt against the King himself, they endeavour it through the Dukes side. These Men, though agreeing in one mischief, yet are of divers sorts and humours, *viz.*

1. Medling and busie Persons, who took their first hint at the beginning of King *James*, when the Union was treated of in Parliament. That learned King gave too much way to those popular Speeches, by the frequent proof he had of his great abilities in that kind.

Since the time of *H.* 6. these Parliamentary discourſings were nevor ſuffered, as being the certain ſymptoms of ſubſequent Rebellions, Civil Wars, and the dethroning of our Kings : But theſe laſt twenty years, moſt of the Parliament-men ſeek to improve the reputation of their Wiſdoms by theſe Declamations ; and no honeſt Patriot dare oppoſe them, leſt he incur the reputation of a Fool, or a Coward in his Countries Cauſe.

2. Covetous Landlords, Incloſers, Depopulators, and Juſtices of the Peace, who have got a habit of Omni-regency, and an hope to extend the ſame againſt the King in Parliament, as they do on his Subjects in the Country. Hereby the King loſeth 24000 *l.* in every whole Subſidy ; for *Anno* 1600. it was 80000 *l.* and now it is but 56000 *l.* which cometh by the decay of the Yeomandry, who were three and four pounds Men. And theſe Gentlemen (moſt of them of the Parliament) do eaſe themſelves, to afflict thoſe who are the true Commons, and yet perſwade them, that the grievances are cauſed by the Duke, and the ill Government of the King.

3. Recuſants and Church-Papiſts, whoſe hatred is irreconcileable againſt the Duke, for the breach of the *Spaniſh* Match. The *French* Lady, though as zealous a Catholic, doth not pleaſe them, for they were tyed to *Spain* by their hopes of a change of Religion that way. All the Prieſts are ſent from the *Spaniſh* Dominions, and the Sons and Daughters of the Papiſts remain as Hoſtages of their fidelities in the Colledges and Nunneries of the King of *Spain*. And though the Papiſts have no place in the Houſe of Commons, yet privately they aggravate all ſcandals againſt the Duke, to kindle a ſeparation between the King and his People, and avert them from enabling the King to reſiſt, or be avenged of our great Enemy. Remember the courſe held by theſe Men in the Parliament of undertakers ; alſo Dr. *Egleſham*, and all the Prieſts daily practice libelling againſt all great Men about the King.

4. Needy and indebted Perſons in both Houſes who endeavour by theſe Parliamentary ſtirs not ſo much the Dukes overthrow, as a Rebellion, which they hope will follow if it be not done. This is much to be ſuſpected, as well by their Calumniations againſt his Majeſty, as for their own wants ; many of them being Out-lawed, and not able to ſhew their Heads, but in Parliament time, by priviledge thereof ; and they know, that there are enough to follow them in the ſame miſchief.

5. Puritans, and all other Sectaries, who, though ſcarce two of them agree in what they would have, yet they all, in general, are haters of Government. They begun in Parliament, about *Anno* 23. *Eliz.* and ſpit their venom not only againſt the Biſhops, but alſo againſt the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, and others, the Queens Favourites and Councellors, as they do now againſt the Clergy and the Duke. But their main diſcontentment is againſt the Kings Government, which they would have extinguiſhed in matters Eccleſiaſtical, and limited in Temporal. This is a fearful and important Conſideration, becauſe it pretends Conſcience and Religion ; and they now more deadly hate the Duke, becauſe he ſheweth himſelf to be no Puritan, as they hoped he would at his return from *Spain*.

6. Male-contents cenſured, or decourted, for their deſerts, as the kindred and dependants of the Earl of *Suffolk*, and of Sir *Henry Yelverton*, *Coke*, *Lake*, *Middleſex*, though all of them (the laſt excepted) were dejected by King *James*, without any Concurrency of the Duke. Others becauſe they are not preferred, as they do imagine that they deſerve as the Lord *Say*, Earl of *Clare*, Sir *John Eliot*, *Selden* and *Glanvile*, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and the Biſhops of *Norwich* and *Lincoln*. Theſe, and many others, according to the nature of envy, look upon every one with an evil eye, eſpecially upon the Duke, who either hath, or doth not prefer them to thoſe places, or retain them in them, which their ambition expecteth.

7. Lawyers in general, for that (as Sir *Edward Coke* could not but often expreſs) our Kings have upholden the Power of their Prerogatives, and the Rights of the Clergy, whereby their comings in have been abated. And therefore the Lawyers are fit ever, in Parliaments, to ſecond any complaint againſt both Church and King, and all his Servants, with their Caſes, Antiquities, Records, Statutes, Preſidents and Stories. But they cannot, or will not, call to mind, that never any Nobleman, in Favour with his Sovereign, was queſtioned in Parliament, except by the King himſelf, in caſe of Treaſon, or unleſs it were in the nonage, and tumultuous times of *Rich.* 2. *Hen.* 6. or *Edw.* 6. which happened to the deſtruction both of the King and Kingdom. And that, not to exceed our own, and Fathers Memories, in King *Hen.* 8. time, *Wolſies* exorbitant Power and Pride, and *Cromwels* contempt of the Nobility and the Laws, were not yet permitted to be diſcuſſed in Parliament, though they were moſt odious and grievous to all the Kingdom. And that *Leiceſter's* undeſerved favour, and faults, *Hatton's* inſufficiency, and *Rawleigh's* inſolence, far exceeded what yet hath been (though moſt falſly) objected againſt the Duke : yet no Lawyer durſt abett, nor any Man elſe begin any Invectives againſt them in Parliament.

8. The Merchants and Citizens of *London*, convinced (not by the Duke, but) by *Cranfield* and *Ingram*, to have deceived the King of Impoſts and Cuſtoms, and deſervedly fearing to be called to account for undoing all the other Cities and good Towns, and the poor Colony of *Virginia*, as alſo for tranſporting of our Silver into the *Eaſt-Indies* ; theſe vent their malice upon the Duke in the *Exchange*, *Pauls*,

Westminster-Hall, with their suggestions, and therein they wound, both to Subjects and Strangers, the Honour of his Majesty, and his proceedings.

9. Innovators, *Plebicolæ*, and King-haters. At the later end of Queen *Elizabeth* it was a phrase to speak, yea to pray for the Queen and State. This word (*State*) was learned by our neighbourhood and Commerce with the Low-Countries, as if we were, or affected to be governed by States. This the Queen saw, and hated. And the old Earl of *Oxford* his Propositions at her death, they awakned King *James* to prevent this humour, and to oppose the conditions and limitations, and presented unto him by the Parliaments.

The Lawyers, Citizens and Western Men (who are most hot infected with Puritanism) stood strong against him under a colour of Parliaments, and Parliamentary Priviledges. His Majesty therefore strengthened himself ever with some Favourite, as whom he might better trust than many of the Nobility tainted with this desire of Oligarchy. It behoveth, without doubt, His Majesty to uphold the Duke against them; who if he be but decourted, it will be the Corner-stone on which the demolishing of his Monarchy will be builded. For, if they prevail with this, they have hatched a thousand other Demands to pull the Feathers of the Royalty, they will appoint him Councellors, Servants, Alliances, Limits of his expences, Accompts of his Revenue, chiefly, if they can (as they mainly desire) they will now dazle him in the beginning of his Reign.

10. King *James*, and King *Charles*, lastly, are the Dukes Accusers (my meanining is, with all humble reverence to their Honours and Memories, and to speak in the sence of the House of Commons) both their Majesties are *Conjuncta Persona* in all the aspersions that are laid upon the Duke, for instance, the Parliaments Money destined for the Wars, spent in the Treaties, Messages, Ambassadours, and Entertainments of the King's Marriage, and the Burial of his Father, and the War in the Name of the Count *Palatine*, the breach of both the Treaties, which then Canonized the Duke, but now is made evidence against him; the Honours and Offices conferred upon him by King *James*, That His Majesty might with his own Councils direct their managing, the setting forth of the Navy, though to the Duke's great charge, by both their Commandments; the Match with *France*, and generally whatsoever hath not been successful to Mens expectations. All these, though the Acts of the King's, are imputed to the Duke; who if he suffer for obeying his Sovereigns, the next attempt will be to call the King to account for any thing he undertakes, which doth not prosperously succeed, as all Men would desire.

If it please His Majesty to remove, and set aside all these disadvantages, He shall find the Charge laid against the Duke will prove very empty, and of small moment. And for them, if His Majesty and the Dukes Grace think it no impeachment to their Honours, all that the Parliament hath objected against the Duke is pardoned at the King's Coronation, which benefit every poor Subject enjoyeth; Three things only excepted, which may most easily be answered.

The Copy of a Letter written by His Majesty to the Lord-Keeper, the Bishops of London, Winton, Rochester, *St.* David's *and* Exceter, *Sir* Henry Hubbert, *Mr. Justice* Dodderidge, *Sir* Henry Martin, *and Dr.* Steward, *or any six of them, whereof the Lord-Keeper, the Bishops of* London, Winton, *and St.* David's, *to be four.*

IT is not unknown unto you, what happened the last Summer to our trusty and well-beloved Councellour, the Lord Arch.bishop of *Canterbury*, who shooting at a Deer with a Cross-bow in *Bramzil* Park, did with that shot casually give the Keeper a wound, whereof he dyed. Which accident (though it might have happened to any other Man, yet) because his eminent rank and function in the Church hath (as we are informed) ministred occasion of some doubt, as making the cause different in his Person, in respect of the scandal (as is supposed) we being desirous (as it is fit we should) to be satisfied therein, and reposing especial trust in your learnings and judgments, have made choice of you to inform us concerning the nature of this Cause, and do therefore require you to take presently into your Considerations the Scandal that may arise thereupon, and to certifie us what in your Judgments the same may amount unto, either to an irregularity, or otherwise. And lastly, what means may be found for the redress whereof (if need be) of all which Points we shall expect to have your Reports, with what diligence and expedition you may.

Dated at *Theobalds*,
Octob. 3. 1621.

The Juſtices of Peace in the County of Devon, *to the Lords of the Council.*

THe Letters from his ſacred Majeſty unto the Juſtices of Peace in this County, together with your Lordſhips, have been opened and read, according to the directions in your Lordſhips Letter to our high Sheriff expreſſed, and the weighty buſineſs therein contained, hath been maturely and ſpeedily debated, according to our moſt bounden duties to his excellent Majeſty; and the many concurring neceſſities which preſs the expedition of ſuch a ſervice: and in thoſe reſpects we can do no leſs then give your Lordſhip a timely knowledge of the Vote and Opinion of us all, which was this day almoſt in the ſame words delivered by every of us.

That the Sum enjoyned to be levied by the firſt of *March*, is not to be ſo ſuddenly raiſed out of this County by any means, much leſs by way of perſwaſion; and hereof we had lately a certain experience in the buſineſs of the loans, which notwithſtanding the fear apprehended by the preſence of the Purſivant, hath come at leaſt 6000 l. ſhort of the expected Sum, and without him we ſuppoſe would have been much leſs; and we are confident that nothing but extremities, which had need alſo be back'd by Law, will raiſe His Majeſty a ſufficient quantity of Treaſure for his occaſions. For our ſelves, at the time of the propoſition of the forementioned Loans, we did, according to His Majeſties Proclamation and Inſtruction then ſent us, engage our faithful promiſe to our Country-men, that if they willingly yielded to His Majeſties neceſſities at this time, we would never more be inſtruments in the levy of aids of that kind. His Majeſties intentions ſo clearly manifeſted not to make that a preſident, was the cauſe of that Engagement, and we conceive it cannot be for his Honour or Service for us to be the means of ſuch a breach. That His Majeſties Affairs, and of his Allies, do all want an inſtant ſupply of Royal proviſions his provident and Princely Letter hath fully taught us; but we have much more cauſe to wiſh than hope, that theſe parts ſo lately, and ſo many ways, impoveriſhed can yield it.

Your Lordſhips may vouchſafe to remember how much this County hath been charged ſince the beginning of the War (though ſometimes refreſhed with payment, which we acknowledge with humble thanks) By our own late Loan of 35000 *l.* and 6000 *l.* more ſent by Sir *Thomas Wiſe* and Mr. *Stroad*, and yet there remains due to it, for the Coat and Couduct of their own impreſt Souldiers, for divers Voyages for the Recruits intended for the Iſle of *Ree*, for the Conduct of the whole Army hence, beſides three Companies ſtand yet here for *Silly*, and no ſmall number of ſcattered ſick, whoſe mortal infection hath more diſcouraged the People than the Charge.

That many and almoſt unaccountable are our ways of expence; few or none have we of in-come for want of Trade, how than can there be any quantity of Money to diſburſe? Their Bodies and Goods are left, which (we are aſſured) will be ever ready for His Majeſty's Defence, and to be imployed in His Majeſty's Service, as far forth as ever our Fore-fathers have yeilded them to His Majeſty's Royal Progenitors.

Particular proofs we would have made of the Peoples diſability to have ſatisfied His Majeſty's Demands; but we had rather adventure our ſelves, and this humble Advertiſement upon your Lordſhips private and favourable Inſtructions, than to expoſe His Majeſty's Honour to public denial, and miſpend his precious time, which applied to more certain courſes may attain his Princely and Religious Ends; wherein to be His Majeſty's Inſtruments will be our earthly happineſs, and ſingular comfort to be your Lordſhips Obedient Servants.

Inſtructions for the Miniſters, and Church-Wardens, of London.

1. THat His Majeſty's Declaration, Publiſhed *Anno Dom.* 1628. before the Articles of Religion, for ſetling all queſtions in difference, be ſtrictly obſerved.

2. That ſpecial care be had concerning Lectures in every Pariſh.

3. That the Miniſter and Church-wardens in every Pariſh, or one of them, do by writing under his or their own hands, certifie unto the *Arch-Deacon* of *London*, or his official, at, or before the 28 of this preſent *January*: and afterwards at, or before every Viſitation, the Chriſtian and Sir-names of every Lecturer in their Pariſhes, and the place where he preacheth, whether exempt, or not exempt; together with his quality or degree.

4. That they do, in like manner, certifie the Names of ſuch Men, as being not qualified by Law, do keep Chaplains in their Houſes.

5. That they do further certifie the Names of all ſuch as abſent themſelves from, or are negligent in coming to Divine Service, as well Prayers, as Catechiſing and Sermons.

6. That the Miniſter and Church-Wardens of every Pariſh, ſucceſſively, do keep a ſeveral Copy of thoſe Inſtructions by them, whereby they may be the better informed of their duty; and that the ſaid Copies be ſhewed at every Viſitation, when they ſhall preſent all ſuch Perſons as have diſobeyed theſe inſtructions; that according to His Majeſty's pleaſure, ſuch as do conform may be encouraged, and ſuch as are refractory may be puniſhed. Subſcribed, *Thomas Paske*, Arch-deacon of *London*.

Jan. 28. 1622.

Lord

LORD KEEPER WILLIAM'S Letters, &c.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke, about the Liberties of Weſtminſter.

My moſt Noble Lord,

I Humbly beſeech your Lordſhip, to be a little ſenſible of thoſe injurious Affronts offered, without any ſhew of Equity, unto this poor Liberty of *Weſtminſter*. And for Gods ſake let me not want that Protection, which not your Lordſhip only, but the two *Cecils*, and the Earl of *Somerſet*, who neither regarded the Church, Learning, nor Honour, in any meaſure as you do, have ever afforded every Dean of this Church. When I had (to my thinking) given the Knight Marſhal full, and too much ſatisfection, this day a Letter was offered to the Table (in my preſence) violently purſued by the Lord Steward, and the Earl Marſhal, to command this Liberty (which had ſtood unqueſtioned theſe 700 years) to ſhew reaſon to Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Sollicitor, why they preſcribe againſt the Knight Marſhal. A Courſe (as my Lord Preſident ſaid openly) not to be offered to any Subject of *England*. It is our Charter, and Freehold of Inheritance, to be ſhewed only in a Court of Juſtice, and at the *Kings-Bench*, which we are very ready to do. And we may as well be queſtioned by a Letter from the Council, for all the Lands we have, as for this. My Lord, the Juriſdiction of this Place brings not a Penny to my Purſe, but it hath brought much Sorrow to my Heart, and now Tears to my Eyes, that I ſhould be that unfortunate and contemptible Man, who, for all the King, and your Lordſhips Favour, and the true Pains I take in anſwer thereunto, muſt be trampled down above all the Deans that lived in this Place. Nor would it ever grieve me, if I had deſerved it from theſe Lords, by the leaſt Diſreſpect in all the World. I beſeech you, for the Churches Sake, and your Honours Sake, to be ſenſible hereof, and to know of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Dureſme*, Mr. *Packer*, or Sir *Robert Pye*, whether ever any queſtion hath been made to this Liberty in this kind. If a Letter had been recorded to queſtion the ſame, when the Lord Admiral was Steward, and the Lord Keeper Dean thereof, judge you, in your Wiſdom, what would become thereof in future Poſterity, &c.

May 6. 1621.

The Lord Keeper to the Duke.

My Noble Lord,

WIth my trueſt Affections, and Thankfulneſs, premiſed; I do not doubt but his Majeſty and your Lordſhip do now enjoy the general Applauſe of your Goodneſs to the Earl of *Southampton*. *Saturday* laſt he came, and dined with me, and I find him more cordially affected to the Service of the King, and your Lordſhips Love and Friendſhip, then ever he was, when he lay a Priſoner in my Houſe. Yet the Sun-ſhine of his Majeſties Favour, though moſt bright upon others (more open Offenders) is noted to be ſomewhat ecclipſed towards him. What Directions ſoever his Majeſty gave, the Order is ſomewhat tart upon the Earl. The Word of Confinement ſpread about the City (though I obſerved not one Syllable ſo quick to fall from his Majeſty) his Keeper much wondred at. The Act of the Council publiſhed in our Names, who were neither preſent thereat, or heard one Word of the ſame: yet upon my Credit the Earl takes all things patiently, and thankfully, though others wonder at the ſame.

Mr. *Secretary* ſigned a Petition of one *Rookwood* a Papiſt, and Priſoner in the Fleet upon five ſeveral Executions, that I ſhould grant him his Liberty. The Kings Name is uſed, and the Mediation of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador. If I break Rules ſo foully, in favour of a Papiſt, (which I am reſolved to keep ſtreight againſt all Men whatſoever) I ſhall infame my ſelf in the very beginning. If his Majeſty will have any ſpecial Indulgence in this kind, I expect intimation immediately from the King, or your Lordſhip, and no third Perſon. Your Lordſhip will not expect from me any account of Council Buſineſs, nor the ſetting at liberty of the late Priſoner. Mr. *Secretary* is ſecret enough for imparting any thing unto me, ſo as I muſt remain in a neceſſary Ignorance.

There is a Country Man of mine, one *Griffith*, a Suiter unto the Court for the Reverſion of an Auditors Place, recommended thereunto by his Maſter the Lord Treaſurer. The Place is of great Conſequence for the diſpoſing of his Majeſties Revenues. The Man is unfit for this, as preſumptuous and daring for any Place. Sir *Robert Pye* ſaith, he hath already written to your Lordſhip, and I doubt

doubt not of your care thereof. Dr. *Lamb* (the Bearer) is a very ſufficient, and (for ought I ever heard of him) an honeſt Man. The King hath employed him in diſcovery of countereit Witchcrafts, in reforming of no counterfeit, but hearty Puritans, and he hath done good ſervice therein. If his Majeſty (now in our pure Air of *Northampton-ſhire*) do not ſhew him ſome favour, or grace, either by Knighting, or by uſing him courteouſly: The Brethren (having gotten out their *Yelverton* again) will neglect and moleſt him too inſufferably. God from Heaven bleſs you. Remember your Deanry, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*, &c.

July 22. 1621.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

My moſt noble Lord,

AN unfortunate occaſion of my Lord's Grace, his killing of a Man caſually (as it is here conſtantly reported) is the cauſe of my ſeconding of my yeſterdays Letter unto your Lordſhip: His Grace (upon this Accident) is by the Common Law of *England* to forfeit all his Eſtate unto his Majeſty, and by the Canon Law (which is in force with us) irregular, *ipſo facto*, and ſo ſuſpended from all Eccleſiaſtical Function, until he be again reſtored by his Superior, which (I take it) is the King's Majeſty, in this rank and order of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions. If you ſend for Dr. *Lamb*, he will acquaint your Lordſhip with the diſtinct penalties in this kind. I wiſh, with all my heart, his Majeſty would be as merciful, as ever he was in all his Life; but yet I held it my Duty to let his Majeſty know, by your Lordſhip, that his Majeſty is fallen upon a matter of great Advice and Deliberation. To add affliction to the afflicted (as no doubt he is in Mind) is againſt the King's Nature; to leave *virum Sanguinum*, or a Man of Blood, Primate and Patriarch of all his Churches, is a thing that ſounds very harſh in the old Councils and Canons of the Church. The *Papiſts* will not ſpare to deſcant upon the one and the other. I leave the Knot to his Majeſty's deep Wiſdom to adviſe and reſolve upon. A rheum fallen into mine Eye (together with the Humor I laſt wrote unto your Lordſhip about) hath faſtened me unto my Bed, which makes this Letter the more unhandſome. But I will take nothing to heart that proceeds from his Majeſty, or from that King who hath raiſed me from the Duſt, to all that I am; if the Truth were ſet down, 1. That my ſelf was the firſt mover for a temporary Keeper. 2. That his Majeſty hath promiſed me, upon the relinquiſhing of the Seal (or before) one of the beſt places in this Church, as moſt graciouſly he did. 3. The year and a halfs probation left out, which is to no purpoſe, but to ſcare away my Men, and put a diſgrace upon me. 4. That my aſſiſting Judges were deſired, and named by my ſelf, which your Lordſhip knows to be moſt true: Such a Declaration would neither ſhame me, nor blemiſh his Majeſty's Service in my perſon. And it were fitter, a great deal, the penning thereof were referred to my ſelf, then to Mr. Secretary, or the Lord Treaſurer, who (if he had his demerit) deſerves not to hold his Staff half a year. I do verily believe, they will haſten to finiſh this Act, before I ſhall hear from your Lordſhip; which if they do, God ſend me patience, and as much care to ſerve him, as I have, and ever had, to ſerve my Maſter; and then all muſt needs be well. I ſend your Lordſhip a Copy of that Speech I have thought upon, to deliver at *London* upon *Munday* next, at the Commiſſion of the Subſidies: If his Majeſty have leiſure to caſt his Eye thereupon, and to give direction to have any thing elſe delivered, or any point of this ſuppreſſed, I would be directed by your Lordſhip, whom I recommend, in my prayers to God's good guiding and protection. And do reſt, &c,

July 27. 1621.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke, concerning the Earl of Southampton.

My moſt Noble Lord,

I Humble crave your pardon, for often troubling your Honour with my idle Lines, and beſeech you to remember, that amongſt many miſeries my ſudden greatneſs comes accompanied with, this is not the leaſt, that I can no otherwiſe enjoy the happineſs of your preſence. God is my Witneſs, the Lord Keeper hath often (not without grief of heart) envied the Fortunes of a poor Scholar, one Dr. *Williams*, late Dean of *Weſtminſter*, who was ſo much bleſſed in the free acceſſes in that kind, as his Lordſhip (without a great quantity of Goodneſs in your ſelf) may ſcarce hope for. This enclоſed will let your Lordſhip underſtand, that ſomewhat is to be finiſhed in that excellent piece of

Mercy,

Mercy, which his Majeſty (your hand guiding the pencil) is about to expreſs in the Earl of *Southampton*. It is full time his Attendant were revoked, in my poor Opinion, and himſelf left to the cuſtody of his own good Angel. There is no readier way to ſtop the mouths of idle Men, nor to draw their Eyes, from this remainder of an Object of Juſtice, to behold nothing but Goodneſs and Mercy. And the more breathing time you ſhall carve out between this total enlargement, and the next acceſs of the *Parliament*, the better it will be for his Majeſty's ſervice. Only remember this, that now you are left to be your own remembrancer. Of all Actions, forget not thoſe of Mercy and Goodneſs, wherein Men draw nigheſt to God Himſelf; nor of all Perſons, Priſoners and afflicted *Joſeph's*. Celerity doth redouble an act of Mercy. But why do I turn a preacher of Goodneſs unto him, (who in my own particular) hath ſhewed himſelf to be compoſed of nothing elſe? Remember your noble Self, and forget the aggravations of Malice and Envy, and then forget if you can the Earl of *Southampton*. God bleſs you and your Royal Gueſt, and bring you both, after many years yet moſt happily run over here upon Earth, to be his bleſſed Gueſts in the Kingdom of Heaven.

Auguſt 1. 1621.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke, concerning the Earl-Marſhal's Place.

My moſt Noble Lord,

I Beſeech your Lordſhip to interpret this Letter well and fairly, which no malice (though never ſo provoked) but my Duty to his Majeſty, and Love to your Lordſhip, hath drawn from me; both which Reſpects as long as I keep inviolably, I will not omit, for the fear of any Man, or the loſs of any thing in this World, to do any act which my Conſcience ſhall inform me to belong unto that place, wherein the King, by your Favour, hath entruſted me. I received this morning two Commands from his Majeſty, the one about a Penſion of 2000 *l.* yearly, and the other concerning the Office of Earl-Marſhal, both conferred on the Right Honourable the Earl of *Arundel*. For the former, altho' this is a very unſeaſonable time to receive ſuch large penſions from ſo bountiful a King, and that the Parliament ſo ſoon approaching is very like to take notice thereof, and that this penſion might (under the correction of your better Judgment) hath been conveniently deferred till that Aſſembly had been over. Yet who am I that I ſhould queſtion the Wiſdom and Bounty of my Maſter? I have heretofore ſealed the ſame, praying ſecretly unto God, to make his Majeſty as abounding in wealth, as he is in Goodneſs. But the latter I dare not ſeal (my good Lord) until I hear your Lordſhips reſolution to theſe few Queſtions.

1. Whether his Majeſty by expreſſing himſelf in the delivery of the Staff to my Lord of *Arundel*, that he was moved thereunto for the eaſing of the reſt of the Commiſſioners, who had, before the execution of that Office, did not imply, that his Majeſty intended to impart unto my Lord no greater power than was formerly granted to the Lords Commiſſioners. If it be ſo, this Patent ſhould not have exceeded their Patent; whereas it doth enlarge it ſelf beyond that by many dimenſions.

2. Whether it is his Majeſty's meaning, that the Patent leaping over the powers of the three laſt Earls, *Eſſex*, *Shrewsbury* and *Somerſet*, ſhould refer only to my Lord's own Anceſtors, *Howards* and *Mowbrays*, Dukes of *Norfolk*, who claimed this place by a way of inheritance. The uſual reference of Patents being unto the laſt and immediate predeceſſor, and not unto the remote, whoſe powers in thoſe unſetled and troubleſome times are vage, uncertain and unpoſſible to be limited.

3. Whether it is his Majeſty's meaning, that this great Lord ſhould beſtow thoſe Offices, ſetled of a long time in the Crown, Sir *Edward Zouch* is in the Court, Sir *George Reinel's* in the King's Bench, and divers others. All which this new Patent doth ſweep away, being places of great worth and dignity.

4. Whether that his Majeſty's meaning, and your Lordſhips, that my Lord Stewards place ſhall be (for all his power of Judicature in that *Verge*) either altogether extinguiſhed, or at leaſtwiſe ſubordinated unto this new Office? A point conſiderable, becauſe of the greatneſs of that perſon, and his nearneſs in Blood to his Majeſty, and the Prince his Highneſs.

5. Laſtly, Whether it be intended, that the Offices of the Earl-Marſhal of *England*, and the Marſhal of the King's Houſe, which ſeem in former times to have been diſtinct Offices, ſhall be now united in this great Lord? A power limited by no Law, or Record, but to be ſearch'd out from Chronicles, Antiquaries, Heralds, and ſuch obſolete Monuments, and thereupon held theſe ſixty years (for my Lord of *Eſſex*'s power was clearly bounded and limited) unfit to be revived by the policy of this State.

Theſe Queſtions, if his Majeſty intended only the renewing of this Commiſſion of the Earl-Marſhals, in my Lord of *Arundel*, are material and to the purpoſe. But if his Majeſty aimed withal at the reviving

reviving of this old Office *A la ventura*, whoſe face is unknown to the people of this age; upon the leaſt intimation from your Lordſhip, I will ſeal the Patent. And I beſeech your Lordſhip to pardon my indiſcretion in this doubt and irreſolution. It is my place to be wary what innovation paſſeth the Seal. I may offend that great Lord in this ſmall ſtay, but your Lordſhip cannot but know, how little I loſe, when I loſe but him, whom (without the leaſt cauſe in the World) I have irreconcileably loſt already. All that I deſire is, that you may know what is done, and I will ever do what your Lordſhip (being once informed) ſhall directly as becometh, *&c.*

That there is a difference betwixt the Earl Marſhal, and the Marſhal of the King's Houſe; ſee *Lambert's Archiron*; or of the High Courts of Juſtice in *England*.

Circa Medium.

The Marſhal of *England*, and the Conſtable, are united in a Court, which handleth only Duels out of the Realm, Matters within the Realm, as Combats, Blazon, Armory, *&c.* but it may meddle with nothing triable by the Laws of the Land.

The Marſhal of the King's Houſhold is united in a Court with the Seneſchal or Steward, which holds plea of Treſpaſſes, Contracts and Covenants made within the Verge, and that according to the Laws of the Land, *Vid. Artic. Super Cart.* C. 3, 4, 5.

We do all of us conceive the King intended the firſt place only for this great Lord, and the ſecond to remain in the Lord Stewards managing. But this new Patent hath comprehended them both. This was fit to be preſented to your Lordſhip.

Septemb. 1. 1621.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

My moſt noble Lord,

I Humbly thank your Lordſhip for your moſt ſweet and loving Letter, which (as Sir *George Goring* could not but obſerve) hath much revived me drooping under the unuſual weight of ſo many Buſineſſes. Let God ſuffer me no longer to be, than I ſhall be true, plain, faithful and affectionately reſpectful of your Lordſhip, as being moſt bound unto your Lordſhip for theſe ſo many Fruits, but far more for the Tree that bore them, your Love and Affection.

If your Lordſhip ſhall not think it inconvenient, I do beſeech your Lordſhip to preſent this Petition encloſed, either by word or writing, unto his Majeſty, and to procure a ſpeedy diſpatch thereof, becauſe we are to meet on Thurſday next. Alſo to acquaint his Majeſty, that I ſtumble at the Proclamation (now coming to the Seal) againſt any that ſhall draw, or preſent any Bill for his Majeſty's Signature, beſides thoſe Clerks which uſually draw them up, by virtue of their places. It is moſt prejudicial to my place, the Lord Treaſurer, and the Judges *itenerant* who are often occaſioned to draw up, and preſent to his Majeſty divers matters, and eſpecially pardons of courſe. It is alſo too ſtrong a tye upon your Lordſhips hands, being intended by his Majeſty againſt Projectors and Scriveners only; if it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty, therefore, to make an exception of the Lords of his Council, and Judges of Aſſize, it may paſs to the contentment of all Men. Mr. Attorney ſaith he meant this exception, but I find it not ſufficiently expreſſed in the Proclamation.

Alſo, I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to meddle with no pardon for the Lord of St. *Albans*, until I ſhall have the happineſs to confer with your Lordſhip; the pardoning of his Fine is much ſpoken againſt, not for the matter (for no Man objects to that) but for the manner, which is full of knavery, and a wicked preſident. For by this aſſignation of his Fine, he is protected from all his Creditors, which (I dare ſay) was neither his Majeſty's nor your Lordſhips meaning.

I have preſumed to ſend your Lordſhip a true Copy of that Speech, which I made at *Weſtminſter*-Hall at my entrance upon this Office; becauſe ſomewhat was to be ſpoken at ſo great a change and alteration in ſo high a Court; and I was never ſo much troubled in my life, not how, but what to ſpeak. I humbly crave pardon, if I have failed in point of diſcretion, which a wiſer Man (in ſuch a caſe) might eaſily do.

With my heartieſt Prayers to God, to continue all his Bleſſings upon your Lordſhip, I reſt deſervedly, *&c.*

POST-SCRIPT.

My Lord, I find my Lord Treaſurer affectionately touched with removing from the Court of Wards; and do wiſh, with all my heart, he may have contentment in that, or any thing elſe, but orderly, and in a right method. Let him hold it, but by your Lordſhips favour: not his own

power

power or wilfulneſs. And this muſt be apparent and viſible: Let all our greatneſs depend (as it ought) upon yours, the true original. Let the King be *Pharaoh*, your ſelf *Joſeph*, and let us come after as your half-Brethren. God bleſs you, *&c.*

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke, concerning the Lord of St. Albans.

My moſt noble Lord,

I Have received your Lordſhips expreſſion concerning the pauſe I made upon the two Patents. The proclamation of writing to the King's hand, and my Lord of St. *Alban*'s pardon. The former I have ſealed this Morning, in Duty and Obedience to your Lordſhips Intimation. The latter I have not yet ſealed, but do repreſent (in all Lowlineſs and Humility) theſe few Conſiderations by your Lordſhip to his Sacred Majeſty, wherein let your Lordſhip make no queſtion; but I have adviſed with the beſt Lawyers in the Kingdom. And after this Repreſentation, I will perform whatſoever your Lordſhip ſhall direct.

1. His Majeſty and your Lordſhip do conceive, that my Lord of St. *Alban*'s Pardon and Grant of his Fine came both together to my Hands, and ſo your Lordſhip directs me to paſs the one and the other. But his Lordſhip was too cunning for me. He paſſed his Fine (whereby he hath deceived his Creditors) ten days before he preſented his Pardon to the Seal. So as now, in his Pardon, I find his Parliament Fine excepted, which he hath before the Sealing of the ſame obtained and procured. And whether the Houſe of Parliament will not hold themſelves mocked and derided with ſuch an Exception, I leave to your Lordſhips Wiſdom. Theſe two Grants are oppoſite and contradictory (in this Point) the one to the other.

2. The King pardons in particular Words, All Sums of Money, and Rewards taken for falſe Judgments or Decrees. And therefore the Exception of the Parliamentary Cenſure (being inflicted but for the ſame taking of Moneys and Rewards) coming a good way after it was too late in Law, and is of no force to ſatisfie the Lords (as I am informed) and I have added a Clauſe was never ſeen in any other Pardon.

3. The King pardoneth in my Lord of St. *Alban* the ſtealing away, altering and interlining of his Majeſty's Rowls, Records, Briefs, *&c.* which are more in a Lord Chancellors Pardon, than the imbezling of his Majeſty's Jewels in a Lord Chamberlains. And yet the Lord Chancellor *Elſmore* could not endure that Clauſe in my Lord of *Somerſets* Pardon, unleſs he would name the Jewels in particular.

4. I will not meddle or touch upon thoſe Miſtakings which may fall between the Parliament and his Majeſty, or the Miſ-interpretation that Enemies may make hereof to your Lordſhips Prejudice, becauſe I ſee (in his Majeſty's great Wiſdom) theſe are not regarded. Only I could have wiſhed the Pardon had been referred to the Council-board, and ſo paſſed. I have now diſcharged my ſelf of thoſe poor Scruples, which (in reſpect only to his Majeſty's Service, and your Lordſhips Honour) have wrought this ſhort ſtay of my Lord of St. *Albans* Pardon. Whatſoever your Lordſhip ſhall now direct, I will moſt readily (craving Pardon for this not undutiful Boldneſs) put in execution. Becauſe ſome Speech may fall of this days Speech, which I had occaſion to make in the Common Pleas, where a Biſhop was never ſeen ſitting there theſe ſeventy Years, I have preſumed to encloſe a Copy thereof, becauſe it was a very ſhort one.

Your Lordſhip ſhall not need to take that great pains (which your Lordſhip, to my unexpreſſible Comfort, hath ſo often done) in writing. What Command ſoever your Lordſhip ſhall impoſe upon me, as touching this Pardon, your Lordſhips Expreſſion to Mr. *Packer*, or the Bearer ſhall deliver it ſufficiently. God from Heaven continue the ſhowring and heaping of his Bleſſings upon your Lordſhip, *&c.*

October the 27*th.* 1621.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

Moſt Noble Lord,

I Have ſeen many Expreſſions of your Love in other Mens Letters (where it doth moſt naturally and purely declare it ſelf) ſince I received any of mine own. It is much your Lordſhip ſhould ſpare me thoſe thoughts, which pour out themſelves in my Occaſions: But to have me and my Affairs in a kind of affectionate Remembrance, when your Lordſhip is ſaluting of other Noble Men, is

more than ever I ſhall be able otherways to requite, than with true Prayers and beſt Wiſhes. I received this Afternoon (by Sir *John Brook*) a moſt loving Letter from yonr Lordſhip, but dated the 26*th.* of *November*, imparting your Care over me for the committing of one *Beeſton* for Breach of a Decree. My Noble Lord, Decrees once made muſt be put in execution, or elſe, I will confeſs this Court to be the greateſt Impoſture and Grievance in this Kingdom. The Damned in Hell do never ceaſe repining at the Juſtice of God, nor the Priſoners in the *Fleet*, at the Decrees in Chancery; of the which Hell of Priſoners this one, for Antiquity and Obſtinacy, may paſs for a Lucifer. I neither know him nor his Cauſe, but as long as he ſtands in Contempt, he is not like to have any more Liberty.

His Majeſties laſt Letter, though never ſo full of Honey (as I find by paſſages reported out of the ſame, being, as yet, not ſo happy as to have a Sight thereof) hath notwithſtanding afforded thoſe Spiders which infeſt that noble Houſe of Commons, ſome Poyſon, and ill Conſtructions to feed upon, and to induce a new Diverſion, or plain Ceſſation of weightier Buſineſſes. His Majeſty infers (and that moſt truly, for where were the Commons before *Henry* the Firſt gave them Authority to meet in Parliament?) that their Priviledges are but Graces and Favors of former Kings, which they claim to be their Inheritance and natural Birth-rights. Both theſe Aſſertions (if Men were peaceably diſpoſed, and affected the Diſpatch of the common Buſineſſes) might be eaſily reconciled.

Theſe Priviledges were originally the Favors of Princes, and are now inherent in their Perſons: Nor doth his Majeſty go about to impair or diminiſh them. If his Majeſty will be pleaſed to qualifie that Paſſage with ſome mild and noble Expoſition, and require them ſtrictly to prepare things for a Seſſion, and to leave this needleſs Diſpute, his Majeſty ſhall thereby make it appear to all wiſe and juſt Men, that theſe Perſons are oppoſite to thoſe common Ends; whereof they vaunt themſelves the only Patrons. But do his Majeſty what he pleaſe, I am afraid (although herein the Lord Treaſurer and others do differ from me) they do not affect a Seſſions, nor intend to give at this time any Subſidy at all.

Will the King be pleaſed therefore to add in this Letter (which muſt be here neceſſarily upon Monday Morning) that if they will not prepare Bills for a Seſſion, his Majeſty will break up this Parliament without any longer Prorogation, and acquainting the Kingdom with their Undutifulneſs and Obſtinacy, ſupply the preſent Wants by ſome other Means. Or will his Majeſty (upon their Refuſal) preſently rejourn the Aſſembly until the appointed 8*th.* of *February*. This Courſe is fitteſt for further Advice, but the other to expreſs a juſt Indignation. I dare adviſe nothing in ſo high a Point; but humbly beſeech Almighty God to illuminate his Majeſties Underſtanding, to inſiſt upon that Courſe which ſhall be moſt behoveful for the Advancement of his Service. In our Houſe his Majeſties Servants are very ſtrong, and increaſe every day; nor is there the leaſt fear of any malignant Oppoſition. God reward all your Lordſhips Goodneſs and Affection towards, *&c.*

Decemb. 16. 1621.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke, about Mr. Thomas Murray's *Diſpenſation, &c.*

My moſt noble Lord,

I Should fail very much of my Duty to his Majeſty, if, before the ſealing of Mr. *Thomas Murray*'s Diſpenſation, I ſhould not acquaint his Majeſty explicitely and freely, with the Nature of this Act, far differing from any Diſpenſation in this kind, ever granted by his Majeſty, ſince his happy coming to the Crown of *England*. For (to ſay nothing of the Right of the Election of this Provoſt, which being originally, not in the King, but in the Fellows, and now by their Neglect devolved unto me, ſhall be fully and abſolutely at his Majeſties Command) the Place is a Living, with Cure of Souls, and I am to inſtitute and admit him to the Cure of Souls of the Pariſh of *Eaton*, by the expreſs Letter of the Statute: Without Admiſſion, it is impoſſible he ſhould receive any real or rightful Poſſeſſion of the ſame. Now that his Majeſty, or any of his Predeceſſors, did ever diſpence with a Lay-man to hold Cure of Souls, I think, will be hard for any Man to ſhew, by any warrantable Preſident, or Record whatſoever: And I know his Majeſty to be as much averſe from giving any ſuch Preſident, as any Prince in Chriſtendom living this day. This is altogether differing from a Deanery, or an Hoſpital; which being Livings without Cure, have been, and may be, juſtly conferred by his Majeſty upon Lay-men, with Diſpenſations *de non promovendo*. If Sir *Henry Savil*'s Example be objected, I anſwer (beſides that the Queen made Claim to the Gift of the Place by *Lapſe*, occaſioned through the Promotion of the Provoſt to the Biſhiprick of *Chicheſter*, whereas his Majeſty hath no ſuch Claim thereunto at this time.) That *Savile* never durſt take true Poſſeſſion of the Place, but was only ſlipt in

by

by the Biſhop (who, for fear of the Earl of *Eſſex*, made bold with the Conſcience) *Ad Curam & regimen Collegii*, that is, to the Care and Government of the Colledge: Whereas, by the expreſs Words of the Foundation, he is to be admitted *Ad Curam animarum Porochianorum Eccleſiæ Ætonianæ*, to the Cure of the Souls of all the People of the Pariſh of *Eaton*. Secondly, I hold it no Diſparagement to Mr. *Murray* (nor do I find him altogether averſe from the ſame) to enter into Orders, in the Reign of a King ſo favorable to our Coat, as (Gods Name be praiſed for it) reigns now over us. This will give ſatisfaction to all the Church, bring him into this Place according to the Statute, and the Foundation of that dead King, prevent ſuch a dangerous Preſident for a Lay-man to poſſeſs Cure of Souls in the Eye and Centre of all the Realm, and be an everlaſting Teſtimony of his Majeſty's Piety to the Church of *England*. Thirdly, What Opinion this Gentleman hath of our Church-Government, is better known to his Majeſty than to me. If he ſhould be averſe thereunto, it were ſuch a Blow unto the Church (the Number of the Fellows and Students there conſidered) as the like was never given by publick Authority theſe fifty Years. Fourthly, Howſoever his Majeſty, and the Prince his Highneſs, ſhall reſolve thereof (at whoſe Feet I lye to be wholly diſpoſed) I hope, it is neither of their Royal Intendments, to transfer the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* upon the Fellows of that Houſe, who have raſhly uſurped a Power of admitting their Provoſt contrary to any Example ſeen before. Whereas all Provoſts, as well the Church-men, who come in by Election, as the Lay-men, recommended by the late Queen, were (as the Foundation exactly requires it) admitted by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, their Dioceſan and Viſitor. I hope, it was Mr. *Murray*'s Inexperience, rather than Neglect (never deſerved by me) that directed them to this ſtrange Courſe: Subſcription, and other Conformities, to be acted in the preſence of the Viſitor, are eſſentially to be required, before he can be admitted Provoſt of *Eaton*. Laſtly, Mr. *Murray* hath hitherto miſtaken all his Courſe: He muſt be firſt diſpenſed withal (if his Majeſty, in his Wiſdom ſhall hold it fit) and then elected, firſt Fellow, and then Provoſt, of the Colledge (if he will come in regularly and ſafely) whereas now, contrary to *Savil*'s Preſident, he is firſt elected, and then goes on with his Diſpenſation.

All this I moſt humbly intreat your Lordſhip to make known to the Prince his Highneſs, and, as much as your Lordſhip thinks fit thereof, to his Majeſty. I will only add one Note, and ſo end: It will be no more Diſparagement for Mr. *Murray*, his Highneſs's School-Maſter, to enter into Order, than it was for *Cox*, King *Edward*'s School-Maſter, a Maſter of Requeſts, and Privy Councellor, to do the like, who afterwards became a worthy Prelate of this Church. I have diſcharged my Duty to the King, Prince, and the Church of *England*. It remains now, that I ſhould (as I will) religiouſly obey whatſoever I ſhall be directed in the Sequel of this Buſineſs. And ſo I reſt, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord, Mr. *Murray*, ſince, came unto me; to whom I ſhewed this Letter, and told him, I would ſend it unto you, to be ſhewed to the King, and the Prince. I find him willing to run all Courſes, Prieſthood only excepted. If the King will diſpence with him, my Letter notwithſtanding, I humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to write a Letter unto me, as a Warrant to admit him only *Ad Curam & Regimen Collegii*, inſtead of the other Word, *Ad Curam animarum*. I ſchooled him ſoundly againſt Puritaniſm; which he diſavows, though ſomewhat faintly: I hope his Highneſs and the King will ſecond it.

February the 23*d*. 1621.

Paſſages between the Lord Keeper, and Don Franciſco.

1. HE was very inquiſitive, if I had already, or intended to impart, what he had told me the Night before in ſecret; to which he did add a Deſire of Secrecy.

Becauſe
1. The King had charged him and the Friar to be very ſecret.
2. The Embaſſadors did not know that he had imparted theſe things unto me.
3. The Pope's were ſecret Inſtructions which they gave to the Friar, to urge and preſs the ſame Points which himſelf had done to the King.

2. He confeſſed, that the greateſt part of the Friars Inſtructions were, to do all the worſt Offices he could againſt the Duke, and to lay the Breach of the Marriage, and Diſturbance of the Peace upon him.

3. He excuſed the bringing the Copy of that Paper unto me, becauſe the Marqueſs had it yet in his Cuſtody; but ſaid, he would procure it with all ſpeed. I deſired him to do it, the rather, becauſe, beſides my Approbation of the Form and Manner of the Writing, I might be by it inſtruct-

ed how to apply my ſelf to do his Majeſty Service therein, as I found, by that Conference, his Majeſty's Bent and Inclination.

4. He having underſtood, that there was, though a cloſe, yet an indiſſoluble Friendſhip betwixt the Duke and my ſelf, deſired me to ſhew ſome way, how the Duke might be won unto them, and to continue the Peace. I anſwered, I would purſue any fair Courſe that ſhould be propoſed that way; but for my ſelf, that I never medled with Matters of State, or of this Nature; but was only employed (before this Journey of the Prince's) in Matters of mine own Court, and in the Pulpit.

5. He deſired to know, if they might rely upon the King, whom only they found peaceably addicted; otherwiſe, they would ceaſe all Mediation, and prepare for War. I anſwered, That he was a King that never broke his Word, and he knew what he had ſaid unto them.

6. He commended much the Courage and Reſolution of the Lord Treaſurer, which, I told him, we all did, as a probable Sign of his Innocency.

7. He ſaid, that the Marqueſs had diſpatched three *Curreos*, and expected large Propoſitions from *Spain* to be made unto his Majeſty, concerning the preſent Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*: And that if this failed, they were at an end of Treaty, and the Embaſſadors would forthwith return home.

April the 11*th*. 1622.

The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning Sir John Michel.

My moſt noble Lord,

IN the Cauſe of Sir *John Michel*, which hath ſo often wearied this Court, vexed my Lady your Mother, and now, flyeth (as it ſeemeth) unto your Lordſhip, I have made an Order the laſt day of the Term, aſſiſted by the Maſter of the Rolls, and Mr. Baron *Bromley*, in the preſence, and with the full Conſent of Sir *John Michel*, who then objected nothing againſt the ſame; but now in a dead Vacation, when both the adverſe Party, and his Council are out of Town, and that I cannot poſſible hear otherwiſe than with one Ear, he clamors againſt me (moſt uncivilly) and would have me, contrary to all Conſcience and Honeſty, reverſe the ſame. The ſame Subſtance of the Order is not ſo difficult and intricate, but your Lordſhip will eaſily find out the Equity or Harſhneſs thereof.

Sir *Lawrence Hide* makes a Motion in behalf of one *Strelley* (a Party whoſe Face I never ſaw) that whereas Sir *John Michel* had put a Bill into this Court againſt him and one *Sayers*, five years ago, for certain Lands and Woods (determinable properly at the Common Law) and having upon a Certificate betwixt himſelf and *Sayers*, without the knowledge of the ſaid *Strelley*, procured an Injunction from the laſt Lord Chancellor, for the poſſeſſion of the ſame, locks up the ſaid *Strelley* with the ſaid Injunction, and never proceeds to bring his Cauſe to hearing within five years.

It was moved therefore, that either Sir *John*'s Bill might be diſmiſſed to a Tryal at the Common Law, or elſe that he might be ordered to bring it to hearing in this Court, with a direction to ſave all waſtes of Timber Trees (in favour of either Party, that ſhould prove the true Owner) until the Cauſe ſhould receive hearing.

Sir *John* being preſent in court, made choice of his laſt Offer, and ſo it was ordered accordingly. And this is that Order that this ſtrange Man hath ſo often, of late, complained of to your Mother, and now, as it ſeemeth, to your Lordſhip. God is my Witneſs, I have never denied either Juſtice or Favor (which was to be juſtified) to this Man, or any other, that had the leaſt Relation to your good and moſt noble Mother. And I hope your Lordſhip is perſwaded thereof. If your Lordſhip will give me leave (without your Lordſhips Trouble) to wait upon you, at any time this day your Lordſhip ſhall appoint, I would impart two or three Words unto your Lordſhip, concerning your Lordſhips own Buſineſs: Remaining ever, &c.

Auguſt the 8*th*. 1622.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

My moſt Noble Lord,

YEſterday, upon the Receipt of your Lordſhips Letters of the 19*th*. of this Inſtant, concerning the haſtning of the Buſineſs of the Original Writs, I ſent preſently for Mr. *Attorney*, and Mr. *Solicitor*, who were altogether unprovided for their Parts of the Diſpatch, and are caſually forced

forced ſo to be, becauſe three ſeveral Officers, in whoſe Records they are to ſearch, are now out of Town, and do not return yet theſe ſeven days. But your Lordſhip ſhall not fail to have all things concluded three Weeks before the Term; and I will (of purpoſe) put off all general Sealing until it be effected.

In the mean time (your Lordſhips Letter notwithſtanding) it will be nothing for your Lordſhips Eaſe to have Sir *George Chaworth* any way intereſted in this Office of the Originals; but I hold it fitter to leave it (as it is in Law and Equity) forfeited for Non-payment of Rent, in his Majeſty's hand; for upon that Iſſue I do not doubt but my Lord of St. *Albans*, and Sir *George*, will be content to hear Reaſon.

I have received extraordinary Reſpects and Expreſſions from my Noble Lord, the Lord Marqueſs *Hamilton*, which doth exceedingly comfort and encourage me to go on with ſome more Alacrity, through the Difficulties of this reſtleſs place. I beſeech your Lordſhip (who are *Cauſa Cauſarum*, the firſt Cauſe that ſets all theſe other Cauſes of my Comforts in going) to take notice of the ſame, and to undertake this Favour to be placed upon a poor honeſt hearted Man, who would (if he were any way able) requite it. Gods Bleſſing, and the Prayers of a poor Biſhop ever attend your Lordſhip, *&c.*

POST-SCRIPT.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador took the Alarum very ſpedily of the titulary Romiſh Biſhop, and before my Departure from his Houſe at *Iſlington* (whither I went privately to him) did write both to *Rome* and *Spain* to prevent it. But I am afraid that *Tobie* will prove but an Apocryphal, and no Canonical, Intelligencer; acquainting the State with this Project, for the Jeſuits, rather than for Jeſus Sake. *Sir Tobie Matthew.*

Auguſt the 23*d.* 1622.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke, about the Lord Treaſurer.

My moſt noble Lord,

THat I neither wrote unto your Lordſhip, nor waited upon your Lordſhip, ſithence my intolerable Scandalizing by the Lord Treaſurer, this is the true and only Cauſe: I was ſo moved to have all my diligent Service, Pains, and unſpotted Juſtice, thus rewarded by a Lord, who is reputed Wiſe, that I have neither ſlept, read, written, nor eaten any thing, ſince that time, until the laſt Night, that the Ladies ſent for me (I believe of purpoſe) to *Wallingford* houſe, and put me out of my Humor. I have loſt the Love and Affection of my Men, by ſeizing upon their Papers, peruſing all their Anſwers to Petitions, caſting up their Moneys, received by way of Fees (even to half Crowns, and two Shillings) and finding them all to be poor honeſt Gentlemen, that have maintained themſelves in my Service by the greatneſs of my Pains, and not the greatneſs of their Fees. They are, moſt of them, landed Men, that do not ſerve me for Gain, but for Experience and Reputation; and deſire to be brought to the Teſt, to ſhew their ſeveral Books, and to be confronted by any one Man, with whom they contracted, or from whom they demanded any Fee at all; the greateſt Sum in their Books is five Pounds, and thoſe very few, and ſent unto them from Earls and Barons: All the reſt are, ſome twenty Shillings, ten Shillings, five Shillings, two Shillings and ſix Pence, and two Shillings. And this is the Oppreſſion in my Houſe, that the Kingdom (of the common Lawyers, peradventure, who have loſt, I confeſs, hereby twenty thouſand Pounds at the leaſt, ſaved in the Purſes of the Subjects) doth now groan under.

Now I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to peruſe this Paper here encloſed, and the Iſſue I do joyn with the Lord Treaſurer; and to acquaint (at the leaſt) the King and the Prince, how unworthily I am uſed by this Lord; who (in my Soul and Conſcence I believe it) either invents theſe things out of his own Head, and Ignorance of this Court, or hath taken them up from baſe, unworthy, and moſt unexperienced People. Laſtly, Becauſe no Act of mine (who am ſo much indebted for all my Frugality) could, in the thoughts of a Devil incarnate, breed any Suſpicion that I gained by this Office, excepting the Purchaſe of my Grand-fathers Lands, whereunto my Lord Chamberlains Nobleneſs, and your Lordſhips Encouragement, gave the Invitation, I do make your Lordſhip (as your Lordſhip hath been often pleaſed to honor me) my faithful Confeſſor in that Buſineſs, and do ſend your Lordſhip a Note incloſed, what Money I paid, what I borrowed, and what is ſtill owing for the Purchaſe.

I beſeech your Lordſhip to caſt your Eye upon the Paper, and lay it aſide, that it be not loſt. And having now poured out my Soul and Sorrow into your Lordſhips Breaſt, I find my Heart much eaſed, and humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to compaſſionate the Wrongs of

Sept. 9. 1622. *Your moſt humble, and honeſt Servant,*
J. L. C. S.

The fair and familiar Conference which the Lord Treaſurer had with the Lord Keeper, after ſome Expoſtulations of his own, and the Iſſue joyned thereupon, at White-Hall, *September the* 7th. 1661.

Object. 1. THere is taken 40000 *l.* for Petitions, in your Houſe, this year.

Sol. Not much above the fortieth part of the Money, for all the Diſpatches of the Chancery, Star-Chamber, Council-Table, Parliament, the great Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, the Juriſdiction of *Weſtminſter*, and St. *Martins le Grand*; all which have reſort to my Houſe by Petitions.

Obj. 2. You have your ſelf a ſhare in the Money.

Sol. Then let me have no ſhare in Gods Kingdom; it is ſuch a Baſeneſs, as never came within the compaſs of my Thoughts.

Obj. 3. It is commonly reported, you pay to my Lord Admiral 1000 *l. per menſem.*

Sol. As true as the other. The Means of my Place will reach to no more than two months.

Obj. 4. You never receive any Petitions with your own hands, but turn them to your Secretaries, who take double Fees, one for receiving, and the other for delivering.

Sol. Let the Cloyſters at *Weſtminſter* anſwer for me. I never to this day received any Petition from my Secretaries, but which I had formerly delivered unto them with my own Hands. This is a new Faſhion, which my Lord hath found in ſome other Courts.

Obj. 5. You ſell days of hearing at higher Rates than ever they were at.

Sol. I never diſpoſed of any ſince I came to this Place, but leave them wholly to the Six Clerks, and Regiſters, to be ſet down in their Antiquity. Unleſs his Lordſhip means hearing of Motions in the Paper of Peremptories, which I ſeldom deny upon any Petition, and which are worth no Money at all.

Obj. 6. You uſually reverſe Decrees upon Petitions.

Sol. I have never reverſed, altered, explained, or endured a Motion or Petition, that touched upon a Decree once pronounced; but have ſometimes made Orders in purſuance of the ſame.

Obj. 7. You have three Door keepers, and are ſo locked up, that no Man can have acceſs unto you.

Sol. I have no ſuch Officer in all my Houſe, unleſs his Lordſhip means the Colledge Porters; nor no Locks at all, but his Majeſties Buſineſs, which I muſt reſpect above Ceremonies and Complements.

Obj. 8. You are cryed out againſt over all the Kingdom for an unſufferable Oppreſſion and Grievance.

Sol. His Lordſhip (if he have any Friends) may hear of ſuch a Cry, and yet be pleaſed to miſtake the Perſon cryed out againſt.

Obj. 9. All the Lords of the Council cry out upon you, and you are a wretched and a friendleſs Man, if no Man acquaints you with it.

Sol. I am a wretched Man indeed, if it be ſo. And your Lordſhip (at the leaſt) a very bold Man, if it be otherwiſe.

Obj. 10. I will produce particular Witneſſes, and make all theſe Charges good.

Sol. I know your Lordſhip cannot. And I do call upon you to do it, as ſuſpecting all to be but your Lordſhips Envy and Malice to that Service of the Kings, and Eaſe of his Subjects, which God hath enabled me to accompliſh and perform, in this troubleſome Office.

J. L. C. S.

The

The Lord Keeper, to the Lord Viſcount Anan.

Right Honourable,

I Owe more ſervice to that true love, and former acquaintance, which your Lordſhip hath been pleaſed to afford me, now, theſe full ten years, then to be ſparing, or reſerved, in ſatisfying your Lordſhip about any doubt whatſoever, the reſolution whereof ſhall lye in my Power. Concerning that Offence, taken by my many People, both on this ſide the Borders, and in *Scotland*, from that clemency which His Majeſty was pleaſed to extend to the impriſoned Lay-Recuſants of this Kingdom, and my Letter written unto the Juſtices for the regulating of the ſame; which your Lordſhip did intimate unto me, Yeſterday, at Mr. *Henry Gibbs* his Houſe, out of ſome news received from a Peer of *Scotland*. This is the plaineſt return I can make unto your Lordſhip. In the general, as the Sun in the Firmament appears unto us no bigger than a Platter, and the Stars but as ſo many Nails in the Pummel of a Saddle, becauſe of the elongement and diſproportion between our Eyes and the Object; ſo is there ſuch an unmeaſurable diſtance betwixt the deep reſolution of a Prince, and the ſhallow apprehenſion of common and ordinary People, that as they will be ever judging and cenſuring, ſo muſt they be obnoxious to error and miſtaking.

Particularly, for as much as concerns my ſelf, I muſt leave my former life, my profeſſion, my continual preaching, my writing (which is at the inſtant in the hands of many) my private endeavours about ſome great Perſons, and the whole bent of my actions, (which in the place I live in cannot be concealed, to teſtifie unto the World, what favour I am likely to importune for the Papiſts in) their Religion. For the King my Maſter, I will tell you a ſtory out of *Velleius Paterculus*. A Surveyor bragging to *M. Livius Druſus*, that he would ſo contrive his Houſe, *Ut libera à conſpectu immunis, & ab omnibus arbitri eſſet*, that it ſhould ſtand removed out of ſight, and be paſt all danger of peeping, or eaves-dropping; was anſwered again by *Druſus*, *Tu vero, ſi quid in te artis eſt, ita compone domum meam, ut quicqui ds agam ab omnibus conſpici poſſit*; Nay, my good friend, if you have any devices in your head, contrive my Houſe after ſuch a manner, that all the World may ſee what I do therein. So, if I ſhould endeavour to flouriſh up ſome artifical Vault, to hide and conceal the intentions of his Majeſty, I know, I ſhould receive the ſame thanks that the Surveyor did from *Druſus*. I was not called to Council by his Royal Majeſty, when the reſolution of this Clemency to the Lay-Recuſants was firſt concluded: But if I had been asked my Opinion, I ſhould have adviſed it without the leaſt hæſitation. His Majeſty was ſo Popiſhly addicted at this time, that (to the incredible exhauſtements of his Treaſury) he was a moſt zealous interceder for ſome eaſe and refreſhment to all the Proteſtants in *Europe*, his own Dominions, and *Denmarks*, only excepted.

Thoſe of *Sweden* (having lately provoked the *Pole*) had no other hope of Peace; thoſe of *France*, of the exerciſe of their Religion; thoſe of the *Palatinate*, and adjoyning Countries, of the leaſt connivency to ſay their Prayers, than by the earneſt Meditation of our gracious Maſter. And adviſed by the late Aſſembly of Parliament to inſiſt a while longer in this milky way of Interceſſion, and Treaty. What a prepoſterous argument would this have been, to deſire thoſe mighty Princes (armed, and victorious) to grant ſome liberty and clemency to the Proteſtants, becauſe himſelf did now Impriſon, and execute the rigour of his Laws againſt the *Roman* Catholicks. I muſt deal plainly with your Lordſhip. Our viperous Country-men, the *Engliſh* Jeſuits in *France*, to fruſtrate theſe pious endeavours of His Majeſty's, had, many Months before that favour granted, reported that argument upon us, by writing a moſt malicious Book (which I have ſeen, and read over) to the *French* King, inciting him, and the three Eſtates, to put all thoſe Statutes in execution againſt the Proteſtants in thoſe Parts, which are here enacted, and (as they falſely informed) ſeverally executed upon the Papiſts. I would therefore, ſee the moſt ſubtile State-monger in the World chalk out a Way for His Majeſty to mediate for Grace and Favour for the Proteſtants, by executing, at this time, the ſeverity of the Laws upon the Papiſts. And that this Favour ſhould amount to a Toleration, is a moſt dull (and yet a moſt deviliſh) miſconſtruction.

A Toleration looks forward, to the time to come: This Favour, backward only, to the Offences paſt. If any Papiſt, now ſet at liberty, ſhall offend the Laws again, the Juſtices may (nay muſt) re-commit him, and leave favour and mercy to the King, to whom only it properly belongeth. Nay, let thoſe two Writs directed to the Judges be as diligently peruſed by thoſe raſh Cenſurers, as they were by thoſe grave and learned, to whom His Majeſty referred the penning of the ſame, and they ſhall find, that theſe Papiſts are no otherwiſe out of Priſon, than with their ſhackles about their heels, ſufficient ſureties, and good recognizances to preſent themſelves again at the next Aſſizes. As therefore that *Lacedemonian* poſed the Oracle of *Apollo*, by asking his Opinion of the Bird which he graſped in his hand, whether he were alive or dead; ſo it is a matter yet controverted, and undecided, whether thoſe Papiſts (cloſed up, and graſped in the hands of the Law) be ſtill in Priſon, or at liberty. Their own demeanours, and the ſucceſs of His Majeſty's negotiations, are Oracles that muſt decid:

cide the ſame. If the Lay-papiſts do wax inſolent with this mercy, inſulting upon the Proteſtants, and tranſlating this favour from the perſon to the cauſe, I am verily of Opinion His Majeſty will remand them to their former ſtate and condition, and renew his writ no more. But if they ſhall uſe theſe graces modeſtly, by admitting Conferrence with learned Preachers, demeaning themſelves neighbourly and peaceably, praying for His Majeſty, and the proſperous ſucceſs of his pious endeavours, and relieving him bountifully (which they are as well able to do as any of his Subjects) if he ſhall be forced and conſtrained to take his ſword in hand, then it cannot be denied, but our Maſter is a Prince that hath (as one ſaid) *plus humanitatis pene quam hominis*, and will at that time leave to be merciful, when he leaves to be himſelf. In the mean while, this argument fetcht from the Devils Topicks, which concludes a *Concreto ad abſtractum*, from a favour done to the *Engliſh* Papiſts, that the King favoureth the *Romiſh* Religion, is ſuch a compoſition of Folly and Malice, as is little deſerved by that gracious Prince, who by word, writing, exerciſe of Religion, Acts of Parliament, late directions for Catechizing, and Preaching, and all profeſſions and endeavours in the World, hath demonſtrated himſelf ſo reſolved a Proteſtant. God by his holy Spirit open the Eyes of the People, that, theſe Airy repreſentations of ungrounded fancies ſet aſide, they may clearly diſcern, and ſee how by the goodneſs of God, and the Wiſdom of their King, this Iſland, of all the Countries in *Europe*, is the ſole neſt of Peace and true Religion, and the Inhabitants thereof unhappy only in this one thing, that they never look up to Heaven, to give God thanks for ſo great a Happineſs.

Laſtly, For mine own Letter to the Judges (which did only declare, not operate the favour) it was either much miſ-penned, or much miſconſtrued. It recited four kinds of recuſancies only capable of His Majeſty's clemency, not ſo much to include theſe, as to exclude many other crimes bearing amongſt the Papiſts, the name of Recuſancies, as uſing the function of a Romiſh Prieſt, ſeducing the King's liege People from the Religion eſtabliſhed, ſcandalizing and aſperſing our King, Church, State, or preſent Government. All which Offences (being outward practices, and no ſecret motions of the conſcience) are adjudged by the Laws of *England* to be meerly civil, and political, and excluded by my Letter from the benefit of thoſe Writs which the bearer was imployed to deliver unto the Judges.

And thus I have given your Lordſhip a plain account of the carriage of this buſineſs, and that the more ſuddenly, that your Lordſhip might perceive it is not *Aurea Fabula*, or prepared tale, but a bare Narration, which I have ſent your Lordſhip. I beſeech your Lordſhip to let His Majeſty know, that the Letters to the Juſtices of Peace concerning thoſe four heads recommended by His Majeſty, ſhall be ſent away as faſt as they can be exſcribed. I will trouble your Lordſhip no more at this time, but ſhall reſt ever,

September, 17. 1622.

Your Lordſhips Servant, and true Friend,
Jo. Lincoln. C. S.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

My moſt noble Lord,

MY Lord *Brook* diſ-warning me (from His Majeſty) from coming to *Theobalds* this day I was enforced to trouble your Lordſhip with theſe few Lines. My moſt humble thanks to your Lordſhips moſt free and loving Letter, I do willingly confeſs my error, yet ſtill of the mind, that your Lordſhip only, who juſtly taxed it, hath made it to be an error. If your love to me had not exceeded all reaſon, and deſert of mine, my complaints were not effects of melancholly, but of a real ſuffering, and miſery. I do confeſs (and reſt ſatisfied withal) that His Majeſty's Juſtice, and your Lordſhips love, are anchors ſtrong enough, for a mind more toſſed than mine is, to ride at. Yet pardon me, my Noble Lord, upon this conſideration, if I exceed a little in paſſion, the natural effect of honeſty, and innocency. A Church-man, and a Woman, have no greater Idol under Heaven, then their good name. And yet they cannot fight at all. Nor, with credit, ſcold, and leaſt of all recriminate, to protect and defend the ſame. Their only revenge left them, is, to grieve, and complain.

My miſery I took to be this, I am one of thoſe that labour in His Majeſty's Coal-mines under the Earth, and out of ſight. My pains from Five a Clock in the Morning to Ten or Twelve at Night are reſtleſs, and endleſs, but under Earth, and out of His Majeſty's ſight. What other Men do (or but ſeem to do) it is ever before the King's Face; and if His Majeſty will not look on it, if he hath Ears about him, he ſhall be told of it ſo often by the Parties themſelves, that he muſt hear of it whether he will or no.

And

And as my Service (by this remoteneſs) is hidden from the King, ſo is it liable to be traduced to the King, and my relief (as in diſpatching the motions of poor Men by Petitions allowable to my Orders) made to be a grievance to the Commonwealth. But in all theſe fourteen days (wherein, by the voice of the City, I have remained a Priſoner in my Houſe) where is that one party grieved, that hath troubled his Majeſty with Complaints againſt me? Only my Lord Marſhal hath dealt with my noble Lord Marqueſs *Hamilton*, my Lord of *Carliſle*, my Lord Treaſurer (as your Lordſhip may ſoon know by asking the queſtion) to make a faction to diſgrace the poor Lord Keeper, who never dream'd thereof.

Sir *Gilbert Haughton* hath complained to my Lord Treaſurer of my Men for taking, (*Hugh Holland* was by and heard him) if your Lordſhip do but ask him his reaſon, I think it will appear how well grounded their Complaints be. Upon thoſe two former Anchors I will therefore reſt, and that ſo far from cowardlineſs, that I will neither challenge them before his Majeſty to make good their Suggeſtions, or elſe (which I hold the greater valour of all, and which I confeſs I wanted before this check of your Lordſhips) go on in my courſe, and ſcorn all theſe baſe and unworthy ſcandals, as your Lordſhip ſhall direct me.

I have ſent a Copy of a Letter of mine to my Lord *Anan*, which his Majeſty hath ſeen, and given his aſſent it ſhould not be kept private; yet I would humbly crave your Lordſhips Opinion thereof (by Mr. *Packer*) before any Copy goeth from me.

I am ever, &c.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

My moſt noble Lord,

I Will ſpeak with the Jeuite to-morrow, and deliver him his Admonition from the King, but do ſend your Lordſhip here incloſed a Copy of the Conference which I procured from him without his privity, only to make his Majeſty, and your Lordſhip, merry. I have alſo received a Letter concerning the French Embaſſador, which I will be ready to put in execution as your Lordſhips Servant and Deputy, but not otherwiſe. Yet your Lordſhip will give me leave, out of that freedom (which was wont to be well interpreted by your Lordſhip) to let your Lordſhip underſtand, that I find all buſineſſes of reſtitution of Ships and Goods thus taken, to have been handled before the Council in Star-chamber all the Reigns of *Henry* VII. and *Henry* VIII. without any contradiction of the Lord Admiral for the time being: But this to your Lordſhip in ſecret. I will be very careful of the Earl of *Deſmond*, that neither his Cauſe, nor your Lordſhip's Reputation, ſhall ſuffer thereby; and this is all the account I can yet give of your Lordſhips Letter, ſave that I humbly expect that Anſwer which your Lordſhips own lucky hand hath promiſed in the Poſt-ſcript of one of them, I would eaſe your Lordſhip in this place, but to prevent complaint, that, peradventure, may be firſt invented, and then preſented. Your Lorpſhip ſhall hear of a long Narrative of our Council-Table Diſpatches. That paſſage of our Letter, which (as it now goeth) doth hope that his Majeſty will ſpare to confer any ſuits of moment in *Ireland*, until the return of the *Iriſh* Committee, was a blunt requeſt to the King, to grant no ſuits there without our Advice. Againſt this (concluded in my abſence the firſt day of the Term) I ſpake firſt to the Prince privately (who allow'd of my Reaſons) then (when the Preſident would not mend it) at the Table openly, that I did utterly diſlike we ſhould tutor his Majeſty, how to grant ſuits, eſpecially in Letters, that are to remain upon record. My Lord of *Cantuar.* and the Earl-Marſhal ſaid, they had many Preſidents in that kind. I anſwered, I knew they had none, but in the King's time; and that I wiſhed them (as I do) all torn out of the Book, and caſt into the fire, I concealed my Reaſons, which now I will reveal unto your Lordſhip; becauſe this is the third time I have expreſſed unto your Lordſhip, under my Hand my diſlike of this kind of limitting his Majeſty, otherwiſe than by word of mouth.

Firſt, if his Majeſty (which we ſee ſo often done) ſhall diſpoſe of theſe ſuits otherwiſe, here are ſo many Records remaining to malicious Men, to obſerve his Majeſty's averſneſs from following the Advice of the Council-board.

Secondly, If your Lordſhip ſhall procure any ſuits in this kind, here are Records alſo in time to come, that you croſs and thwart the Government of the Kingdom. And I pray God this be but mine own jealouſie. The paſſage in the Letter, with my prating, and his Highneſs's help, was altered, and for fear of miſreporting, I make bold to relate the truth hereof to your Lordſhip.

My Lords proceeded very reſolutely in thoſe reformations which concerned other Men. The Commiſſion of Fees enables the Committees to call before them all the Judges as well as their under-Officers (which was more than the King expreſſed at *Hampton-Court*) amongſt whom the Lord Keeper is one,

who, from the Conqueſt to this day, was never ſubjected to the call of any Power in the Kingdom, but the King and the Parliament. And altho' I have not one penny of Fee which hath not continued above one hundred years, yet for the honour of the prime place in the State (tho' now diſgraced by the contemptibleneſs of the Officer) I am an humble ſuiter unto your Lordſhip, that my perſon may be exempted from the Command of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, or, indeed, any Man elſe, beſides the King my Maſter. Otherwiſe I ſhall very patiently endure it, but the King hereafter may diſlike it. The Juſtices of the Peace are alſo appointed, but (if the Judges and my ſelf be not utterly deceived) to no purpoſe in the World, nor ſervice to his Majeſty. But when their Lordſhips came to ſurrender the under-Lieutenantſhips to his Majeſty's hands, whom the Lord Preſident, and I, held fit to be created, henceforward, by ſeveral Commiſſions under the Great Seal, it was ſtifly oppoſed and ſtood upon, that the King ſhould name them in their Lordſhips Commiſſions only (according to a preſident in the late Queens time) that is, the King ſhall have the naming, but they ſtill the appointing of them. And now it was preſſed, that his Majeſty intended not to diſgrace his Lords, *&c.* and your Lordſhip is to have a Letter from Mr. Secretary, to know his Majeſty's Mind herein. If his Majeſty ſhall not ordain them to be created by ſeveral Patents, it were better a great deal they ſhould continue as they do. I am very tedious in the manner, and, peradventure, in the matter of this Letter; I humbly crave pardon, *&c.*

October 12. 1622.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Have no buſineſs of the leaſt conſideration to trouble your Grace withal at this time, but that I would not ſuffer Mr. *Greyham* to return without an expreſſion of my Reſpect and Obligation. I would not advertiſe your Grace, at large, of the courſe held with our Recuſants, but that I know Mr. Secretary is enjoyned to do ſo, who beſt can. His Majeſty at *Salisbury* having referred the ſuit of theſe Embaſſadors to the Earl of *Carliſle*, and Mr. Secretary *Conway*, ſent (by their reſolutions) ſome Articles unto us (the Lord Treaſurer, Secretary *Calvert*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, and my ſelf) to this effect:

1. To grant a pardon of all Offences paſt, with a diſpenſation for thoſe to come, to all the Roman Catholicks, obnoxious to any Laws made againſt the Recuſants.

2. And then to iſſue forth to general Commands under the Great Seal, the firſt, to all the Judges, and Juſtices of the Peace, and the other to all Biſhops, Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, not to execute any Statute made againſt them.

Their general pardon we have paſſed, and ſent unto his Majeſty (from whence it is not returned) in as full and ample manner as they could deſire, and pen it. The other general and vaſt prohibition I prevailed with the reſt of the Lords to ſtop as yet, and gave (in three days conference) ſuch Reaſons to the two Embaſſadors, that, although it is no eaſie matter to ſatisfie the Capriciouſneſs of the latter of them, yet they were both content it ſhould reſt, until the Infanta had been ſix Months in *England*. My Reaſon, if it may pleaſe your Grace, was this: Although this general favour and connivance, whereof there are twenty of the prime Council know nothing as yet, muſt at laſt be known to all the Land; yet is there a great difference between the publiſhing thereof *A Golpe*, at one puſh as it were, and that inſtilling of it into their Knowledge by little and little, by reaſon of favors done to particular Catholicks. The former courſe might breed a general impreſſion, if not a mutiny: This latter will but looſen the tongues but of ſome few particulars, who underſtand of their Neighbour's pardon; and having vented their diſlikes, when they have not many to ſympathize with them, they grow cool again; ſo as his Majeſty afterwards may enlarge theſe Favours without any danger at all.

Secondly, to forbid Judges (againſt their Oaths) and Juſtices of the Peace (ſworn likewiſe) to execute the Law of the Land, is a thing unpreſidented in this Kingdom, & *Durus Sermo*, a very harſh and bitter pill to be digeſted upon a ſudden, and without ſome preparation. But to grant a pardon, even for a thing that is *Malum in ſe*, and a diſpenſation with penal Laws (in the profit whereof the King only is intereſted) is uſual and full of preſidents and examples. And yet is this Letter only tending to the ſafety, the former but to the glory and inſolency of the Papiſts, and the magnifying the ſervice of the Embaſſadors ends too dearly purchaſed, with the endangering of a tumult in three Kingdoms.

Thirdly and laſtly, His Majeſty uſeth to ſpeak to his Biſhops, Judges and Juſtices of the Peace, by his Chancellor, or Keeper (as your Grace well knoweth) and by his Great Seal; and I can ſignifie his Majeſty's

Majesty's pleasure unto them, with less noise and danger, which I mean to do hereafter (if the Embassadors shall press it) to this effect, unless your Grace shall from his Highness, or your own Judgment, direct otherwise.

That whereas his Majesty being at this time to mediate for favour to many Protestants in foreign parts, with Princes of another Religion, and to sweeten the entertainment of the Princess into this Kingdom, who is as yet a Roman Catholick, doth hold a mitigation of the rigor of those Laws made against Recusants to be a necessary inducement to both those purposes, and hath therefore issued forth some pardons of Grace and Favor to such Roman Catholicks, of whose Faithfulness and Fidelity to the State he rests assured. That therefore you the Lords, Bishops, Judges, and Justices (each of those to be written unto by themselves) do take notice of this his Majesty's Pardon and Dispensation, with all such penal Laws, and demean your selves accordingly, *&c.*

Thus have I been too tedious and troublesome unto your Grace, and crave your pardon therefore, and some directions (which you may cause Sir *Francis Cottington*, or some other, to write, without your Grace's trouble) if there shall appear any cause of alteration. Dr. *Bishop*, the new Bishop of *Calcedon*, is come to *London* privately, and I am much troubled thereabouts, not knowing what to advise his Majesty in this posture, as things stand at this present. If you were shipped (with the Infanta) the only Counsel were, to let the Judges proceed with them presently, hang him out of the way, and the King to blame my Lord of *Cantuar.* or my self for it. But before you be shipped in such form and manner, I dare not assent, or connive at such a course. It is, my gracious Lord, a most insolent part, and an offence, as I take it, against our Common Law (and not the Statutes only, which are dispenced withal) for an *English*-man to take such a Consecration without the King's consent, and especially to use any Episcopal Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, without the Royal Assent; and Bishops have been, in this State, put to their Fine and Ransom, for doing so, three hundred years ago.

I will cease to be further troublesome, and pray to Almighty God to bless your Grace, and in all humbleness take my leave, and rest, *&c.*

Aug. 3. 1623.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

May it please your Grace,

Don Francisco being with me this night, about a pardon for a poor *Irish*-man, whom I reprieved from execution, at the suit of those Gentlemen of *Navarra*, which are here with the Marquis, let fall by a kind of supposition (affirming the matter to be as yet in the womb, and not fully shaped and digested) words to this effect.

That if the King of *Spain* should make a double Marriage with the second Brother of *France*, and his Sister, and bestow the *Palatinate* as a Dower upon his Sister, in what case were we then?

I answered, That we shall be, then, in no worse case (for ought I knew) than we are now; but that *Germany* might be in a far better case: Peradventure it was but a Word let fall, to terrifie me withal.

But your Grace may make that use of it, as to understand the Language, if your Grace shall hear any mention thereof hereafter. I am very glad, and do give God thanks *por le mejora de su hijucla hermósissima*: And do rest, *&c.*

Surely the French Embassador is secret, and more suspected than formerly by the People.

January 6. 1623.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

May it please your Grace,

NOt presuming to write unto your Grace, being so offended at me, but resolved with sorrow and patience to try what I was able to suffer, without the least thought of opposition against your absolute pleasure, his Highness hath encouraged and commanded the contrary, assuring me (which I cannot repeat again without tears) that, upon his credit, your Grace neither did, nor doth conceive any such real distaste against me, but did only suspect I had conceived his Highness's Mind in that full manner, which his Highness himself is now fully satisfied I did not. In the which error and mi-

ſtake of the Prince's reſolution, for want of conference with your Grace, or ſome other, I did (as I freely confeſſed) offend his Highneſs, but not your Grace at all. Being ever reſolved to ſtand, or fall (though diverſified in Opinion) your Grace's moſt faithful and conſtant Servant. I humbly therefore beſeech your Grace, firſt, to receive back this encloſed Letter of Mr. *Packer's*, and to burn the ſame, than to receive my Soul, in gage and pawn.

1. That I never harboured in this breaſt one thought of oppoſition to hurt your Grace, from the firſt hour I ſaw your face.

2. I never conſulted (much leſs practiſed) with any Lord of that Committee to vote on the one or the other ſide.

3. I do not know that Lord in *England* that hath any deſign againſt your Grace, and when I ſhall know any ſuch, whoſoever it be, I ſhall be his Enemy as long as he continueth ſo unto your Grace.

4. I do not know (nor do I believe) but that your Grace ſtands as firm in his Majeſty's favour and in his Highneſs, as ever you did in all your life.

5. I never made the leaſt ſhew of ſiding with any oppoſite Lord unto your Grace, and I defie any Man that ſhall avow it.

6. I never divulged your Grace's, or the Secrets of any Man.

In the next place, I do moſt humbly and heartily crave your Grace's pardon, for ſuſpecting (that is the utmoſt of my offence) ſo true, real and noble a Friend. Yet that I may not appear a very Beaſt, give me leave once to remember, and ever after to forget, the motives which drew me ſo to do. And I will do it in the ſame order they came into my head.

1. Your Grace's charge upon me at *York*-Houſe, that I was a Man odious to all the World.

2. *Michels* voluntary confeſſion, That my Lord *Mandevil* ſhewed him a Letter from *Spain*, avowing, that the firſt Action your Grace would imbark your ſelf in, ſhould be to remove me out of this place, which the leaſt word of your mouth unto me is able to do.

3. A report of the *Venetian* Embaſſador, that amongſt others, your Grace intended to ſacrifice me this Parliament, to appeaſe the diſlike of Immunities exerciſed towards the Catholicks.

4. Your Grace's motion unto my ſelf, concerning my place (which now I abſolutely know proceeded out of love) at *White-hall*.

5. A moſt wicked lye, that one told, he heard your Grace move his Highneſs, to ſpeak unto me to quit my place, after your Grace's profeſſions of friendſhip to me.

6. Mr. Secretary *Conway's*, and my Lord *Carliſle's* eſtrangedneſs from me, which I ſuſpected could not be (for I ever loved them both) but true Copies of your Grace's diſpleaſure.

I have opened to my trueſt Friend all my former thoughts; and being fully ſatisfied by his Highneſs how falſe they are in every particular, do humbly crave your Grace's pardon, that I gave a nights lodging to any of them all.

Although they never tranſported me a jot further, than to look about how to defend my ſelf being reſolved (as God ſhall be my Protector) to ſuffer all the obloquy of the World, before I would be drawn to the leaſt ingratitude againſt your Grace. All that I beg is an aſſurance of your Graces former Love, and I will plainly profeſs what I do not in the leaſt beg or deſire from your Grace.

1. No Patronage of any corrupt or unjuſt act which ſhall be objected againſt me this Parliament.

2. No defence of me, if it ſhall appear I betrayed my King or my Religion, in favour of the Papiſt, or did them any real reſpect at all, beſides ordinary Complements.

3. No refuge in any of my cauſes, or clamours againſt me (which upon a falſe ſuppoſal of your Graces diſpeaſure may be many) otherwiſe than according to Juſtice, and fair proceeding.

And let this Paper bear record againſt me at the great Parliament of all, if I be not, in my Heart and Soul, your Graces moſt faithful and conſtant poor Friend and Servant.

His Highneſs deſires your Grace to move his Majeſty to accept of my Lord *Say's* Commiſſion, and procure me leave to ſend for him. Alſo to move his Majeſty that my Lord of *Hartford* may be in the Houſe, accepting his Father's place, and making his proteſtation to ſue for his Grandfather's, according to his Majeſty's Laws, when the King ſhall give him leave. His Highneſs, and my Lords, do hold this a modeſt and ſubmiſſive Petition.

His Highneſs, upon very deep Reaſons, doubts whether it be ſafe to put all upon the Parliament, for fear they ſhould fall to examine particular Diſpatches, wherein they cannot but find many Contradictions. And would have the propoſition only to aid for the recovery of the *Palatinate*. To draw on an engagement I propound it might, be, to adviſe his Majeſty how this recovery ſhall be effected by re-conquering the ſame, or by a War of diverſion. This will draw on a breach with *Spain*, with ripping up of private Diſpatches. His Highneſs ſeemed to like well hereof, and commanded me to acquaint your Grace therewith, and to receive your Opinion. I humbly crave again two lines of aſſurance, that I am in your Grace's Opinion, as I will ever be indeed, &c.

Feb. 2 1623.

The

The Heads of that Diſcourſe which fell from Don Franciſco, *7. Die Aprilis, 1624. 11. of the Clock at night.*

This Relation was ſent by the Lord Keeper to the Duke.

1. HOw he came to procure his Acceſſes to the King. The Marqueſs putting *Don Carlos* upon the Prince and Duke in a Diſcourſe, thruſt a Letter into the King's Hand, which he deſired the King to read in private: The King ſaid he would; thruſt it into his pocket, and went on with his Diſcourſe, as if he had received none. The effect was, to procure private acceſs for *Don Franciſco* to come and ſpeak with the King, which his Majeſty appointed by my Lord of *Kelley*; and he by his ſecrecy, who deſigned for *Don Franciſco* time and place.

2. At his firſt acceſs, he told the King, That his Majeſty was a Priſoner, or at leaſtwiſe beſieged, ſo as no Man could be admitted to come at him. And then made a complaint againſt the Duke, that he aggravated, and pretended accuſations againſt *Spain*; whereas its only offence was, that they refuſed to give unto him equal Honour and Obſervance, as they did unto his Highneſs. And that this was the only cauſe of his hatred againſt them.

3. At the laſt acceſs, which was ſome four days ago, he made a long invective, and remonſtrance unto the King, which he had put into writing in Spaniſh, which he read unto me, corrected with the hand of *Don Carlos*, which I do know. It was ſomewhat general, and very rhetorical, if not tragical, for the ſtile. The heads of what I read, were theſe, *viz.*

1. That the King was no more a Freeman, at this time, than King *John* of *France*, when he was Priſoner in *England*, or King *Francis*, when he was at *Madrid*, being beſieged and cloſed up with the Servants and Vaſſals of *Buckingham*.

2. That the Embaſſadors knew very well, and were informed four Months ago, That his Majeſty was to be reſtrained, and confined to his Country-Houſe, and Paſtimes, and the Government of the State to be aſſumed and diſpoſed of by others, and that this was not concealed by *Buckingham's* Followers.

3. That the Duke had reconciled himſelf to all the popular Men of the State, and drawn them forth out of Priſons, Reſtraints, and Confinements, to alter the Government of the State at this Parliament, as *Oxford*, *Southampton*, *Say*, and others, whom he met at Suppers and Ordinaries, to ſtrengthen his Popularity.

4. That the Duke, to breed an Opinion of his own Greatneſs, and to make the King grow leſs, hath often-times brag'd openly in Parliament, that he had made the King yield to this and that, which was pleaſure unto them. And that he mentioned openly before the Houſe his Majeſty's private Oath, which the Embaſſadors have never ſpoken of to any creature to this hour.

5. That theſe Kingdoms are not now governed by a Monarchy, but by a *Triumviri*, whereof *Buckingham* was the firſt and the chiefeſt, the Prince the ſecond, and the King the laſt; and that all look towards *Solem Orientem*.

6. That his Majeſty ſhould ſhew himſelf to be, as he was reputed, the oldeſt and wiſeſt King in *Europe*, by freeing himſelf from this Captivity, and imminent danger wherein he was, by cutting off ſo dangerous and ungrateful an affector of greatneſs and popularity as the Duke was.

7. That he deſired his Majeſty to conceal this his free dealing with him, becauſe it might breed him much peril and danger. And yet if it were any way available for his Service, to reveal it to whom he pleaſed, becauſe he was ready to ſacrifice his life, to do him acceptable ſervice.

And this was the effect of ſo much of the penned Speech, as I remember was read unto me out of the Spaniſh Copy.

His Majeſty was much troubled in the time of this Speech.

His Offer to the King for the reſtitution of the Palatinate.

To have a Treaty for three Months for the reſtitution, and that Mony was now given in *Spain*, to ſatisfie *Bavaria*. That in the mean time, becauſe the people were ſo diſtruſtful of the *Spaniard*, the King might fortifie himſelf at home, and aſſiſt the *Hollanders* with Men or Mony at his pleaſure. And the King of *Spain* ſhould not be offended therewith.

His Opinion of our preparing of this Navy.

It was a deſign of the Duke, to go to the Ports of *Sevil*, and there to burn all the Ships in the Harbour, which he laugh'd at.

Speeches

Speeches which (he ſaid) fell from his Majeſty, concerning the Prince.

1. That when he told the King, that his greatneſs with the Duke was ſuch as might hinder his Majeſty from taking a courſe to repreſs him; his Majeſty reply'd, He doubted nothing of the Prince, or his own Power, to ſever them two, when he pleaſed.

2. His Majeſty ſaid, That when his Highneſs went to *Spain*, he was as well affected to that Nation as heart could deſire, and as well diſpoſed as any Son in *Europe*; but now he was ſtrangely carried away with raſh and youthful Councils, and followed the humor of *Buckingham*, who had (he knew not how many) Devils within him ſince that Journey.

Concerning the Duke.

1. That he could not believe yet, that he affected Popularity, to his diſadvantage; becauſe he had tried him, of purpoſe, and commanded him to make diſaffecting motions to the Houſes, which he performed, whereby his Majeſty concluded he was not popular.

2. That he deſired *Don Franciſco*, and the Embaſſadors (and renewed this requeſt unto them by *Padre Maeſtro* two days ago) to get him any ground to charge him with any popular courſes, or to encreaſe a ſuſpicion of it, and he would quickly take a courſe with him.

3. That he had good cauſe to ſuſpect the Duke of late, but he had no Servant of his own, that would charge him with any particular, nor knew he any himſelf.

The end (as was conceived) of Don Franciſco's *deſiring this Conference.*

He had heard that the Duke had puſh'd at me in Parliament, and intended to do ſo again, when he had done with the Treaſurer; and therefore ſhewed, that if I would joyn to ſet upon him with the King, there was a fit occaſion.

I anſwer'd, that the Prince and the Duke had preferred me into my place, and kept me in it; and if I found them purſuing, I would not keep it an hour. That what favour ſoever I ſhewed the Embaſſador, or Catholicks, I did it for their ſakes, and had thanks of them for it. And that I would deal by way of Counſel with the Duke to be temperate and moderate; but to be in oppoſition to my Friend and Patron, I knew he (being one that profeſſed ſo much love unto me) would never expect from an honeſt Man. Upon the which anſwer he ſeem'd ſatisfied, and never reply'd word in that kind.

I made an end of writing theſe Notes about two of the clock in the morning.

The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning Sir Richard Weſton.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Hold it my Duty to give your Grace a preſent account of this Patent made for Sir *Richard Weſton*. Having put off the ſealing of the ſame as fairly as I could (though not without the clamour of one *Lake*, a Servant of Mr. Chancellor's, who very ſaucily preſt for a diſpatch) this morning, Mr. Chancellor ſpake with me himſelf; to whom I made anſwer, That I would ſeal this Patent, according to his Majeſty's Warrant, but would retain it in my hands, as I was directed, until I either ſpake with the King, or received his farther Command in that behalf. He told me he would write unto your Grace concerning the ſtay thereof, and the ſtand of the King's Buſineſs, until it were deliver'd; which courſe, I told him, was very fair. After I acquainted his Highneſs with my ſealing and retaining of the Patent, and asked him if he knew thereof. His Highneſs anſwered, he did know thereof, but gave no approbation of the courſe, and (although he durſt not ſpeak to croſs it) he hoped I ſhould have directions from the King to pull of the Seals again. Three hours after I went to his Highneſs the ſecond time, and asked him if he meant really as he ſpake, or intended only to make me believe ſo. I deſired to know his mind, leſt I might ſteer my courſe contrary to his intendment. His Highneſs anſwer'd, he meant really, and would endeavour to effectuate all that he ſpake. Which I thought very fitting for your Grace to know with all ſpeed.

But for the Man himſelf, I muſt deliver unto your Grace my Conſcience. For ought I ever ſaw in him, he is a very honeſt, and very a ſufficient Man, and ſuch a one, as I never in all my life could obſerve to be any way falſe, or unfaithful unto your Grace. He was brought in by your Grace ſore againſt my Will (as your Grace may call to mind what I ſaid to your Grace at *Woodſtock* to that effect) not that I diſliked the Gentleman, but becauſe I was afraid he would be wholly the Treaſurers, who

began

began then to out-top me, and appeared to my Thoughts, likely enough, by his daring and boldneſs (two Vertues very powerful and active upon our Royal Maſter) in time to do as much to your Grace. From that time to this, I never obſerved in *Weſton* any unworthineſs, or ingratitude to your Grace: Nay, craving pardon, I will proceed one ſtep farther; I know no fitter Man in *England* for the Office, if he come in as a Creature of the Prince, and your Grace's; nor unfitter, if he ſhould offer to take it, without your likings. I think your Grace will remember, that this fortnight this hath been my conſtant Opinion.

Upon the death of one Mr. *Read*, the Secretary's place for the Latine Tongue is void. The Dean of *Winchester*, and I, moved the King for *Patrick Young*, the fitteſt Man in *England* for that place: And the Prince did, and will ſecond the motion. I beſeech your Grace to aſſiſt us, or elſe the Immodeſty of his Competitor (that *Lake* I ſpake of in the beginning of this Letter) will bear down this moſt honeſt and baſhful Creature.

God be thanked for your Grace's recovery, and ſtill preſerve it, *&c.*

May 24. 1624.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Could not ſuffer Sir *George Goring* to depart without theſe few Lines, altho' the greateſt matter of their Contents muſt be this, To expreſs unto your Grace my ſorrow and affliction, that I have no matter or occaſion at all, wherein to ſhew actually my Affections and earneſt Deſires to comply with my bounden Duty in ſerving your Grace, and humbly to deſire your Grace to believe, that there is no Soul living ſhall do it more ſincerely and faithfully, to the utmoſt of my Underſtanding, than my ſelf will do. I add this Caution the rather, becauſe if ever I have offended your Grace, I take Almighty God to witneſs, it was only for want of a perfect underſtanding of thoſe high matters, and the perſons bent, whom they concerned, not out of any corruption of Affections towards your Grace, or the leaſt ſtaggering in a continued reſolution to live, and die, your Grace's moſt conſtant and moſt faithful Servant.

This God in Heaven (who ſeeth what I now write) and the King and Prince upon Earth, do perfectly know, and I (nothing doubting it) will acknowledge unto your Grace. And thus with my moſt humble Thanks unto your Grace for that aſſurance I received, that I remain (tho' unemploy'd and unprofitably) yet in your Grace's good Affection, I beſeech Almighty God to preſerve your Health, and to encreaſe your Favour day by day with God, with the King, with the Prince, and with all good Men. The daily Vows of, *&c.*

July 21. 1624.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Humbly thank your Grace for your favourable and gracious remembrance, ſent by my Neighbour Sir *George Goring*. Though I deſpair to be able to make any other requital, yet will I never fail to ſerve your Grace moſt faithfully, and when I grow unuſeful in that kind, to pray for you.

I beſeech your Grace, that I may receive from the Prince's Highneſs, and your Grace, ſome directions how to demean my ſelf to the *French* Embaſſador, in matters concerning Recuſants, and that Mr. Secretary may either addreſs himſelf to Mr. Attorney-General in theſe Cauſes, or elſe write unto me plainly what I am to do.

His laſt Letter required of me, and the Judges (who neither are, nor will be in Town theſe ſix Weeks yet) an account of this their ſuppoſed perſecution, neither ſo much as intimating unto me what, or when I ſhould return an anſwer, and ſuppoſeth ſome Directions his Majeſty ſhould give me therein, the which (particularly, or dividedly from the Judges) I never received.

I adventured, out of mine own head, to write that anſwer I imagine your Grace hath ſeen; whether I did well or ill therein, I know not; but conceived his Majeſty expected ſome anſwer. Yeſterday the Embaſſador ſent unto me, to know if I had received any order from his Majeſty to ſtay this (as he termed it) perſecution. I aſſure him there was no ſuch matter in this State, and that, as yet, I had received no order from his Majeſty of late, but was in expectation to hear from the

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Court very ſhortly. I humbly crave your Grace's Directions, what I am to ſay, or do, in the Premiſes, being otherwiſe a meer Stranger in all theſe Proceedings. I write to no body herein beſides your Grace; ſo as if I receive no Direction (which upon my Head and Livelihood, I ſhall bury in all ſecrecy) I ſhall be in a pitiful Perplexity, if his Majeſty ſhall turn the Embaſſador upon me, altogether unprovided how to anſwer. And ſo with my heartieſt Prayers for your Graces Health, I reſt,

Auguſt the 22*d.* 1624. *Yours*, &c.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

WIth my moſt humble and hearty Thanks for all your Favors extended, and multiplied daily towards me, in Sickneſs and Health, which are ſuch, and ſo many, that (although, I truſt in God, I ſhall never prove ſo inhuman as to fail in any Service, or Faithfulneſs to your Grace) I muſt for all that, ever live and die ungrateful. I thought fit to return unto your Grace this Account of the Meſſage received by your Grace's Steward.

I ſpake with that Lord, and although he ſeemed to be quite off from the Buſineſs, and had (to my knowledge) diſpoſed of his Money for a great and a fair Purchaſe here in *London*, and was reſolved never to touch any more upon *Wat Steward* (who had touched ſomewhat of his) and with whom he had agreed for 4000 *l.* yet hearing the Propoſition to come ſo intirely from me, as proceeding immediately from your Grace, whoſe good Favors this Lord (I proteſt unto your Grace) hath earneſtly deſired; and if at any time he hath ſtraggled aſide from the Princes Deſires, and yours, it was meerly, and ſolely, becauſe he thought he was not ſo much relied upon as others of his Rank. He promiſeth me ſome time to Morrow a reaſonable Anſwer.

His material Objections were theſe.

1. Quantity of the Money, ſo as firſt and laſt he is out 16000 *l.* where as *Cavendiſh*, his Countryman and Neighbour, got up, from a Gentleman, for 14000 *l.* I anſwered, That I obſerved your Grace never got by any of theſe Bargains, but that in this compaſs of a year or two, your Favors exceed any Gratuity preſented.

2. Precedency before *Wallingford*, and eſpecially *Vane*. I did promiſe (for your Service) to diſpute the latter, but could ſay nothing to the former, becauſe he was a Viſcount, and his far ancienter Baron.

3. Your Grace's Favor, and Reflection upon himſelf (bred up in the Experience of War and Peace) and upon his Sons, all of them well bred, but moſt towards the War. I did anſwer generally, that upon his Application of himſelf towards your Grace, I made little doubt, but he ſhould receive good Satisfaction in thoſe Expectances.

4. Times of Payment. I told him, I knew he would demand but a convenient time therein; and that I knew your Grace would never ſtand upon.

If I have erred in any of theſe Addreſſes, I pray let your Steward come and reform me therein; as alſo to tell me, whether if I find him coming forward, I may not ſay unto him, That your Lordſhip, upon a former Motion of mine, was willing upon the next Change of the Commiſſion for the Council of the War, to add him unto the Nubmer.

I propoſe this;

1. Becauſe 'tis a new thing.

2. Becauſe he deſires ſome Excuſe unto the World, by reaſon of ſome future Services, why his Majeſty ſhould receive him unto this Honor. I have waried my ſelf, and by this time (which doth leſs become me) your Grace too. I beſeech your Grace to pardon the Blottings and Extravagancies, my Head being yet but meanly ſetled. I beſeech God to bleſs your Grace. And ſo, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

May it pleaſe your Grace, this Lord hath returned his Anſwer, which, in good faith, ſeemeth to be with due reſpect unto your Grace.

1. That although the Place was offered him for 4000 *l.* yet becauſe the Offer proceeds from your Grace (which he voweth to eſteem as an eſpecial Favor as long as he liveth) he will pay, to whom

whom you ſhall aſſign 5000 *l.* and account it a real Obligation of Service to your Grace for ever, if you ſhall remit him the other thouſand pounds.

2. That for the time, with humble Thanks for your noble Favor (which becometh not him to take in appointing the time) he returns it to your Grace to nominate two days of Payment, as your Steward, or the Perſon aſſigned, ſhall think meet and fit for your Graces Occaſions, deſiring ſome ſmall reſpite for the former, but as little as the Party pleaſes afterwards for the ſecond Payment: For his Lordſhip will ſend in for his Moneys forthwith. And he will give his Bonds, or (which I hold ſuperfluous from ſo ſure a Card) his Mortgage in preſent for both Payments.

3. If your Grace ſhall make him your Servant with this Favor ſo nobly conditioned, he hopes your Grace may proceed on with his Patent thus forward, without any ſtay for any other Corrival, which notwithſtanding he humbly refers.

4. But deſires, if his Preſentment be accepted, he may have leave by me to render his Thanks unto your Grace perſonally ſome time to morrow.

And ſo I leave your Grace, for this time, in Gods Protection: And reſt,

October the 11*th.* 1624. *Yours, &c.*

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke, Concerning the Counteſs of Southampton.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Know how few Arguments I need to uſe to perſwade your Grace to Works of Nobleneſs and Charity. Your Faſhion hath been, ever ſince my Happineſs of Dependance upon you, to outrun and prevent all Petitions in this kind. Yet Pardon my Boldneſs to be an humble Suitor unto your Grace to go on, as I know you have already begun, in extending your Grace and Goodneſs towards the moſt diſtreſſed Widow and Children of my Lord of *Southampton*. Your Grace cannot do any Work of Charity more approved of by God, more acceptable unto Men, and that ſhall more recommend the Memory of your Nobleneſs to future Poſterity. Sir *William Spencer* (the only Sollicitor this ſorrowful Lady hath now to imploy) will preſent ſome Particulars unto your Grace, whom God ever preſerve in all Health and Happineſs. And ſo, *&c.*

November the 17*th.* 1624.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

My moſt Gracious Lord,

I Moſt humbly beſeech your Grace, for Gods Sake, and his Churches, to conſider of this Motion which I do make unto your Grace, concerning the Deanery of *York* now vacant, the Dean being ſtruck dead ſuddenly, by a Letter which one Dr. *Scot* procured from his Majeſty, to be his Coadjutor.

It is not for any Man in particular, but againſt Dr. *Scot*, that he may not by the Importunity of any one upon your Grace, be promoted to this Place, being the ſixth or ſeventh Place of Preferment Eccleſiaſtical within this Kingdom; but that your Grace would be pleaſed to remove Dr. *White*, or Dr. *Hall*, or whom your Grace ſhall pleaſe, unto this great Deanery, and beſtow the leſſer Deanery (far above his Merit) upon him.

For theſe Reaſons.

1. I know that he hath ſold away all his Livings which he hath had in this Church, and hath at this day never an one.

2. I am credibly informed, he oweth 5000 *l.* at the leaſt; a vaſt Sum for a poor Scholar, and too much to be got up in a poor Church. And moſt of this Money in *York*.

3. I know he is a great Gameſter, and of no fitting Converſation for a Church-man; but of very mean Parts, either of Learning, or Government.

4. I am certified at this time, that he is a Man often overſeen in Drink; but this I do not know.

If therefore your Grace ſhall be pleaſed, upon my Lord *Mordant*'s Importunity, to procure him any Deanery, I do not doubt but his Lordſhip will be ſatisfied, and that Church eternally obliged unto you for that Commutation. And I beſeech your Grace to believe him that is no way intereſted herein, that it concerns your Grace very much, in Credit and Reputation, that ſo mean a Man (amongſt ſuch a Choice as the Church of *England* doth afford) be not by your Favor preferred

to ſo high a Dignity. God be merciful to my ſins, as I have no end herein but your Honor, and the Good of that Church; and therefore I recommend no particular Man unto your Grace, but do reſt

December the 24*th*. 1624. *Yours*, &c.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke, concerning Dr. Scot.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Humbly beſeech you, interpret favorably what I ſaid unto his Majeſty or his Highneſs, as intending to put off Dr. *Scott* from this Place: and no way (God be my Witneſs) to croſs your Grace, nor to hurt *Scott*, who might have been otherwiſe ſufficiently provided for.

But I ſhould have written or ſpoken unto your Grace: So I did in this Letter encloſed upon *Chriſtmas Eve*: But, I confeſs, I durſt not ſend it, for fear of offending your Grace, which I do take all poſſible Diligence to avoid.

But, I ſpake unto the King and Prince; I did ſo; but with this Caution (which I know they do remember) that if your Grace would not, upon the Motion, exchange *Scott* to ſome other Preferment, I did not hold it fit to preſs theſe Charges againſt him, but would do my Endeavor to ſtill and quiet thoſe of the Church of *York*, who (I confeſs unto your Grace) are the Men that have written againſt him.

But I recommended Dr. *White*, and another to the Prince, and Dr. *Warner* to your Grace; I confeſs it; but muſt diſtinguiſh the Times, and the Manner. I commended Dr. *Warner*, when I was informed Dr. *White* had his Anſwer and Denial, and that your Grace was off from Dr. *Scott*, and did deſire to hear from me what Dr. *Warner* was, whom I recommended only in general Terms, upon the Suit of another. What I ſaid of him, I believe, and know to be true; but he is ſo far from being any Creature of mine, that, I proteſt before the Almighty God, I never ſpake one Word with the Man, to this very hour, in all my Life. I did conceive ſo meanly of Dr. *Scott*, that no worthy Man in the Kingdom ſhould have failed of my Recommendations in this particular.

Now I know your Grace's Reſolution, I do alter my Opinion, and humbly crave your Grace's Pardon for my medling therein, although I know his Highneſs will bear me Witneſs, it was with all dutiful Reſpect unto your Grace. I ſhall be very careful of giving your Grace the leaſt Cauſe of Jealouſie in this Kind again. And whereas I had put a poor Suit in your Grace's Hands, about the helping of my poor Fortunes, I will let that and all others fall, and deſire only to be accounted

January the 4*th*. 1624. *Yours*, &c.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

THis heavy and unexpected Accident of my Lord Stewards Death, makes me to be troubleſome unto your Grace at this time. In Safety and Diſcretion, I might very eaſily ſpare this Labor: But my Obligation to your Grace is ſuch, as if that I conceal any thing, which but my ſelf apprehends fit to be repreſented to your Grace, whilſt I affect the Title of a reſerved, cloſe and wiſe, I may loſe the other of an honeſt, Man, which I more eſteem.

Thus much by way of Preface.

I repreſent this Office of a Lord Steward, as a Place to be either accepted of by your ſelf, or elſe to be diſcontinued (as for many Years, towards the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the beginning of our Maſters Reign, it was;) and in any caſe, not to be placed upon another, without the Deliberation of ſome few Years at the leaſt: being an Office, that none but the King's Kinſmen, or Favorites, or Counter-favorites (raiſed up of purpoſe to balance the great One) have anciently poſſeſſed. I could deſire your Grace had it in your own Perſon, for theſe Reaſons.

1. It is an Office of fair and very competent Gettings: but that is ſcarce conſiderable.

2. It keeps you, in all Changes and Alterations of Years, near the King; and gives unto you all the Opportunities of Acceſſes, without the Envy of a Favorite. I beſeech your Grace, pauſe well upon this, and call to mind, if the Duke of *Richmond* was not in this Caſe.

3. It

3. It gives you Opportunities to gratifie all the Court, great and ſmall, *Virtute Officii*, in Right of your Place: which is a thing better accepted of, and interpreted, than a Courteſie from a Favorite; becauſe in this you are a Diſpenſer of your own, but in the other (ſay many envious Men) of the King's Goodneſs, which would flow faſt enough of it ſelf, but that it is reſtrained to this Pipe and Channel only.

4. There muſt be, one day, an end of this Attendance as a Bed-Chamber Man; but, I hope, never of being next unto the King, as a great Councellor, and Officer, and above all others: which you cannot be, but by this Office. The Maſter of the Horſe is but a Knights Place, at the moſt; and the Admiral's (in time of action) either to be employed abroad perſonally, or to live at home in that Ignominy and Shame, as your Grace will never endure to do ſo.

I will trouble your Grace with a Tale of *Dante*, the firſt *Italian* Poet of Note: Who, being a great and wealthy Man in *Florence*, and his Opinion demanded, Who ſhould be ſent Embaſſador to the Pope? made this Anſwer, that he knew not who; *Si jo vo, chi ſtà, Si jo ſto, chi va*; If I go, I know not who ſhall ſtay at Home; if I ſtay, I know not who can perform this Employment. Yet your Grace ſtaying at Home in Favor and Greatneſs with his Majeſty, may, by your Deſigns and Directions, ſo diſpoſe of the Admiral, as to enjoy the Glory, without running the Hazard of his perſonal Employment. My gracious Lord, if any Man ſhall put you in hope, that the Admiralty will fill your Coffers, and make you rich; call upon them to name one Admiral that ever was ſo. As in time of Hoſtility there is ſome getting, ſo are there hungry and inſatiable People preſently to devour the ſame. God made Man to live upon the Land, and Neceſſity only drives him to Sea. Yet is not my Advice abſolutely for your relinquiſhing of this, but, in any Caſe, for the retaining of the other Place, though with the Loſs of the Admiralty.

5. I beſeech your Grace, obſerve the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who (being the only Favorite in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time that was of any continuance) made choice of this Place only, and refuſed the Admiralty two ſeveral times, as being an Occaſion, either to withdraw him from the Court, or to leave him there laden with Ignominy: And yet, being Lord Steward, wiſe, and in favor, he wholly commanded the Admiralty, and made it miniſterial, and ſubordinary to his Directions.

6. Remember, that this Office is fit for a young, a middle, and an old Man to enjoy; and ſo is not any other, that I know, about his Majeſty: Now God Almighty having given you Favor at the firſt, and ſince a great Quantity (I never flattered your Grace, nor do now) of wit, and wiſe Experience; I would humbly recommend unto your Grace, this Opportunity to be neareſt unto the King in your young, your middle, and your decreaſing Age; that is, to be on earth, as your Piety will one day make you in Heaven, an everlaſting Favorite. There are many Objections which your Grace may make; but if I find any Inclination in your Grace to lay hold upon this Propoſition, I dare undertake to anſwer them all. Your Grace may leave any Office you pleaſe (if your Grace be more in Love with the Admiralty than, I think you have Cauſe) to avoid Envy. But my final Concluſion is this, to deſire your Grace moſt humbly, to put no other Lord into this Office, without juſt and mature Deliberation; and to pardon this Boldneſs and Haſte, which makes me to write ſo weakly in a Theme, that, I perſwade my ſelf, I could maintain very valiantly. I have no other Copy of this Letter, and I pray God your Grace be able to read this. I ſend your Grace a Letter, delivered unto me from *Conde Gondomar*, and dated either at *Madrid*, or (as I obſerve it was written firſt) at *London*: There is no great matter at whether of the Places it was invented. I humbly beſeech your Grace to ſend, by this Bearer, the Reſolution for the Parliament: And do reſt

March the 2*d*. 1624. *Yours*, &c.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke, about Sir Robert Howard.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

SIR *Robert Howard* appeared yeſterday, and continues obſtinate in his Refuſal to ſwear when we came to examine the Commiſſion for our Power to fine, him for this Obſtinacy, we found, that Sir *Edward Coke* (foreſeeing, out of a prophetical Spirit, how near it might concern a Grand-Child of his one day) hath expunged this Clauſe (by the Help of the Earl of *Salisbury*) out of the Commiſſion, and left us nothing but the ruſty Sword of the Church, Excommunication, to vindicate the Authority of this Court. We have given him day until Saturday next, either to conform, or to be excommunicated. She hath anſwered wittily, and cunningly, but yet ſufficient for the Cogniſance of the Court: Confeſſeth a Fame of Incontinencie againſt her and *Howard*; but ſaith, it was raiſed by her Husbands Kindred. I do not doubt, but the Buſineſs will go on well; but (peradventure) more ſlowly, if *Howard* continue refractory, for want of this Power to fine and amerce him. I beſeech your Grace, either to procure me the Favor to come, or to excuſe my not ſeeing his Majeſty in this time of his Indiſpoſition, which, I hear, ſtill continueth. I beſeech Almighty God (as in eternal Duty I am bound) preſently to eaſe him,

and reſtore him to his perfect Health. Mr. *Packer*'s being away, makes me unmannerly. I am humbly to deſire your Grace, to be pleaſed to move his Majeſty, at your firſt opportunity, to ſign this Commiſſion, for the proroguing of the *Parliament*; and to read unto his Majeſty this Paper of Names here encloſed (which his Majeſty is not to ſign) knowing his pleaſure, whether he alloweth of them for Commiſſioners for the laſt Subſidy of the Lords. I have added to the former the Earl of *Montgomery*, according to your Grace's direction, whom God Almighty ever preſerve: It is the Prayer of, &c.

March 11. 1624.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke

May it pleaſe your Grace,

FOr your Brother's Buſineſs, this is all I have to acquaint your Grace with: Sir *Robert Howard* appeared, yeſterday, at *Lambeth*, pretended want of Council (the Doctors being out of Town) deſired reſpite until to morrow, and had it granted by my Lord's Grace. Moſt Men think he will not take his Oath at all; I do encline to the contrary Opinion, becauſe, to my knowledge, he hath ſent far and near, for the moſt able Doctors in the Kingdom, to be feed for him, which were great folly, if he intended not to anſwer. He is extreamly commended for his cloſeneſs and ſecrecy by the major part of our Auditors (the He and She Good-fellows of the Town) and though he refuſeth to be a Confeſſor, yet is ſure to dye a Martyr, and moſt of the Ladies in Town will offer at his Shrine. The Lady *Hatton*, ſome nine days ſince was at *Stoke*, with the good Knight her Husband, for ſome counſel in this particular; but he refuſed to meddle therewithal, and diſmiſt her Ladiſhip, when ſhe had ſtay'd with him very lovingly half a quarter of an hour.

The cauſe of my troubling your Grace, is this: The *French* Embaſſador is fired with ſome Complaints of our Recuſants, who, I verily believe, work upon him purpoſely, finding him to be of a combuſtible diſpoſition. To morrow he is reſolved to come upon you and our Maſter with Complaints, for lack of performances to the Papiſts. And becauſe I would furniſh your Grace with as much anſwer as I am acquainted with (nothing doubting but your Grace is otherwiſe better provided) I make bold to preſent your Grace with theſe particulars.

1. With a Letter from my Lord Archbiſhop of *York*, in anſwer to another of mine; which ſhews how really his Majeſty's promiſe hath been in that kind performed. I beſeech your Grace to keep it ſafe in your pocket, until I ſhall have the honour to wait upon your Grace, when you have made uſe of the ſame.

2. If your Grace ſhall hear him complain of the Judges in their charges, and of their receiving of Indictments; your Grace may anſwer, That thoſe Charges are but Orations of courſe, opening all the penal Laws; and the Indictments, being preſented by the Country, cannot be refuſed by the Judges: But the Judges are ordered to execute nothing actually againſt the Recuſants; nor will they do it, during the Negotiation.

3. Your Grace may put him in mind, that my Lord Keeper doth every day, when his (the Lord Embaſſador's) Secretary calls upon him, grant forth Writs to remove all the Perſons indicted, in the Country, into the King's Bench, out of the power and reaches of the Juſtices of the Peace: And that, being there, the King may, and doth, releaſe them at his pleaſure.

4. That the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador never had, nor deſired, more than theſe favours.

5. That you are informed, that Copies of Letters, written from the King to both the Archbiſhops, are ſpread abroad in *Staffordſhire*, to his Majeſty's diſadvantage (for ſo it is) and that thereby my Lord Embaſſador may perceive the bent of the *Engliſh* Catholicks, which is, not to procure eaſe and quietneſs to themſelves, but ſcandals to their Neighbouring Proteſtants, and diſcontentments againſt the King and State.

I humbly crave your Grace's pardon for this boldneſs and tedioufneſs; and, with my hearty Prayers for your Health, do reſt

March 13. 1624.

Yours, &c.

The

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

May it please your Grace,

I Send your Grace here enclosed, the King's Commission, and the Prince's Proxy, not fairly written (which the Embassadors upon the place may procure in a *French* hand) but yet legibly and passably. The Prince's Proxy refers the manner unto the Articles, and particularly to the second, third and fourth Section of those Articles; which gives me occasion to beg of your Grace pardon, to desire your Grace to think seriously upon the third Section, to advise with the Prince, and to give Mr. *Packer* charge to inform your Grace punctually what he knoweth, and may inform himself concerning those particulars: That is, How the Queen *Margaret* of *France* was married to *Henry* IV. and how Madam his Sister was married to the Prince of *Lorrain*: For although they are both made alike in the Article, yet surely they were not married after the same fashion. For the Dutchess of *Barr* was married in a Closet, without a Mass, by words only of the present tense, as I believe I have read in the History of *Thuanus*; a favour which will hardly be granted to your Grace. And how Queen *Margaret* was married, my Lords the Embassadors will soon learn, if your Grace will be pleased to write unto them.

I hold it (in a manner) necessary, that your Grace do carry over with you, in your company, one Civilian, to put your Grace in mind of the Formalities required; and if your Grace be of that mind, your own Doctor, Dr. *Reeves*, is as fit as any Man else, who is a good Scholar, and speaks that Language. Your Grace hath revived my Lord of *Clare*, sithence I spake with your Grace. And I beseech your Grace to follow that resolution, and to let Mr. *Packer* draw up a warrant of three or four Lines signed by the King to me, to place him with the rest of the Council of War. It will be an occasion to take up more of that time which he now spends with the Lady *Hatton*: For now I am resolved, that I was of the right in my Conjecture to your Grace, that his Lordship had utterly refused my Lady *Purbeck*'s cause (of the which the very common people begin to be ashamed) but is deeply engaged against my Lady of *Richmond*, in the business of that famous (or rather notorious) fœminine Contract and Bargain, of sixteen hundred pounds by the year, for a House to sleep in. *Dutche's of* Richmond.

When your Grace shall draw up your Instructions, you will be pleased to use the words, *To Contract, Espouse, and Marry our Well-beloved Son*, &c. because they do in those parts Contract always before Marriage. And your Grace will be pleased to express his Majesty's pleasure, that this is to be done by your self, and no other: Because although the two Earls, upon the place, have some such general words in their Commission, yet your Grace only is named in the Prince's Proxy, and now solely imploy'd by the King to that purpose; although I conceived this restraint to be fitter a great deal for the Instructions than the Commission.

I am extream sorry to hear what a grievous Fit his Majesty had this last night; but I hope it is a farewel of the Agues, and I pray God it be the last Fit: And now am an humble suitor again, that I may come and look upon his Majesty, resolved to say nothing, but that which I will never cease to say, *God bless him.* If your Grace holds it inconvenient, I beseech your Grace to excuse me, and to account me as I will ever be found,

March 22. 1624. *Yours*, &c.

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

May it please your Grace,

I Received your Grace's Letter by Mr. *Killegrew*, so full of that sweetness, as could never issue from any other Fountain than that one Breast so fraught with all Goodness and Vertue: *Dick Wimne* may write freely (as he talks) but alas! what can my wretched Self perform, that should deserve the least acknowledgment from him, to whom I owe so infinitely much more than the sacrificing of my Life amounts to? only my Love makes me sometimes write, and many times fear, fondly and foolishly, for the which I hope your Grace will pardon me. I have been frighted more about three weeks since (about Quarrels and Jarrs, which now *Dick Greyhams* hath related in part unto the King) than at this present I am. For God's sake be not offended with me, if I exhort you to do that which I know you to do, to observe his Highness with all lowliness, humility, and dutiful obedience,

and

and to piece up any the leaſt ſeam-rent; that heat and earneſtneſs might, peradventure, ſeem to produce. I know, by looking into my ſelf, theſe are the ſymptoms of good Natures: And, for God's ſake I beg it, as you regard the Prayers of a poor Friend, if the great Negotiation be well concluded, let all private diſagreements be wrapped up in the ſame, and never accompany your Lordſhips into *England*, to the joy and exultation of your Enemies, if any ſuch ingrateful Devils are here to be found: I am in good earneſt, and your Lordſhip would believe it, if your Grace ſaw but the Tears that accompany theſe Lines.

I beſeech you, in your Letter to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, intimate unto him your Confidence, and reliance upon his Watchfulneſs and Fidelity in all turns which may concern your Grace. I have often lied unto his Lordſhip, that your Grace hath, in many of my Letters, expreſſed as much, and ſo have pacified him for the time. If we did know but upon whom to keep a watchful Eye, for diſaffected Reports concerning your Service; it is all the Intelligence he and I do expect. His Majeſty, as we conceive, is reſolved to take certain Oaths, which you have ſent hither; and I pray God, afterward, no further difficulties be objected. I have had an hours diſcourſe with his Majeſty, yeſterday morning, and do find him ſo diſpoſed towards your Lordſhip as my Heart deſireth; yet he hath been informed of the diſcontentments, both with the *Conde de Olivarez*, and the Earl of *Briſtol*. Here is a ſtrange Creation paſſed of late, of a Vice Countiſhip of *Maidenhead*, paſſed to the Heirs Males, who muſt be call'd hereafter Vice-Counteſs *Fynch*: But my Lady Dutcheſs hath the Land, and, as they ſay, hath already ſold it to my Lord Treaſurer, or ſhared it with him. I ſtayed the Patent, until I was aſſured your Lordſhip gave way thereunto.

My good Lord, becauſe I have heard that they have, in thoſe parts, a conceit of our Church, as that they will not believe that we have any Liturgy, or Book of Common-prayer, at all, I have (at mine own coſt) cauſed the Liturgy to be tranſlated into *Spaniſh*, and fairly printed; and do ſend you, by this Bearer, a couple of the Books; one for his Highneſs, the other for your Grace; not ſending any more, unleſs your Grace will give directions. His Majeſty was acquainted therewith, and alloweth of the Buſineſs exceedingly. The Tranſlator is a *Dominican*, a zealous Proteſtant, and a good Scholar; and I have ſecured him to our Church, with a Benefice, and a good Prebend. Becauſe we expect, every day, the diſpatching of Sir *Francis Cottington* thitherward, I will not trouble your Grace further, at this time; but do earneſtly pray unto God to bleſs your Grace, both now, and ever hereafter, with all his Favours and Bleſſings, ſpiritual and temporal; and reſt, *&c.*

The Lord Keeper, to the Duke.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

NOw that I underſtand, by Sir *John Hipſley*, how things ſtand between your Grace and the Earl of *Briſtol*, I have done with that Lord, and will never think of him otherwiſe than as your Grace ſhall direct; nor did I ever write one ſyllable to that effect, but in contemplation of performing true Service to your Grace.

I was much abuſed in the Lady *Hennage* her Vice-Counteſsſhip, being made to believe it was your Grace's act, or elſe I had ſtay'd it finally (until the Prince's return) as I did for a time. If your Grace will give any directions in matters of that nature, I can purſue them. My Lord Treaſurer's Son's Wardſhip is a thing of no moment at all, and not worthy your Grace's thinking of: And, in good faith, as far as getting and covetouſneſs will give him leave, I do not ſee, but that Lord is (ſince your abſence) very reſpective of your Grace, eſpecially in your own Perſon and Affairs. I never received any anſwer from your Grace, concerning the Provoſtſhip of *Eaton*; nor was it good manners for me to preſs for the ſame, becauſe in my Letters I did preſume to name my ſelf. The place is mine to beſtow, for this time, and not his Majeſty's, nor the Colledges: But I do very willingly reſerve the Collation of the ſame, to be diſpoſed as your Grace ſhall pleaſe: Yet this will be a ſufficient anſwer to any former promiſe, or any reaſonable competitor.

His Majeſty (as your Grace beſt knoweth) promiſed me, at the delivery of the Seal, a better Biſhoprick, and intended it, certainly, if any ſuch had fallen. My Charge is exceeding great, my Bribes are very little, my Biſhoprick, Deanry, and other *Commendams*, do not clear unto me above one thouſand pounds a year, at the uppermoſt: It hath pleaſed God, that the Caſualties of my Office (which is all the benefit of the ſame, and enriched my Lord *Elleſmere*) hath not been worth to me, theſe two years paſt, one ſhilling: It may mend, when it pleaſeth God.

I leave all theſe, and my ſelf, who am your Vaſſal, at your Lordſhips ſeer, and do reſt, *&c.*

Your Grace's, &c.
J. L. *C.S.*

POST-

POST-SCRIPT.

May it please your Grace, I troubled his Highness with a long relation of the *Consulto* we had about his Majesty's taking of the Oath; which I had written to your Grace, and not to his Highness, but that I was frighted by great Men, that I had done his Highness a displeasure, in pressing his Majesty's assent unto the same: And, I protest, I was so poorly accompanied in my Opinion, that I was truly afraid I had not done well; And therefore I took occasion to write my Reasons, at large, unto the Prince; which, I heard by Sir *John Hipsley*, from your Grace, was well taken. I humbly thank your Grace, who, I know, forwarded the same: And so I perceive by a Letter from his Highness, so full of sweetness, as I am over-whelmed.

J. L. C. S.

The Bishop of Lincoln (*sometime Lord Keeper*) *to the Duke.*

Most gracious Lord,

BEing come hither, according unto the Duty of my place, to do my best Service for the preparation to the Coronation, and to wait upon his Majesty for his Royal pleasure and direction therein; I do most humbly beseech your Grace, to crown so many of your Grace's former Favours, and to revive a Creature of your own, struck dead only with your displeasure (but no other discontentment in the universal World) by bringing of me to kiss his Majesty's hand, with whom I took leave in no disfavour at all. I was never hitherto brought into the presence of a King by any Saint besides your self; turn me not over, most noble Lord, to offer my Prayers at new Altars. If I were guilty of any unworthy unfaithfulness for the time past, or not guilty of a resolution to do your Grace all service for the time to come, all consideration under Heaven could not force me to beg it so earnestly, or to profess my self, as I do before God and you,

Your Grace's most humble,

Jan. 7. 1625.

affectionate and devoted Servant,

J. Lincoln.

The

The LORD of KENSINGTON's Letters, &c.

The Lord of Kenſington, *to the Duke.*

My Nobleſt Lord,

I Find the Queen-Mother hath the only power of Governing in this State; and I am glad to find it ſo, ſince ſhe promiſeth and profeſſeth, to uſe it to do careful and good Offices in the way of encreaſing the Friendſhip that is between us and this State, and likewiſe to relieve and aſſiſt the United Provinces, the which they are preparing to do fully and bravely; for ſhe hath now a clear ſight of the Pretenſions of the King of *Spain* unto the Monarchy of Chriſtendom: During the abſence of the King, who went out of this Town early the next day after I arrived here (before I was prepared to attend him) I have been often at the *Louvre*, where I had the Honour to entertain the Queen-Mother. She was willing to know upon what Terms ſtood our *Spaniſh* Alliance; I told her that their Delays had been ſo tedious, that they had ſomewhat diſcouraged the King; and had ſo wearied the Prince and State, with the dilatory proceedings in it, as that Treaty (I thought) would ſoon have an end: She ſtrait ſaid of Marriage, taking it that way; I told her I believed the contrary; and I did ſo the rather, becauſe the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador hath given it out, ſince my coming, that the Alliance is fully concluded, and that my Journey had no other end, than to haſten his Maſter unto it, only to give them Jealouſies of me, becauſe he at this time fears their Diſpoſitions ſtand too well prepared to deſire and affect a Conjunction with us. And truly, his Report and Inſtruments have given ſome Jealouſies to the Perſons of Power in this State, eſpecially ſince they find I can ſay nothing directly unto them; yet thus much I have directly from them. *Monſieur de Vievielle*, and others) but he is the chief Guider of all Affairs here) That never was the Affection of any State ſo prepared to accept all Offers of Amity and Alliance, ſo we will clearly, and as diſengaged Perſons, ſeek it, as is this: But as a wiſe Miniſter, he ſays, That until we have wholly and truly abandoned the Treaty with *Spain*, they may loſe the Friendſhip of a Brother-in-Law, that is already ſo, in hope of gaining another that they may fail of. But when we ſhall ſee it really, by a publick Commiſſion, that may declare all diſſolved that touches upon the way of *Spain*, we ſhall then underſtand their Hearts not to be capable of more joy, than that will bring them. And the Queen-Mother told me, ſhe had not loſt thoſe Inclinations that ſhe hath heretofore expreſſed, to deſire her Daughter may be given to the Prince; with many words of value unto the King, and Perſon of the Prince; and more than this ſhe could not (ſhe thought) well ſay, it being moſt natural for the Woman to be demanded and ſought. It is moſt certain, that under-hand *Spain* hath done all that is poſſible to procure this State to liſten to a croſs Marriage; but here they are now ſo well underſtood, as this Bait will not be ſwallowed by them. This I have from a grave and honeſt Man, that would not be brought to juſtifie it; therefore he muſt not hear of it. It is the *Savoy* Embaſſador, that is Reſident here, a wiſe and gallant Gentleman, who vows this to be moſt true. So general a deſire was never expreſſed, as is here, for Alliance with us: And if the King and Prince have as many Reaſons of State at this time, beſides their infinite Affection, to have it ſo continued, let it be roundly and clearly purſued; and then I dare promiſe as reſpective ſatisfactory a Reception as can be imagined or deſired. And if it were not too much ſawcineſs for me to adviſe, I could wiſh that the Propoſitions of a League and Marriage may not come together, but may be treated a-part: For I doubt whether it may not be thought a little diſhonourable for this King to give his Siſter conditionally, that if he will make War upon the King of *Spain* his Brother, we will make the Alliance with him: On the other part, if the League ſhould be propounded here, with all thoſe Reaſons of State that are now preſſing for them to make it, they have cauſes to doubt, and ſo have we too, that we may be both interrupted in that; for certainly the King of *Spain* will (if he can poſſibly) pleaſe one ſide, the which, they think here, may be us, with the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*; and we may likewiſe fear may be them, with the rendring of the *Valtoline*, theſe being the only open Quarrels we muſt ground upon. Now as long as theſe Doubts may poſſeſs us both, this will prove a tedious and jealous Work on both ſides; but if we fall ſpeedily upon a Treaty, and concluſion of a Marriage, the which will find (I am perſwaded) no long Delays here; neither will they ſtrain us to any unreaſonableneſs in Conditions for our Catholicks (as far as I can find) then will it be a fit time for to conclude a League, the which they will then for certain do, when all doubts and fears of falling off, are, by this Conjunction, taken away, and the neceſſity of their own affairs, and ſafety, will then make them more deſire it than we; and ſo would

would they now, if they could think it ſo ſure, and ſo honourable for them: For the King of *Spain* hath ſo embraced them of all ſides, as they fear, and juſtly, that he will one day cruſh them to their deſtruction. My Lord, I do not preſume to ſay any thing immediately to the King, through your hands, this I know will paſs unto him; and if he ſhould find any weakneſs in this that I have preſumed to ſay, let the ſtrength of your Favour exerciſe thoſe accuſtomed Nobleneſſes that you have always expreſſed unto

Your Grace's moſt humble and obliged Servant,

Kenſington.

POST-SCRIPT.

"Within theſe few days your Grace ſhall hear again from me; for as yet I have not ſeen the King, no otherwiſe than the firſt Night I arrived here. This Night he is come unto the Town again.

The Lord Kenſington, *to the Prince.*

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

I Find here ſo infinite a value of your Perſon and Vertue, as what Inſtrument ſoever (my ſelf the very weakeſt) having ſome Commands (as they imagine) from you ſhall receive exceſs of Honours from them. They will not conceive me, ſcarce receive me, but as a publick Inſtrument for the Service of an Alliance, that above all the things in this World, they do ſo earneſtly deſire. The Queen-mother hath expreſſed, as far as ſhe thinks is fit for the Honour of her Daughter, great favour and good-will in it. I took the boldneſs to tell her (the which ſhe took extreamly well) that if ſuch a Propoſition ſhould be made, your Highneſs could not believe, that ſhe had loſt her former Inclinations and Deſires in it: She ſaid, your truſt of her ſhould find great reſpect; there is no preparation I find towards this Buſineſs but by her, and all perſwaſions of Amity made light, that look not towards this end. And, Sir, if your Intentions proceed this way, as by many Reaſons of State and Wiſdom (there is cauſe now rather to preſs it than ſlaken it) you will find a Lady of as much lovelineſs and ſweetneſs to deſerve your Affection, as any Creature under Heaven can do. And, Sir, by all her Faſhions ſince my being here, and by what I hear from the Ladies, it is moſt viſible to me, her infinite value, and reſpect unto you. Sir, I ſay not this to betray your belief, but from a true obſervation, and knowledge of this to be ſo: I tell you this, and muſt ſomewhat more, in way of admiration of the Perſon of Madam; for the Impreſſions I had of her were but ordinary, but the amazement extraordinary to find her, as I proteſt to God I did, the ſweeteſt Creature in *France*. Her Growth is very little, Short of her age; and her Wiſdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her diſcourſe with her Mother, and the Ladies about her, with extraordinary diſcretion and quickneſs. She dances (the which I am a witneſs of) as well as ever I ſaw any Creature: They ſay ſhe ſings moſt ſweetly, I am ſure ſhe looks ſo. Sir, you have thouſands of Servants here, that deſire to be commanded by you, but moſt particularly the D. of *Chevereux*, and *Monſieur le Grand*, who ſeek all opportunities to do you Service, and have Credit and Power to do ſo. Sir, if theſe that are Strangers are thus ambitious of your Commands, with what infinite paſſion have I cauſe to beg them, that am your Vaſſal, and have no other Glory but to ſerve you, as your Highneſs, &c.

Feb. 26. 1624. *Kenſington.*

POST-SCRIPT.

Sir, The Obligations you have unto this young Queen are ſtrange, for with that ſame affection that the Queen your Siſter would do, ſhe asks of you with all the expreſſions that are poſſible of joy, for your ſafe return out of *Spain*; and told me, that ſhe durſt ſay, you were weary with being there, and ſo ſhould ſhe, though ſhe be a *Spaniard*; yet I find ſhe gives over all thought of your Alliance with her Siſter. Sir, you have the fortune to have reſpects put upon you unlook'd for; for as in *Spain* the Queen there did you good Offices; ſo I find will this ſweet Queen do: Who ſaid, ſhe was ſorry when you ſaw them practiſe their Maſques, that Madam her Siſter (whom ſhe dearly loves) was ſeen at ſo much diſadvantage by you, to be ſeen afar off, and in a dark Room, whoſe perſon and face hath moſt lovelineſs to be conſidered nearly. She made me ſhew her your Picture, the which ſhe let the Ladies ſee, with infinite Commendations of your Perſon, ſaying, She hoped ſome good occaſion might bring you hither, that they might ſee you like your ſelf.

The Lord Kenſington, *to the Prince.*

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

I Cannot but make you continual repetitions of the value you have here to be (as juſtly we know you) the moſt compleat young Prince and Perſon in the World. This Reputation hath begotten in the ſweet Princeſs Madam ſo infinite an affection to your Fame, as ſhe could not contain her ſelf from a paſſionate deſiring to ſee your Picture, the ſhadow of that Perſon ſo honoured; and knowing not by what means to compaſs it, it being worn about my neck; for though others, as the Queen and Princeſſes would open it, and conſider it, the which ever brought forth admiration from them yet durſt not this poor young Lady look any otherwiſe on it than afar off, whoſe Heart was nearer it than any of the others that did moſt gaze upon it. But at the laſt (rather than want that ſight the which ſhe was ſo impatient of) ſhe deſired the Gentlewoman of the Houſe where I am lodged, that had been her Servant, to borrow of me the Picture, in all the ſecrecy that may be, and to bring it unto her, ſaying, She could not want that Curioſity, as well as others, towards a perſon of his infinite Reputation. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw the party that brought it, ſhe retired into her Cabinet, calling only her in; where ſhe opened the Picture in ſuch haſte as ſhewed a true Picture of her paſſion, bluſhing in the inſtant at her own guiltineſs. She kept it an hour in her hands, and when ſhe returned it, ſhe gave it many praiſes of your Perſon. Sir, this is a buſineſs ſo fit for your ſecrecy, as I know it ſhall never go farther than unto the King your Father, my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, and my Lord of *Carliſle*'s knowledge. A tenderneſs in this is honourable; for I would rather dye a thouſand times, than it ſhould be publiſhed, ſince I am by this young Lady truſted, that is for Beauty and Goodneſs an Angel.

I have received from my Lord of *Buckingham* an advertiſement, that your Highneſs's Opinion is to treat of the general League firſt, that will prepare the other.

Sir, whatſoever ſhall be propounded will have a noble acceptation; though this, give me leave to tell you, when you are free, as by the next News we ſhall know you to be, they will expect, that upon thoſe Declarations they have here already made towards that particularity of the Alliance, that your Highneſs will go that readier and nearer way to unite and faſten by that knot the Affection of theſe Kingdoms.

Sir, for the general, they all here ſpeak that Language that I ſhould, and do, unto them, of the Power and Uſurpation of the *Spaniards*, of the approaches they make to this Kingdom, the danger of the Low Countries, the direct Conqueſt of *Germany* and the *Valtoline*. By which means we have cauſe to joyn in oppoſition of the Ambitions and Mightineſs of this King. The which, they all here ſay, cannot be ſo certainly done as by an Alliance with us. This they ſpeak perpetually, and urge it unto my conſideration.

Sir, unleſs we proceed very roundly, though they be never ſo well affected, we may have interruptions by the Arts of *Spain*, that make Offers infinite to the advantage of this State, at this time. But they hearken to none of them, until they ſee our Intentions towards them. The which if they find to be real indeed, they will give us brave ſatisfaction.

But, Sir, your Fathers and your Will, not my Opinion, muſt be followed; and what Commandments your Highneſs ſhall give me ſhall be moſt ſtrictly obeyed by the moſt devoted,

Your Highneſs's moſt dutiful,
and humble Servant,
Kenſington.

The Lord Kenſington, *to the Duke.*

My Lord,

I Have already acquainted your Grace how generally our Deſires are met with here; much more cannot be ſaid, than I have already, for that purpoſe. There was never known, in this Kingdom ſo entire an agreement for any thing, as for an Alliance with *England*, the Count of *Soiſons* only accepted, who had ſome pretenſions unto Madam; but thoſe are now much diſcouraged, upon a free diſcourſe the Cardinal of *Rochfalcout* made unto the Counteſs his Mother; telling her, That if ſhe or her Son believ'd, or could expect the King would give him his Siſter in Marriage, they would (as he conceived) deceive themſelves; for he imagined, upon good grounds, that the King would beſtow his Siſter that way that might be moſt for her Honour and Advancement, and likewiſe for the advantage

vantage of his Crown and Kingdom; and he profeſſed, for his part, although he much honored the Court, as a great Prince of the Blood, yet was he ſo faithful unto his Maſter, as he would adviſe him to that purpoſe.

The Queen-Mother and Monſieur *Le Grand* have adviſed me to ſay ſomething unto the King concerning my Buſineſs. I told them, I could ſay nothing very directly unto him, and yet would I not ſo much as deliver my Opinion of the King my Maſters Inclinations to wiſh an Alliance with him, unleſs I were aſſured, his Anſwers might make me ſee his Value and Reſpect unto him. They then ſpake unto him, and aſſured me, I ſhould in that be ſatisfied. Having that promiſe from them, I told the King, that I had made this Journey of purpoſe to declare unto him my humble Service and Thankfulneſs for all his Honors and Favors, the which I thought I could not better expreſs, than by informing his Majeſty, that our Prince, whom he had ever ſo much valued, would be, as I conceived, free, and diſengaged from our *Spaniſh* Treaty, by reaſon that the King could not find them anſwer his Expectation in thoſe things that made him principally deſire their Conjunction; the which your Lordſhip, ſeeing you have exerciſed your Intereſt and Credit with the King your Maſter, and the Prince, to convert thoſe Thoughts towards his Majeſty, from whom you were perſwaded nothing but Truth and Honor would be returned, the which at this time, more than ever, would be an infinite Advantage to both theſe Kingdoms, and that, I believe, if his Majeſty would ſhew a Diſpoſition as affectionate to receive Propoſitions to this purpoſe, as the King my Maſter had to make them a long time would not paſs before the Effects of this might appear; the which would ſhew the Report raiſed here of the Ends of my Coming to be falſe, and me to be free of all other Deſigns than thoſe which I had expreſſed unto him. He told me, that he had not heard that the *Spaniſh* Match was yet broken, the which juſtly might give him cauſe to be reſerved; yet thus far he would aſſure me, in the general, That whatſoever ſhould be propounded unto him from the King of Great *Britain*, he would moſt heartily and affectionately receive it: but this was with ſuch a Faſhion of Courteſie, as ſhewed that he deſired Cauſe to have ſaid more; and I am fully ſatisfied not only from him, but the Queen, and (moſt of all) of Madam her ſelf, who ſhews all the Sweetneſs and Contentment that may be; and likewiſe from all the Officers of the Crown and State, that they can deſire nothing equal with this Alliance. A better and more large Preparation than this my Inſtructions cannot make; and I wonder to ſee it thus fair, conſidering the Hinderances and Defaceings the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador deſires to caſt upon it, who, beſides the *Rodomontado*'s and Threatnings of the Preparations of his Maſter, doth here take a contrary, but cunning way, letting them know, that the Prince cannot have two Wives, for their *Infanta* is ſurely his, only to create a jealouſie and Shineſs in them towards me, that (he ſuſpects) labors to do Offices that are not to his liking.

You will therefore, I hope, ſpeedily put this State out of theſe Doubts, and clearly and freely proceed with them. Upon my Credit and Reputation, they are all of that Diſpoſition that we can wiſh them to be; and it appears, by their tender Care of the States, and their Reſolution to aid them: And likewiſe in ſending Captain *Coborn*, that came from the Duke of *Brunſwick* to demand a Supply of Men, who is returned with Anſwer unto him, that he ſhall have double what he required, and great Satisfaction to the Count *Manſfelt*, that ſent a Gentleman hither, to let the King know, he was not yet in ſuch Diſorder, but that he could aſſemble his Troops to ſuch a Number as might do his Majeſty good Service, if he would be pleaſed to take him into his Protection and Favor.

And the King hath ſent a Gentleman of the Religion, a *Sedanois*, to *Leige*, to give Information to this State of the Proceedings of the *Spaniards* there, and to be ready to receive (if the Town ſhall ſeek it) the Protection of them. But theſe Paſſages I am ſure you continually underſtand from our Embaſſador, the which makes me omit many Particulars in this kind, that I could inform you of. I have ſent this Bearer of purpoſe, the which I beſeech your Grace return with ſome ſpeed, and with him the Reſolutions of our dear and ſacred Maſter, whom God ever bleſs and keep to our Glory and Comfort.

My Lord,
I am the Humbleſt,
and moſt obliged of all your Grace's Servants,

Kenſington.

The Lord Kenſington, *to the Duke.*

My Lord,

YEſternight, being Sunday, I arrived ſafe here at *Paris*. I was informed as ſoon as I came, that the King was reſolved, after ſight of the Queens Maſque (that was to be performed that ſame Night) that he would go a private Journey, for five or ſix days, to *Shautelie*, a Houſe of Monſieur *de Memorancies*.

Being deſirous therefore to kiſs his Hands before his going, and to ſee the Court in that Glory and Luſtre, as muſt for certain be found upon ſuch an extraordinary Occaſion, I went to the *Louvre* to the Duke of *Chevereux*'s Chamber, where I found him and his Lady apparelling themſelves for the Maſque, and in ſuch infinite Riches of Jewels, as I ſhall never be a Beholder of the like worn by Subjects. I had not been there above an hour, but the Queen and Madam came thither, where they ſtaid a great while. And it was obſerved, that Madam hath ſeldom put on a more chearful Countenance than that Night. There were ſome that told me, I might gueſs at the Cauſe of it. My Lord, I proteſt to God, ſhe is a lovely, ſweet young Creature. Her Growth is not great yet, but her Shape is perfect; and they all ſwear, that her Siſter, the Princeſs of *Piedmont* (who is now grown a tall and a goodly Lady) was not taller than ſhe is, at her Age. I thought the Queen would have put a Faſhion of Reſervation upon me, as not pleaſed with the Breach and Diſorder of the Spaniſh Treaty; but I found it far otherwiſe. She is ſo truly *French*, as (it is imagined) ſhe rather wiſhes this Alliance, than with her own Siſter. The King (that was ſo early to go out of the Town) took his Reſt, while the Ladies were making themſelves ready; but as ſoon as he waked, he ſent for me, and purpoſed to have received me as an Embaſſador: But I intreated the Duke of *Chevereux* before I went, to let him underſtand, that I came as an humble and thankful Servant, only to kiſs his Majeſty's Hands, and had no other End than to do him Service. He then received me with much Freedom and Chearfulneſs, with many Queſtions how the King is ſatisfied with his Preſent by Monſieur *de Bonevan*, who, when I related the Kings liking, and Value of it, he was infinitely pleaſed. He commanded me to attend him to the Maſque, which was danced by ſixteen of the greateſt Princes of *France*, St. *Luke* only being by the Queen received amongſt them, to put a ſingular Honour and Value upon her. The King with his Brother had danced a Maſque the laſt Tueſday, with the ſame Number of Perſons of the beſt Quality; who this Night were to caſt Lots, who ſhould dance with the ſixteen Ladies, they only being allowed to dance with them. And all thoſe were ſo infinitely rich in Jewels (Embroidery of Gold and Silver being here forbidden) as they had almoſt all imbroidered their Clothes as thick with Diamonds, as uſually with Perle.

I cannot give your Lordſhip any particular Account of my Service in any thing, yeſternight being an unproper time for any ſuch thing: But I am adviſed by the Prince *Jenvile* to ſtay here till the Kings Return, and I ſhall underſtand how all things ſtand; and that no Mans Affection is ſo ſtraight and true for the Service of the King and Prince as his is, who of himſelf falls into paſſionate Wiſhes for an Alliance, but tells me, in much Liberty, they have been informed the Cauſe and Plot of my Journey was to ſet an Edge upon *Spain*, rather to cut off their Delays, than to cut the Throat of the Buſineſs. But I gave him great Satisfaction in that Point.

My Lord, theſe are Paſſages of my firſt Nights being here, Matters of Ceremony; and yet I omit much of that. I thought theſe too ſlight to trouble his Majeſty, or the Prince with, yet I thought fit, ſince this Meſſenger goes, to let you ſee this outward Show and Face of this Court, to have as much Sweetneſs, Smoothneſs and Clearneſs towards our Deſign, as is poſſible. My next Letters ſhall inform you of a further Search made by me, the which I am confident will be of the ſame Nature. And I conceive it the rather, becauſe I find them in a great Alarum at the News that they have received from *Leige*, that the King of *Spain* makes a Fort upon the Ruine there, to command both that and the Town. This, they ſay, hath made them more clearly ſee his vaſt Ambition to enlarge his Monarchy, and do all ſpeak the careful and honeſt Language of our lower Houſe Men, how it may be prevented.

I have ſaid enough, the Meſſenger, I dare ſay, thinks too much; yet this I will add, That I will ſtudy to make it appear to the World, and your ſelf, by a thankful Heart, and to God himſelf in my Prayers for your Lordſhip, that I am

Your Lordſhip's moſt devoted,
and moſt humble Servant
Kenſington.

POSTSCRIPT.

IF the *French* Embaſſador, or my Lord of *Carlile*, wonder I have not written unto them, I beſeech your Lordſhip, let them know this Meſſenger is not of my ſending, and in ſuch haſte as he cannot be ſtayed.

The

The Lord Kenſington, *to the Lord* Conway.

Right Honorable,

ACcording to his Majeſty's Order, which your laſt of *April* the 14*th* derived unto me, I have repreſented ſuch Reaſons to the King, and his Miniſters of State here, againſt the ſending of any Perſon, in what Quality ſoever, to the Duke of *Bavaria*, as they acquieſce in them, eſpecially for that they come commanded under his Majeſties Deſire, which they profeſs to be very willing to comply with, not only in this, but in any other Occaſion wherein his Majeſty may directly, or indirectly, be any way intereſſed.

I took the ſame Opportunity of preparing the way a little farther to a formal Treaty of alliance, by feeling once again their Pulſe in Matters of Religion, and find, that it beats ſo temperately, as promiſes a very good Criſis of any thing that may concern that particular.

I dealt plainly with the Marqueſs *de la Vieville*, touching the Courſe that his Majeſty may be driven to hold againſt Jeſuits and Prieſts, of baniſhing them the Kingdom; and of quickning the Laws againſt other Catholicks, as well out of neceſſity of reducing them within the Bounds of Sobriety and Obedience, as of keeping good Intelligence with his Parliament, without which he could not poſſibly go thorow with ſuch a weighty Work as he is now to undertake. He approved of the Courſe for the Ends Sake; under hope, notwithſtanding, that his Majeſty would not tye his own Hands from ſome moderate Favor hereafter, which is all they pretend unto, and deſire it may flow from the Mediation of this State, upon an Alliance here, for the ſaving of their Honor, who otherwiſe will be hardly reputed Catholicks.

In repreſenting a Facility in theſe things, I leave no other Difficulties to be imagined.

Their good Inclination to the Match, in general, they are willing to demonſtrate (as by many other Evidences, ſo) by the Care they are now under, of lodging and defraying my Lord of *Carliſle*, and my ſelf, in a more ſplendid and magnifick manner than ever yet they did any Embaſſador whatſoever; for ſuch is the Language that *Ville-aux Cleres* holds to me upon that Subject.

The Count of *Soiſſons* ſees it, and ſtorms, and manifeſts his Diſcontent towards me (who am the Inſtrument) more fully than diſcreetly. I encountred him the other day, and gave him the Due that belonged to his Rank; but inſtead of returning me my Salute, he diſdainfully turned Back his Head. I was ſomewhat ſenſible thereof, and I told *Monſieur de Grandmont* of it; and as he and I were diſcourſing of it the day following, *Soiſſons* offered himſelf full butt upon us a ſecond time. I again repeated my Courteſie, and he his childiſh Incivility. *Grandmont* found it ſtrange, and intimated to the Marqueſs *de la Velette*, a Familiar and Confident of the Counts, both my Obſervation, and his own Diſtaſte of ſuch an uncivil kind of Proceeding. *Valette* conveys the ſame to *Soiſſons* himſelf, who anſwered, that he could not afford me a better Countenance, not for any ill Will he bore unto my Perſon, but to my Errand and Negotiation; which (were it not in the Behalf of ſo great a Prince) went ſo near his Heart, as he profeſſed, he would cut my Throat if he could. Nay, were any Prince of *Savoy*, *Mantua* or *Germany*, here in Perſon to ſollicite for themſelves, in the like Nature, he would hazard his Life in the Cauſe. Such is the Language that Deſpair brings forth, which put me into an Expectation of no leſs than a Challenge, to decide the Quarrel. And I once verily believed it ſent; for the Count *de Lude* came very ſoberly to me, and told me, he had a Meſſage to deliver me from a great Perſonage, which he intreated he might do without Offence.

I deſired him to ſpeak freely what it was, and from whom. He told me he was ſent by the Count of *Soiſſons*; and I preſently replyed, that nothing ſhould come amiſs from him. In concluſion, the Errand was to ſignifie an extream Liking that the Count took to one of my Horſes, which he was deſirous to buy of me at any Rate. I anſwered, that if the Count would expreſs to me his Deſire himſelf, and receive him of Gift, he ſhould be at his Service, otherwiſe he ſhould remain ſtill as he was. Since that I have met him, and been preſented with a very courteous Salute from him. I have been thus ample in theſe particular paſſages betwixt the Count and my ſelf, that by the Trouble you find in his diſconſolate Breaſt, you may judge of the Conſtancy of Madams Heart towards our Prince, upon whom, aſſuredly, it is moſt ſtrongly ſet (as ſhe continually expreſſes upon all Occaſions.) Yeſterday I had the Honor to entertain her two hours together, and received ſo many Teſtimonies of Reſpect, as witneſſed very warm Affections towards the Perſonage I did repreſent. Amongſt other Diſcourſe, ſhe fell to ſpeak of Ladies Riding on Horſeback, which, ſhe ſaid, was rare here, but frequent in *England*, and then expreſſed her Delight in that Exerciſe.

There is lately arrived here a *French* Gentleman (*Dupont* by Name) with Commiſſion from the King of *Bohemia* to ſollicit this Kings Favor (in conſequence of his Majeſty's generous and gracious Declaration in his Behalf) for the Recovering of his rightful Inherirance, to intreat that *Bavaria* may no ways be countenanced in his unjuſt Pretenſions, and to crave (in this his Extremity) a Re-imburſment of the Remainder of that Sum which his Father lent to *Henry* the Fourth in the Times of his

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Neceſſities, which may ariſe to the Sum of 30000 Crowns; the facilitating of this Negotiation is recommended unto me, who contribute what I can to the good Succeſs thereof. There hath happened here, this laſt *Monday*, a Diſpute between the Marqueſs *de Courtenvant*, one of the firſt Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, and the Colonel *de Ornano* (*Monſieur*'s Governor) about a Lodging, which is pretended unto as moſt convenient for him, in regard that it adjoyned to that of *Monſieur*'s; but the other claimed a Right unto it by a former Aſſignation and Poſſeſſion. *Ornano* at the firſt prevailed, till the other complained to the King, who commanded the Colonel to quit the Lodging to him; which his People refuſing (out of a Preſumption, perhaps, that the Commandment was rather formal than real) the King ſent three or four of his Guard to reiterate the Commandment, and, in caſe of refuſal to obey, to caſt out all the Stuff, and to kill all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe. Thus *Courtenvant* got the Day; perhaps by *Vievilles* Recommendation, in Oppoſition of *Toirax*, between whom there hath been lately a little Conteſtation, upon this Occaſion. *Vieville* being deſirous to ſtrengthen himſelf, and to ſtand upon the ſureſt Bottom he could, endeavored to joyn a Confident of his in equal Commiſſion with the *Garde des Seaux*, that ſo he might in time work it out, and prevail himſelf of that Office at his Devotion. The *Garde des Seaux* finding feeble Reſiſtance in himſelf, addreſſed his Courſe to *Toirax*, to ſeek under his covert Shelter from that Diſgrace and Injury. *Toirax* undertakes his Defence; *Vieville* expoſtulates the Matter with him, and alledges many Reaſons to juſtifie his Intentions; which the other gainſaying, with ſome little Warmneſs, hath occaſioned by that Heat, a Coldneſs of Affection between them ever ſince, and that ſo far forth, as it hath grown to be notorious.

To the ſame Original I reduce the Cardinal *de Richlieu*'s Introduction into the Council of the Cabinet by the Favor of *Vieville* (being made alſo an Inſtrument thereunto by the Queen) that by making his own Party ſtrong in Council, he may the more eaſily cruſh any Adverſary that ſhall graple with him. Yeſterday he was admitted; ſo that now that Council is compoſed of the Queen Mother, the Cardinal *de la Rouchfoulcant*, *Richlieu*, the Conſtable *Vieville*, and the *Garde de Seaux*.

Before I had finiſhed this Letter, I had occaſion to viſit the Conſtable, to whom I uſed the ſame Language that formerly I had done to *la Vieville*, and with the like Approbation. And when I touched upon the Point of Diſpenſation, how it might be paſſed over, he aſſured me, in general, that ſuch was the Diſpoſition of this King and State to give the Prince Content, as he might be (in a manner) his own Carver how he pleaſed.

This is the Account I can give you of the Publick; but how ſhall I expreſs the deep Senſe I have of my Obligations to your Favor in particular? Shall I multiply Thanks? It is too ordinary a Payment for ſo many Noble Expreſſions of your Love. I will rather endeavor by my Deeds conſtantly and continually to witneſs unto you, that I entirely reſt

Your moſt Faithful,
and moſt Humble Servant,
Kenſington.

The Lord of Kenſington, *to the Duke.*

My moſt dear, and Noble Lord,

BEſides that joynt Letter to your Lordſhip, from my Colleague and my ſelf, I think fit to add this Particular account of what paſſed yeſterday at *Ruel*, betwixt the Queen Mother and me; whither going to give her double Thanks; as for the Liberty ſhe had given me of acceſs at all times to Madam, to entertain her, henceforth, with a more free and amorous kind of Language from the Prince; ſo for having ſo readily condeſcended to an humble Suit of mine, in the Behalf of my Lord of *Carlile*, for a favorable Letter for him to your Lordſhip; ſhe was pleaſed to oblige me farther, in telling me ſhe did it meerly for my ſake. I redoubled my Thanks, and added, that I knew your Lordſhip would eſteem it one of the greateſt Happineſſes that could befall you, to have an Occaſion offered, whereby you might witneſs, how much you adored her Majeſties Royal Vertues, and how infinitely you were her Servant, ready to receive Law from her, whenſoever, by the leaſt Syllable of her bleſſed Lips or Pen, ſhe ſhould pleaſe to impoſe it. And this I did (as on the one ſide to gratifie my Colleague, who would be infinitely ſenſible of the Diſgrace he apprehends in the Miſs of the *Ribbond*, being thus brought upon the Stage for it) as alſo to help to meſnage that your gracious Favor which *Monſieur de Fiatts* to my Lord repreſents unto him, by giving you Means withal to oblige this ſweet and bleſſed Queen, who hath your Lordſhip in a very high Account, and woud be glad to find Occaſions how ſhe may witneſs it. The mention of my Lord of *Carlile* upon this Occaſion refreſhed her

her Remembrance of the late falling out betwixt the Cardinal and him; and though ſhe were ſufficiently informed of the Particulars by the Cardinal himſelf, yet ſhe would needs have a Relation from me, who in a merry kind of Faſhion obeyed her Command, and ſalved every thing the beſt I could. She would needs know my Opinion of the Cardinal, who ſo magnified to her his Wiſdom, his Courage, his Courteſie, his Fidelity to her Service, his Affection to our Buſineſs, as pleaſed her not a little. Neither did my Heart and my Tongue differ, for I eſteem him ſuch. This Diſcourſe ſhe left to fall upon a better Subject, the Prince, concerning whoſe Voyage into *Spain*, the Cenſure of *Italy* (ſhe ſaid) was, that two Kings had therein committed two great Errors. The one in adventuring ſo precious a Pledge to ſo hazardous an Enterpriſe, the other in badly uſing ſo brave a Gueſt. The firſt, Madam, (anſwered I) may be excuſed from the End, the common Good of all Chriſtendom, which then ſtanding upon deſperate Terms, had need of a deſperate Remedy. The ſecond had need of a better Advocate than I, to put any Colour of Defence upon it.

But his Highneſs had obſerved as great a Weakneſs and Folly as that, in that after they had uſed him ſo ill, they would ſuffer him to depart, which was one of the firſt Speeches he uttered after he was entred into the Ship. But did he ſay ſo? ſaid the Queen. Yes Madam, I will aſſure you (quoth I) from the Witneſs of mine own Ears. She ſmiled, and replied, Indeed I heard he was uſed ill. So he was (anſwered I) but not in his Entertainment, for that was as ſplendid as that Country could afford it, but in their frivolous Delays, and in the unreaſonable Conditions which they propounded, and preſſed (upon the Advantage they had of his princely Perſon.) And yet (ſmiling, added I) you here (Madam) uſe him far worſe. And how ſo? preſently demanded ſhe, In that you preſs (quoth I) upon that moſt worthy, and noble Prince (who hath with ſo much Affection to your Majeſty's Service, ſo much Paſſion to Madam, ſought this Alliance.) The ſame, nay, more unreaſonable Conditions than the other, and what they traced out for the breaking of the Match, you follow, pretending to conclude it very unreaſonably in this Conjuncture of time, eſpecially when the jealouſies that ſuch great Changes in State are apt to beget are cunningly fomented by the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador in *England*, who vaunts it forth, that there is not ſo great a Change in *La Vievilles* particular Perſon, as there is in the general Affections, which did but follow before the Stream of his Greatneſs and Credit.

Thus caſting in the King's Mind the Seed of Doubts, whereunto the *Conde de Olivares* in *Spain* hath been willing to contribute by this braving Speech, to our Royal Maſter's Embaſſador there: That if the Pope ever granted a Diſpenſation for the Match with *France*, the King of *Spain* would march with an Army towards *Rome* and ſack it. *Vrayement nous l en empeſcherous bien* (promptly anſwered ſhe) *Car nous lui taglierous aſſez de beſongne ailleurs. Mais qu' eſt-ce qui vous preſſe le plus.* I repreſented unto her the unfitneſs of the ſeventh Article (even qualified by that Interpretation that it is) and the Impoſſibility of the laſt, which requires and preſcribes an Oath. And deſired that the Honor of the Prince (with whom ſhe pretended a Will to match her Daughter) might be dearer to her, than to be balanced with that which could add nothing to their Aſſurance. I alſo humbly beſought her to imploy her Credit with the King her Son, and her Authority with the Miniſters for a Reformation of thoſe two Articles eſpecially, and a friendly and ſpeedy Diſpatch of all.

And if we muſt come to that Extremity, that more could not be altered than already was, yet, at leaſt, ſhe would procure the Allowance of this Proteſtation, by the King our Maſter, when he ſhould ſwear them, that he intended no further to oblige himſelf by that Oath, than might well ſtand with the Safety, Peace, Tranquility, and Conveniency of his State. This ſhe thought reaſonable, and promiſed to ſpeak with the King and Cardinal about it. And if you ſpeak as you can (replied I) I know it will be done, Though when all is done, I know not whether the King my Maſter will condeſcend ſo far, yea, or no. Here I intreated I might weary her Majeſty no farther, but take the Liberty ſhe had pleaſed to give me, in entertaining Madam with ſuch Commandments as the Prince had charged me withal to her. She would needs know what I would ſay. Nay, then (ſmiling quoth I) your Majeſty will impoſe upon me the like Law that they in *Spain* did upon his Highneſs. But the Caſe is now different (ſaid ſhe) for there the Prince was in Perſon, here is but his Deputy. But a Deputy (anſwered I) that repreſents his Perſon. *Mais pour tout cela (dit elle) qu' eſt ce que vous direz? Rien (dis re) qui ne Soit digne des oreilles d'vne ſi vertueuſe Princeſs. Mais qu' eſt ce?* redoubled ſhe. Why then, Madam (quoth I) if you will needs know, it ſhall be much to this effect, That your Majeſty having given me the Liberty of ſome freer Language than heretofore, I obey the Prince his Command, in preſenting to her his Service, not by way of Complement any longer, but out of Paſſion and Affection, which both her outward and her inward Beauties (the Vertues of her Mind) ſo kindled in him, as he was reſolved to contribute the uttermoſt he could to the Alliance in queſtion, and would think it the greateſt Happineſs in the World, if the Succeſs thereof might miniſter Occaſion of expreſſing, in a better and more effectual manner, his Devotion to her Service; with ſome little other ſuch like amorous Language. *Allez, Allez, Il n'y a point de danger en tout cela* (ſmilingly anſwered ſhe) *je me fie en vous, je me fie en vous.* Neither did I abuſe her Truſt, for I varied not much from it, in delivering it to Madam, ſave that I amplified it to her a little more, who drank it down with Joy, and with a low Courteſie acknowledged it to

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the Prince; adding, that ſhe was extreamly obliged to his Highneſs, and would think her ſelf happy in the occaſion that ſhould be preſented of meriting the place ſhe had in his good Graces Affection.

After that, I turned my ſpeech to the old Ladies that attended, and told them, That ſith the Queen was pleaſed to give me this liberty, it would be henceforth fit for them to ſpeak a ſuitable Language. I let them know, that his Highneſs had her Picture, which he kept in his Cabinet, and fed his Eyes many times with the ſight and contemplation of it; ſith he could not have the happineſs to behold her perſon. All which, and other ſuch-like ſpeeches, ſhe (ſtanding by) took up, without letting any one fall to the ground.

But I fear your Lordſhip will think I gather together too much to enlarge my Letter thus far: But it is, that by theſe Circumſtances your Lordſhip may make a perfect Judgment of the iſſue of our Negotiation, which I doubt not but will ſucceed to his Majeſty's, his Highneſs's, and your Lordſhip's contentment: And ſo yield matter of triumph to you, and infinite joy to me

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble, and
moſt obliged, and moſt obedient Servant,
Kenſington.

The Lord Kenſington, *to the Duke.*

My moſt dear Lord,

THis Bearer your Couſin's going is in ſuch haſte, as what you receive from me muſt be in very few words. I was yeſterday with the Marqueſs *de Vieville*, whom I find cordial to do good Offices between ours and this Kingdom; and he aſſures me by all the Promiſes and Proteſtations that may be, he will ever uſe his Credit and Power to do ſo, knowing theſe Kingdoms can (as the King of *Spain*'s Power and Ambition increaſes) have no true ſafety and good, unleſs we joyn in friendſhip and alliance. He is very free to me, telling me, That to prevent this, the King of *Spain* offers now the largeſt Conditions of ſatisfaction and friendſhip that can be imagined; but their thoughts here, are wholly bent towards us: And although, as yet, the King cannot with Honour or Wiſdom ſay more than he hath done, yet we may be aſſured, when we are free, to be ſatisfied in all we can deſire.

This day I underſtand the Earl of *Argyle* is like lightning paſſed by from *Spain*, and by a ſpecial Command from the King, it is to put us in more terrour: That he will uſe his Service in *Scotland*, where I believe he hath little Credit and Power to offend us. But howſoever they omit nothing they may to diſhearten us; but we are of too noble and conſtant a temper, either to fear their Cunning or Power.

My Lord, give me leave to beſeech you, not to defer our buſineſs, for never can this State be found ſo rightly and truly inclin'd in Love and Affection towards us. And the rather haſten it, becauſe all the art that may be is daily uſed from *Spain* to prevent us, and if we go not roundly and clearly with them here, they may have Jealouſies and Diſcouragements, that may change them: Take them therefore now, when I dare promiſe they are free, very free from thoſe Thoughts. My Lord, pardon the haſte of this Letter, that hath no more time given me but to tell you, that you never can have any Servant more devotedly yours, than is

Your Grace's moſt obliged,
and moſt humble Servant,
Kenſington.

Mr. Lorkin, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

FRom an honeſt and truly devoted Heart to receive the Sacrifice of moſt humble Thanks, which come here offered for the exceſs of Favour which I behold in thoſe gracious Lines, that you are ſo nobly pleaſed to honour me withal; and which derive unto me, farther, the height of all Contentment, his Majeſty's gracious acceptance of my poor Endeavours; which howſoever they cannot ſhoot up to any high matter from ſo low an Earth, yet (in their greateſt force) are eternally vowed (with the price of my deareſt Blood) as to his Maſter's faithful Service, in the firſt place, ſo to your Grace's in the next; who have received, I doubt not, 'ere this, what my former promiſed

in

in the *Savoyard*'s Embaſſador's behalf, and that as well from his own Pen, as mine. But this State is a very *Euripus*, that flows and reflows ſeven times a day, and in whoſe ways is neither conſtancy nor truth. The Changes your Grace will find in my Letters to my Lord *Conway*, whereunto I therefore make reference, becauſe, I ſuppoſe, there will be but one Lecture thereof to his Majeſty, and your ſelf.

Therein, likewiſe, your Grace will ſee a ſudden Commandment laid upon *Monſieur de Blanville premiere Gentilhome de la Chambre du Roy*, ſpeedily to provide himſelf to go extraordinary Embaſſador into *England*. The cauſe thereof I rove at in my diſpatch, taking my aim from two dark ſpeeches to the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal. I have ſince learned the interpretation of the Riddle, not from the Cardinal's lips (who yet being ſounded by me) pretended a further end than *Ville aux-cleres* had done, *viz.* to entertain good intelligence betwixt the Queen of *England* and your Grace, and to do you all the beſt Offices and Services that are poſſible; but from the Duke *de Chevereux*, who (whatſoever Pretexts may be taken) makes the true end of that Voyage to be, firſt, to try whether this Man can mend what (they conceive here) the Duke hath marred, in ſhewing himſelf more a Servant to the King of *England*, than to his own King and Maſter. Secondly, to ſpy and diſcover what he can; and (according as he ſhould find cauſe) to frame Cabals and Factions, whereunto he is eſteemed very proper, being characterized with the Marks of a moſt ſubtile, prying, penetrating, and dangerous Man.

And therefore, as an Antidote againſt the Poiſon, he brings, the Duke gives this *Caveat* aforehand, That every one keep cloſe and covert towards him, and avoid familiarity with him, though, otherwiſe, he wiſhes him a kind and honourable entertainment.

Thus much I received from the Duke's own lips yeſternight (*Bonocil* being Witneſs, perhaps Counſellor of all that paſſed) he promiſed a Memorial in writing this day, which I have attended till this evening, and even now received it.

I have not touched the leaſt ſyllable hereof to my Lord *Conway*, becauſe I think both your Grace's, and the Duke *de Chevereux*'s Will, may concur in this, that theſe things be not ſubject to many Eyes.

Even now the *Savoy* Embaſſador ſends an expreſs Meſſenger unto me, to haſten to *Fountain-Bleau*: Perhaps, it may be, to facilitate the Treaty with *Rochel*, either by ſome Letter, or journey of mine thither.

But, upon the conference I have had with the Duke *de Chevereux*, I ſhall temporize, till I hear his Majeſty's pleaſure, or ſee good Evidences of generous Effects like to enſue; being deſirous to ſhape my courſe ſo as may be moſt acceptable to his Majeſty, and pleaſing to your Grace, whoſe Vertues I adore, in quality of

Your Grace's moſt humble, moſt faithful,
and moſt obedient Servant,
Tho. Lorkin

Aug. 30. 1625.

POST-SCRIPT.

The Duke *de Chevereux* expects the Cypher from your Grace, if I be not deceived.

Mr. Lorkin, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

TO read and conſider two contrary Advertiſements; the one given me on Munday evening by *des Porcheres*, who repeating what he had told me before (*D'avoir deſtrompé la Royne mere en mil & mil choſes*) aſſured me, that her thoughts were now ſo far changed from what they were, as ſhe remitted every thing to his Majeſty's pleaſure, to do what he liſt, provided that he attempted not upon the Conſcience of the Queen her Daughter (which was the only point ſhe was tender in, and ſcrupulous) that ſhe had written a very ſharp Letter, full of good Leſſons and Inſtructions, to her: That ſhe had as clear a Heart to your Grace, as was poſſible; had ſent for *Blanville*, expreſly to alter his Inſtructions; and that howſoever he (like a hollow-hearted Man) had uttered, in confidence, to a Friend of his, That he would perſwade the Queen of *England* to put on a reconciled Countenance for a time, till the way ſhould be better prepared to give your Grace a dead lift, yet the Queen-Mother's Intentions were aſſuredly ſincere and good. The *Savoy* Embaſſador's Voyage was not then reſolved, but his Secretary prepared to make it in his room: Of whom *Porcheres* (by the way) gave this touch, That there was a great correſpondence between *Madamoiſelle de Truges* and him (contracted upon occaſions of frequent Viſits that had paſſed betwixt her Mother and the Embaſſador) and that therefore a careful eye was to be had of him.

Another (who muſt be nameleſs) ſent for me, yeſterday in the forenoon, to tell me, That *Pere Berule's* Errand hither, was only to make Out-cries againſt the Decree, or Proclamation againſt the Catholicks; and to accuſe your Grace as the principal, if not the only Author, who was now, of a ſeeming Friend, become a deadly Foe: That the Earl of *Arundel* had (out of his Reſpect unto this State) purpoſely abſented himſelf, that he might not be guilty of ſo pernicious a Counſel: That your Grace, and my Lord of *Holland*, had both but very ſlippery hold in his Majeſty's Affections; that if this King would employ his Credit as he might, it would be no hard matter to root you both out thence; that there were good Preparatives for it already, and that my Lords, *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, would joyn Hands and Heads together to accompliſh the effect. Whereupon *Blainville* was ſent for back, to be more particularly inſtructed in the ways how to compaſs it, and would ſpeedily poſt away in diligence. The ſame party added, That the Propoſitions which the Marqueſs *de Fiats* had made about the League and Fleet, were, before *Berule's* arrival, ſomewhat well-taſted, but ſince fleighted, as thoſe that became cheap (by their offer to divers others, as well as them) that the Marqueſs ſhould have viſited *Blainville* at *Paris*, and ſounded him about his Errand, after this manner.

Firſt, Whether he had order to diſneſtle Madam *de St. George*? Whereto the anſwer was, No; and that it was againſt all Reaſon of State ſo to do. And when the other replied, that the World was come to a bad paſs, if Reaſon of State deſcended as low as her, *Blainville* remained ſilent.

Secondly, Whether he had Commiſſion to introduce the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* and the Counteſs of *Denbigh* into the Queen's Bed-chamber? Anſwer was made, That it was a nice and tender point; and if that were once condeſcended to, they would be continually whiſpering in the Queens Ear, how dear ſhe would be to the King her Husband, how plauſible and powerful among the People, how beloved of all, if ſhe would change her Religion, againſt which they were in Conſcience here bound to provide, and therefore conclude with a refuſal of that likewiſe.

Thirdly, Whether he carried any good Inſtructions about an offenſive or defenſive League? whereunto the negative was ſtill repeated, but that he carried brave Offers for the entertainment of *Manſfelt*. And when the Marqueſs replied, That if that were all the contentment he carried, he fear'd ſhe would find but a very cold welcome: The other added, That perhaps he might be an Inſtrument to make the Queen and Duke Friends. This were good, quoth the Marqueſs, if the Queen had not as much need of the Duke's Friendſhip, as the Duke of hers; and upon theſe terms they parted. The ſame lips that uttered all this, gave caution likewiſe againſt the *Savoyard* Embaſſador, as a cunning, deep, hollow-hearted Man: And, being felt by me, how his pulſe beat towards *Porcheres*, told me, he was a mercenary Man, and no way to be truſted. In the iſſue of all this, his Counſel was, That your Grace would conſider well your own ſtrength, and what ground you have in his Majeſty's Favour: If it be ſolid and good; then a Bravado will not do amiſs, but may be powerful here, to make them to ſee their own Errour, and to walk upright, ſo it end with a good cloſe; but if your ſtation be not ſure, then he counſels to prevent the ſtorm; for to break with all, *Spain*, *France*, Puritans, Papiſts, were not Wiſdom: And deſires, that, by any means, you inſtantly diſpatch a Courier to me, to repreſent the true ſtate of Things at home, and how you deſire Matters ſhould be ordered for your Service here abroad, ſo that there may be fabricked more ſolid Contentment to your Grace, whoſe Hands I moſt humbly kiſs, in quality of

Your Grace's moſt humble, moſt faithful, moſt

Septemb. 7. 1625. *obedient, and moſt obliged Servant,*

Tho. Lorkin.

POST-SCRIPT.

If my ſtay be intended long, it will be neceſſary that I uſe a Cypher, which I bumbly beſeech your Grace to ſend me, or to give me leave to frame one as I can.

As I was cloſing up my Letter, Mr. *Gerbier* arrived, who hath been ſomewhat indiſpoſed in his Health by the way, but now is reaſonably well, God be thanked: His coming is very ſeaſonable, and, I aſſure my ſelf, will be uſeful.

By the diſcourſe I have had with Mr. *Gerbier*, I ſee a little clearer into the ſtate of things here, and think *Porcheres* his Advertiſement may be truer, as being, perhaps, grounded upon Knowledge, the other ſpringing only upon Conjecture, built upon *Bertile's* Clamours and Overtures, and the ſudden ſending for Monſieur *Blainville* back. Your Grace will ſee day in all ſhortly. But, aſſuredly, the latter Advice comes from a Heart that is affectionately devoted to your Grace's Service. This Bearer will kiſs your Grace's Hands from the Author, and thereby you will know his Name, which he ſtipulated might not come in writing.

The

The Lords of the Council of England, *to the Lords of the Council in* Ireland, *January* 31. 1629.

BY your Letter, dated the Ninth of *January*, we underſtand, how the ſeditious Riot, moved by the Friars and their Adherents at *Dublin*, hath by your good Order and Reſolution been happily ſuppreſt; and, we doubt not, but by this occaſion you will conſider how much it concerneth the good Government of that Kingdom, to prevent, in time, the firſt growing of ſuch evils: For where ſuch People be permitted to ſwarm, they will ſoon grow licentious, and endure no Government but their own, which cannot otherwiſe be reſtor'd than by a due and ſeaſonable execution of the Law, and of ſuch Directions as from time to time have been ſent from his Majeſty and this Board. Now it redoundeth much to the Honour of his Majeſty, that the World ſhall take notice of the Ability and good Service of his Miniſters there, which in Perſon he hath been pleaſed openly in Council, and in moſt gracious manner, to approve and commend; whereby you may be ſufficiently encouraged to go on with like reſolution and moderation, till the Work be fully done, as well in the City, as in other places of your Kingdom, the Carriage whereof we muſt leave to your good Diſcretions, whoſe particular Knowledge of the preſent ſtate of Things can guide you better, when and where to carry a ſofter or harder Hand; only this we hold neceſſary to put you in mind, that you continue in that good agreement amongſt your ſelves, for this, and other Services, which your Letters do expreſs, and for which we commend you much, that the good Servants of the King and State may find encouragement equally from you all; and the ill-affected may find no ſupport or countenance from any; nor any other connivances uſed, but by general Advice, for avoiding of further Evils, ſhall be allow'd; and ſuch Magiſtrates and Officers, if any ſhall be diſcover'd, that openly, or under-hand, favour ſuch Diſorders, or do not their Duties in ſuppreſſing them, and committing the Offenders, you ſhall do well to take all fit and ſafe Advantages, by the puniſhment, or diſplacing of a few, to make the reſt more cautious. This we write, not as miſ-liking the fair courſe you have taken, but to expreſs the concurrency of our Judgments with yours, and to aſſure you of our Aſſiſtance in all ſuch occaſions, wherein, for your further proceedings, we have adviſed. And his Majeſty requireth you accordingly to take order, firſt, That the Houſe wherein Seminary Friars appear'd in their Habits, and wherein the Reverend Archbiſhop and the Mayor of *Dublin* received the firſt Affront, be ſpeedily demoliſh'd, and be the mark of Terror to the Reſiſters of Authority; and that the reſt of the Houſes erected or employ'd here, or elſewhere, to the uſe of ſuſpicious Societies, be converted to Houſes of Correction, and to ſet the People on work, or to other publick Uſes, for the advancement of Juſtice, good Arts, or Trades; and further, that you uſe all fit means to diſcover the Founders, Benefactors and Maintainers of ſuch Societies and Colledges, and certifie their Names; and that you find out the Lands, Leaſes, or Revenues, applied to their Uſes, and diſpoſe thereof according to the Law; and that you certifie alſo the Places and Inſtitutions of all ſuch *Monaſteries*, *Priories*, *Nunneries*, and other Religious Houſes, and the Names of all ſuch Perſons as have put themſelves to be Brothers and Siſters therein, eſpecially ſuch as are of note, to the end ſuch evil Plants be not permitted to take root any where in that Kingdom, which we require you take care of. For the ſupply of Munition, which you have reaſon to deſire, we have taken effectual order that you ſhall receive it with all convenient ſpeed. And ſo, *&c.*

Lord Keeper,
Lord Treaſurer,
Lord Preſident,
Lord Privy Seal,
Lord High Chamberlain,
Earl of Suffolk,
Earl of Dorſet,
Earl of Salisbury,
Earl of Kelly,
Lord Viſcount Dorcheſter,
Lord Newbergh,
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,
Mr. Secretary Cook,
Sir William Alexander.

Sir Robert Manſel, *to the Duke.*

Right Honourable, and my ſingular good Lord,

HAving uſed all the poſſible ſpeed I could to repair to *Algier*, where I ſhould have been by the 15th of *March* laſt, I held it my Duty, humbly to preſent unto your Lordſhip the particular account of my proceedings.

Before my arrival, I furniſh'd the two Prizes, three Brigandines, and a fourth Boat, with Fire-locks, and combuſtible Materials, for the burning of the Pirates Ships within the *Mole*, and had train'd my Men in the execution of their ſeveral Duties, and likewiſe appointed a ſquadron of Boats, with ſmall ſhot, to reſcue the Veſſels of Execution, in their advancement and retreat.

The firſt night of my arrival, being the 21ſt of *May* laſt, the Veſſels of Execution were all advanc'd; but, by reaſon of contrary Winds, they were commanded to retire.

The ſecond and third Nights they were alſo in a readineſs, but were with-held with Calms.

The fourth Night it pleaſed God to bleſs us with a fair Gale; and they being advanced again, and the two Ships with the Fire-works having almoſt recovered the mouth of the *Mole*, the Wind (to our great grief) turn'd to the oppoſite point of the Compaſs.

The Boats perform'd their Directions in towing off the Ships; but conſidering, that by the continuance of the courſe, they ſhould expoſe their principalleſt Men to hazard, by reaſon of the great ſtore of Ordnance and ſmall ſhot, which play'd upon them, they debated among themſelves what to do; Captain *Hughes* (who commanded one of the Brigandines) reply'd, *Go on, and give the attempt with the Boats*; which they chearfully purſued, crying out without ceſſation, *King* James, *King* James, *God bleſs King* James; and fearleſs of danger (even in the mouth of the Connon and ſmall ſhot, which ſhored like Hail upon them) they fired the Ships in many places, and maintained the ſame, to the great comfort of us that were Spectators, ſo long as they had any Powder left in their Bandiliers, ſtriving in the end who ſhould have the Honour to come off laſt; the which at length, as a due to his former Reſolution and Courage, they left to Captain *Hughes*, and ſo retired, all the Ships continuing ſtill their chearful cry, King *James*, with the loſs of twenty that were ſlain and hurt; and leaving the Fire flaming up in ſeveral places, which continu'd in ſome of them long after their retreat, and being aboard his Majeſty's Ships.

The cowardly Turks, who before durſt not ſhew themſelves to ſo weak a force, but from the Walls, or the tops of their Houſes, ſo ſoon as they perceiv'd all the Boats retired, open'd their Ports, and ſail'd out in thouſands; and, by the help of ſo great Multitudes, and a ſudden ſhowre of Rain, ſeconded with a Calm which then happen'd, the Fire was after extinguiſh'd, without doing any more hurt than making two of their Ships unſerviceable.

During that ſtay there, there came out of the *Mole* only one Frigat, which we forced to run on ſhore.

Other ſervice by us there perform'd, was the ſinking of one of their beſt Men of War by Sir *Thomas Wilford*, and Captain *Chidleigh*; ſhe was mann'd with an hundred and thirty Turks, and twelve Chriſtians, whereof twelve only eſcap'd, the reſt were either ſlain or drown'd; which appear'd both by the relation of divers Chriſtians which nightly eſcap'd aboard us, and by divers of the dead Bodies that floated upon the Water by our Ships. We took likewiſe, before their faces, in the Bay, a Fly-Boat, which the Pyrates had formerly taken from the Chriſtians, and ſold to *Leghorn*, in her Merchandiſe, to be exchanged for Pyrates Goods, and ſome Money, amounting to two thouſand and odd pounds; the exact account whereof I ſhall not fail to addreſs to your Lordſhip, as ſoon as the ſame is perfected by the Council of War.

The Turks hereupon preſently mann'd out three Galleys to reſcue her; but Captain *Giles* and Captain *Herbert*, with the help of three Brigandines, which I ſent out to ſecond them, ſoon fetch'd her up, and brought her unto me, and the Galleys were put to flight by Sir *Thomas Wilford*, Captain *Pennington* and Captain *Chidleigh*.

During the time of my abode there, after the attempt made by the Boats, I attended ten days for an opportunity to ſend in the Ships with the Fire-works, to finiſh the Service begun by the Boats; but in all that time there hapned not one breath of Wind fit for their attempt, notwithſtanding the Ships were always ready at the inſtant that they ſhould receive my Directions to advance. But at laſt, underſtanding by the Chriſtian (that eſcaped by ſwimming) aboard me, how the Pyrates had boom'd up the *Moles* with Maſts and Rafts, ſet a double guard upon their Ships, planted more Ordnance upon the *Mole*, and the Walls, and mann'd out twenty Boats to guard the Boom; and perceiving, likewiſe, that they had ſent out their Galleys and Boats, both to the Eaſtward and Weſtward, to give Advice to all the Ships upon the Coaſt, that they ſhould not come in, during my abode there; and ſo finding no hope remaining, either by ſtratagem to do ſervice upon them in the *Mole*, or to meet with any more of them, in the regard of the daily Complaints brought unto me, both from ſome of the King's Ships, and moſt of the Merchants, of their want of Victuals; I reſolv'd, by the Advice of the Council of War, to ſet ſail; whence I made my repair to this place, where I met my Brother *Roper*, with your Lordſhip's Directions, which I have receiv'd, and at the inſtant obey'd, by ſignifying his Majeſty's Pleaſure, declar'd by your Lordſhip's Letter, unto the worthy Commanders of thoſe four Ships, whom his Majeſty hath pleaſed to call home.

But, my Lord, in the Duty I owe your Lordſhip, and my Zeal to his Majeſty's Honour and Service, I humbly beg your Lordſhip's pardon to advertiſe your Lordſhip, that ſeeing we have now made this attempt upon the Pyrates, and that they perceive, that our intent is to work their utter

Ruine

Ruine and Confuſion, the recalling of theſe his Majeſty's Forces, before the arrival of others in their ſtead, and the bereaving us of ſo many worthy and experienced Commanders, I fear, may prove more prejudicial to the Service, than upon one days conſideration I dare preſume to ſet down in writing, by encouraging the Pyrates to put in execution ſuch Stratagems upon us, as, to my knowledge, they have already taken into their conſideration. My Reaſons for the ſame, I ſhall be bold, upon more mature deliberation, to offer, in all humbleneſs, unto your Lordſhip's judicious View, either by the Commanders that are to return unto your Lordſhip, or by a Meſſenger which divers of the Council of War adviſe to be addreſſed over-land on purpoſe with the ſame.

And ſo being ready (ſo ſoon as we have receiv'd in our Water, and diſpatch'd divers other Buſineſſes, which of neceſſity muſt be order'd in this place) to ſet ſail for *Malaga*, there to receive in our remainder of Victuals, and to take my leave of theſe four Ships, and ſuch other of the Merchants as cannot be made ſerviceable in theſe parts. With my endleſs Prayers for your Lordſhip's increaſe of all Honour, I ceaſe your Lordſhip's farther trouble for the preſent; and reſt

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble, moſt faithful, and ſad Servant,
Robert Manſel.

From aboard the Lyon, *in* Alegant-*Road*, June 9. 1621.

Sir Robert Manſel, *to the Duke.*

Right Honourable, and my ſingular good Lord,

IT is not unknown unto your Lordſhip, that Sir *Thomas Button*, before his coming out, thought himſelf much wronged in that he did not hold the place of Vice-Admiral in this Fleet, whereof I muſt acknowledge him very worthy, and that for my part I had engaged Sir *Richard Hawkins*, a very grave, religious and experienc'd Gentleman, before I was aſſur'd whether Sir *Thomas Button* would leave his Employment in *Ireland*, or no; and that afterwards Sir *Thomas Button*, by your Lordſhip's mediation, was contented to undertake the Charge he now holdeth, which, God knows, I labour'd for no other end, than for the ſecurity and advancement of his Majeſty's Service, by reaſon of the experience I have had of his ſufficiency and ability.

Since that time, I have doubled that Injury. A wrong was done unto him, which cannot be denied; he patiently appeal'd to me for Juſtice, which I muſt confeſs I denied him. But the Name of the Perſon that offer'd the Wrong, and the Reaſon why I denied him Juſtice, I muſt leave unto Sir *Richard Hawkins* and Sir *Henry Palmer* to relate unto your Lordſhip; and if that will not give your Lordſhip ſatisfaction, I muſt humbly ſubmit my ſelf to your Lordſhip's Cenſure.

Notwithſtanding the impreſſion that theſe Injuries took with him, yet thus much I muſt truly confeſs in his behalf, That there was no Man more zealous to advance his Majeſty's Service, nor more forward to undergo any danger or hazard, than himſelf; whereof he hath given aſſured Teſtimony to the World in theſe three particulars.

Firſt, In the Service perform'd by him on a Chriſtmas day at night, whereof I have formerly adverti'ſed your Lordſhip at large.

Secondly, Then in going over to *Algier* chearfully, without complaining, when his Ship was ſo grievouſly infected, that he had not able Men in her to manage her Sails.

Alſo in imploying the moſt choice Men in his Ship, under the Command of his Nephew, for the firing of the Pyrates Ships within the *Mole* of *Algier*.

And, laſtly, in his joyning with Sir *Richard Hawkins* in the towing off one of the Prizes, when ſhe was becalmed within Muſquet-ſhot of the *Mole*.

My Lord, I muſt proteſt unto your Lordſhip, that I had no ends of mine own for the Injuries done to Sir *Thomas Button*; and therefore your Lordſhip cannot caſt a greater Honour upon your poor Servant, than in repairing him, which I humbly beg of your Lordſhip.

If Sir *Richard Hawkins* do return unto me, then I ſhall be an humble ſuitor unto your Lordſhip in the behalf of Sir *Thomas Button*, that he may return to his Employment in *Ireland*, from whence, at my earneſt Deſires to enjoy his Company and Aſſiſtance, I was the only means to withdraw him; and that he may receive ſuch Allowance and Entertainment as was formerly uſually paid unto him, by which means your Lordſhip will take away the Curſes of his Children, whoſe Bloods are near unto me, and oblige me with my continual Prayers for your Lorſhip's increaſe of Honour, ever to remain

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and faithful Servant,
Robert Manſell.

From on board the Vantguard, July 10. 1621.

Padre

Padre Maeſtre *at* Rome, *to the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador in* England.

My Lord,

I Have received two Letters from your Lordſhip; the one of the Fifteenth of *March*, brought me by Mr. *George Gage*, and the other of the 30th of *April*, which came by the Ordinary. In both which Letters, I have receiv'd a ſpecial Favour from you, and much comfort. The coming of Mr. *Gage* hath given me infinite contentment, than which there could nothing have happen'd more fitly and to the purpoſe, for the matter which is in negotiation; nor any Man have come hither that could better advance the Buſineſs than he, as well in reſpect of his good Affection, as for his Wiſdom and Dexterity in all things. And if the King of *Great Britain* will withal help now a little, the Buſineſs will be quickly done, and in a good manner. I beſeech your Lordſhip, preach to him a Chriſtian Sermon as is moſt needful: For there comes from thence, divers ways, ſuch reports hither, that I am aſham'd, and out of countenance, in the Streets as I go; and they do me a favour that they do not ſtone me, knowing that I am treating and labouring this Buſineſs at the ſame time, when the poor Catholicks are ſo cruelly uſed in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. And when I excuſe it, that it is not by the King's order, but by the abuſe and malice of ſome ill-affected Miniſters, it will not be receiv'd, neither do they want Replies. Beſides, there is a rumour all over *Rome*, that the King, in a Speech which he made at the beginning of the Parliament, affirmed publickly, *That for all this Marriage with* Spain, *the Catholick Party in* England *ſhould not be in one jot better condition than they are.*

But I cannot be yet diſcouraged; my Confidence is in the King, and in the deſire which I know he hath to procure a good Wife for his Son. And now that the time is come, let him play the part of a courageous Wooer, and fruſtrate the Intentions and Deſires of all thoſe that are adverſe to it. It is a comfort unto me, that I do not find here an Impoſſibility; but that though there be difficulties, yet I find many here that deſire to overcome them. And above all, I hope that God will aſſiſt this Buſineſs as his own Cauſe. I am going to prepare my ſelf for the Congregation of the Cardinals, and a Conſultation of Divines, to whom I underſtand we ſhall be remitted this next Week. I ſhall give your Lordſhip an account punctually of all things that happen in thoſe Conferences. Our Lord, *&c.*

Your Lordſhips, &c.
Padre Maeſtre.

Magdibeg, *to his Majeſty.*

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Make bold, after a long ſilence, to proſtrate my ſelf before your Majeſty, and being the Embaſſador of a great King, that counteth it an Honour to ſtile himſelf your Friend, I do beſeech you to afford me that Juſtice which I am ſure you will not refuſe to the meaneſt of your Subjects.

At my firſt arrival into this your happy Kingdom, I was informed by the general relation of all that had recourſe unto me, That one here (who had the Title of Embaſſador from my Maſter) did vainly brag, that he had married the King of *Perſia*'s Niece; which kindled in me ſuch a vehement Deſire to vindicate my Maſter's Honour, from ſo unworthy and falſe a Report, that at my firſt enterview with him, my Hand being guided by my Duty, I endeavour'd to faſten upon him a condign Diſgrace to ſuch an Impoſture. But the caution that I ought to have of my own Juſtification, when I return home, biddeth me the more ſtrictly to examine the truth of that which was told me (whereon my action with Sir *Robert Shirly* was grounded) and to have it averred in the particulars, as well as by a general voice. Therefore I humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that out of your Princely Goodneſs you will be pleaſed to give ſuch order, that this point may be fully cleared. Wherein, for the manner of proceeding, I wholly and humbly remit my ſelf to your Majeſty: And this being done, I ſhall return home with ſome meaſure of Joy, to balance the Grief which I have, for having done ought that may have clouded your Majeſty's Favor to me. And ſo committing your Majeſty to the protection of the greateſt God, whoſe Shadows and elect Inſtruments Kings are, on Earth, I humbly take my leave, and reſt, *&c.*

The Earl of Middlesex, *to His Majesty.*

Sacred Majesty, and my most gracious Master,

YOur Goodness is such to me your oppressed Servant in this my time of Persecution, as I know not how to express my Thankfulness otherwise, than by pouring forth my humble and hearty Prayers to the great God of Heaven and Earth, to grant your Majesty all Happiness here, and everlasting Happiness hereafter.

Between five and six of the Clock, upon *Saturday* in the Evening, I received my Charge from the Lords assembled in Parliament, with an Order, by which I am commanded to make my Appearance at the Barr, upon *Thursday* next, by nine of the Clock in the Morning, with my Answer: And in the mean time to examine my Witnesses.

This Charge of mine hath been in preparing, by examining of Witnesses upon Oath, and otherwise twenty three days. And hath been weighed by the Wisdom of both Houses, and doth concern me so nearly in point of Honor and Faith to your Majesty, to answer well, as I value my Life at nothing in comparison of it.

I may grieve, though I will not complain of any thing my Lords shall be pleased to command; but do hope, that upon a second Consideration they will not think three days a fitting time for me to make my Answer, and to examine Witnesses in a Cause of such Importance, and so nearly concerning me, when twenty three days have been spent almost from Morning until Night in preparing my Charge.

I know the House (whose Judgment I shall never desire to wave) is the proper Place for me to move to be resolved herein, and therefore shall, upon Wednesday Morning, make my humble Motion there to have seven days longer time, as well to make my Answer and Appearance, as to examine my Witnesses, which are many, and upon several Heads.

But because the Prince his Highness, and many of the principal Lords, are now with your Majesty at *Windsor*, my most humble Suit to your Majesty is, that you would be pleased to move them on my Behalf, to yield me so much further time, that my Cause may not suffer Prejudice for want of time to make my just Defence, that which I have propounded being as moderate as is possible.

With my most humble and hearty Prayer to Almighty God for continuance of your Health, with all Happiness, I humbly kiss your Royal Hands, and will ever rest,

April 26. 1624.

Your Majesty's most Humble, &c.
Middlesex.

The Earl of Middlesex, *to the Duke.*

Right Noble, and my most honored Lord,

I Have received divers Letters from your Lordship since your going from *Theobalds*, which, though they concern several Men, and in sundry Kinds, yet they all conclude upon Diminution of his Majesty's Estate, contrary to your general Ground, when his Majesty delivered me the Staff, and contrary to your Lordships private Directions given me at *Theobalds*, with which I did your Lordship the Right to acquaint the King.

I have of late had cause to take into consideration the miserable Condition of my present Estate, who since I received the Staff, have led such a Life as my very Enemies pity me, which I foresaw, the Distraction of the King's Estate, and Burthen of that Place, would of necessity throw upon me. Yet my Duty, Love and Thankfulness to his Majesty, and my Love and Thankfulness to you, contrary to my own Judgment, and Advice of my Friends, made me undertake it, little expecting these cross Accidents, which have lain heavy upon me, and more troubled me than the continual Cares and Vexations of my Place.

I do most freely and willingly acknowledge one Man cannot be more bound unto another, than I am to your Lordship; and if I do not make a thankful Return, let me be held an ungrateful Monster, which is the worst of Villains.

I have been so ambitious as to desire to extend my Gratitude so far, as that the King may have Cause to thank you for preferring me, and that your Lordship may bless the time you did it. To effect that, I shall delight to live a miserable Life for a time. The Course which must of necessity be held to do it, I will acquaint your Lordship with very shortly, which I hope you will be pleas'd to approve, and assist me in. And then I will express my Thankfulness to you that way: If that

Course

Courſe ſhall not like you, I will not only deliver you up my Places, but whatſoever I hold from the King, and live privately upon mine own Eſtate, for I will never ſell ſo good and gracious a Maſter, nor ſee ſo noble and conſtant a Friend ruined, and undone. God bleſs you, and ſend you your Hearts Deſire. As for my ſelf, I never deſired to quit the World, and all the Fooleries in it, till now,

Your Lordſhip's faithful Servant,
and Kinſman,
Middleſex.

Sir Tobie Mathew, *to the Dutcheſs of* Buckingham.

Madam,

THere was no Cauſe, till now, why I ſhould trouble your Ladiſhip with preſenting my unprofitable Service to you; but now I ſhall venture to do it, by reaſon of the good News I ſhall ſend with it.

For our Queen arrived here yeſterday, and I was glad at the Heart to ſee her ſuch as ſhe hath ſeemed; ſhe is more grown than I had thought, being higher by half the Head than my Lady Marqueſs. And whatſoever they ſay, believe me, ſhe ſits already upon the very Skirts of Womanhood. Madam, upon my Faith, ſhe is a moſt ſweet lovely Creature, and hath a Countenance which opens a Window into her Heart, where a Man may ſee all Nobleneſs and Goodneſs; and I dare venture my Head (upon the little Skill I have in Phyſiognomy) that ſhe will be extraordinarily beloved by our Nation, and deſerve to be ſo; and that the Actions of her ſelf, which are to be her own, will be excellent. Methought I diſcerned in her Countenance a little Remnant of Sadneſs, which the freſh Wound of parting from the Queen Mother might have made, yet perhaps I was deceived. Her Attire was very plain, for ſo great a Queen can be thought to have nothing mean about her. But I hope, that amongſt many other Bleſſings which God will have provided for us by her Means, her Example will be able to teach our Country Wit in this kind.

I had the Happineſs to ſee and hear her at a ſhort Diſtance, by the Commandment which my Lady of *Buckingham* laid upon me to interpret for her; and believe me, ſhe is full of Wit, and hath a lovely manner in expreſſing it. But I confeſs I was ſorry with all my Heart, to hear that her Courage was ſo great, as to carry her inſtantly (after my Lady of *Buckingham* had taken her Leave for that time) to Sea in a poor little Boat, in the Company of her Brother, whom I have not yet had the Honor to ſee. I dare give my Word for her, that ſhe is not afraid of her own Shadow, who could find in her Heart to put her ſelf, at the firſt ſight, upon an Element of that Danger and Diſeaſe, for meer Paſtime: Unleſs it were, perhaps, that ſhe might carry ſome Steel about her, and that there is ſome Adamant at *Dover*, which already might begin to draw her that way.

I am extreamly ſorry, that we have loſt the Hope of ſeeing the two other Queens; for if they had come, we might have had beauty here as well in the Preterperfect, and in the Preſent Tence, as now we have in the Future.

But the Queen Mothers Indiſpoſition hath arreſted her at *Amiens*, in puniſhment of that Malice, wherewith ſhe diſſembled it too long at the firſt, through the extream Deſire ſhe had of coming hither.

Our Queen received my Lady of *Buckingham* with ſtrange Courteſie and Favor; and now there is no Remedy, but that the King will needs defray and treat her after a high Manner. And I have been told, that *Monſieur* will needs deſcend ſo much as to viſit her in her Lodging; and the Dutcheſs of *Chevereux* (being that great Princeſs, as ſhe is, both by Match and Blood) will perforce give Precedence, not only to my Lady of *Buckingham*, but to my Ladies her Daughters alſo: And I aſſure my ſelf, that a leſs puiſſant Example than this will ſerve to convert our great Ladies, even to exceed, in *England*, towards the Ladies which are Strangers, and do but come and go.

But the while this Court doth ſo apply it ſelf to do my Lady of *Buckingham* all imaginable Honor, I look on it ſo, as that I am no way diſcouraged thereby for bearing Devotion to the Bleſſed Virgin, when I ſee that Men, who are ſick of Love towards the Son, are put, even by a kind of Law of Nature, into Pain, till they revenge themſelves upon the Mother. I beſeech Jeſus, &c.

From Bulloign, *the* 9. *June* 1625.

Sir

Sir Toby Mathew, *to the King of* Spain.

DON *Tobea Mathei Cavallero Yngleſy Catholico Romano* beſeeching your Catholick Majeſty, with all Humility and Reverence, to give him leave to ſpeak theſe few Words unto you.

He underſtandeth that the *Theologi* have perſiſted preciſely upon the *Voto*, which they gave before, and he findeth clearly that the Prince conceiveth, that he can by no means ſubmit himſelf thereunto with his Honor. And beſides, my Lord the King hath expreſly required him to return with all poſſible ſpeed, in caſe that *Voto* would not be qualified. And it is certain that he will depart for *England* within very few Days. And whoſoever ſhall inform your Majeſty, that the Treaty of this Marriage may be truly kept on foot after the Departure of the Prince, upon theſe Terms, doth deceive your Majeſty through the Ignorance wherein he is of the State of *England*. So that the Prince departing thus, the Catholick Subjects of all my Lord the King's Dominions are to be in a lamentable Caſe. For although the Prince did yeſterday vouchſafe to have Compaſſion of me, in reſpect of the Grief wherein he ſaw I had upon theſe Occaſions, and to ſay, That although the Marriage were broken, yet he would procure that his Catholick Subjects ſhould not fare the worſe for that; yet I know that it is morally impoſſible for that honorable Deſign of his to take place, in reſpect of the People, and the Importunity and Malice of the Puritans; and eſpecially becauſe it will now be a Caſe of meer Neceſſity for my Lord the King, to run in a Courſe of very ſtreight Conjunction with them of his Parliament, that he may be able the better to ſerve himſelf of them in other Occaſions: from which Parliament, as now the Caſe will ſtand, what Catholick can expect any other, than the Extremity of Rigor?

In conſideration whereof, I caſt my ſelf with a ſad Heart at the Feet of your Majeſty, beſeeching you, that you will take into your Royal Remembrance the Love which you owe, and procure to pay to our holy Mother, the Church, and that ſome Courſe may be taken, and with ſpeed (for otherwiſe it will be too late) to give the Prince ſome foot of Ground, upon which he may be able to ſtand in ſuch ſort, as that without loſs of Honor, and breach of that Word which he hath given to the World, and without prejudice to that Obedience which he oweth to the leaſt Commandment of the King his Father; his Highneſs may be enabled to comply with the incomparable Affection which he beareth the Infanta, your Majeſty's Siſter. And that by Means hereof, the two Crowns may be kindly, in perfect Union, and the Catholick Religion may be highly advantaged, not only in the Dominions of my Lord the King, but in many other parts of Chriſtendom, into which the Authority of theſe Dominions doth flow.

For my part, I take the eternal God to witneſs, whom I procure to ſerve, and who hath given me a Heart which diſclaimeth from all other Intereſſes than to ſerve God and my King, that I conceive my ſelf not to comply with a good Conſcience, without laying this Proteſtation under the Eye of your Majeſty, that if the Catholick Subjects of the King my Lord ſhall grow liable to Perſecution or Affliction, by occaſion of breaking this Match, through the Diſguſt of the King my Lord, and his Council, or through the Power which infallibly the Puritans aſſembled in Parliament will have with him upon this Occaſion, that Blood, or Miſery whatſoever, it may partly be required at their Hands who have adviſed your Majeſty not to accept of thoſe large Conditions for Catholicks, which my Lord the King, and the Prince hath condeſcended to, and of that more than moral Security, which they have offered for the performance thereof.

And on the other ſide, I undertake to your Majeſty, under the Pain of Infamy, in caſe that be not made good which here I affirm, that if your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give ſome ſuch Ground to the Prince, as whereupon he may with Honor ſtay and perfect the Treaty of the Marriage by any ſuch Way, or Means, as may occur to your Majeſty's Royal Wiſdom, the whole Bodies of the Catholicks in *England*, both religious and ſecular, ſhall acknowledge it as a great Bleſſing of God, and ſhall oblige themſelves to pray inceſſantly for your happy Eſtate, *&c.*

The Lord Mountjoy, *to the Earl of* Eſſex.

Moſt Noble Lord,

THE Queen is now removed towards a Progreſs; wherein, after I have ſomewhat waited upon her, I ſhall have a Deſire to write to your Lordſhip of ſome things more at large, which I will do as ſafely as I can; your Lordſhips Vertue, and your clear Conſcience, muſt be your own brazen Wall: for we that are not of the Council, do ſee no hope to keep long together this State from aſſured Ruin. I pray God the Queen may with all Proſperity out-live their Negligence, and your Care; to be a juſt Judge, if not a Rewarder thereof. In the mean time, you owe unto

her and your own Vertue, extraordinary Patience. Your Lordſhips Mind (I do proteſt) cannot labour more in the Storm wherein you are, than mine doth in this dangerous and miſerable Calm. For it is ſome Comfort to periſh doing ſomewhat; and yet, my Lord, why ſhould we deſpair, ſince there is a Providence that looks beyond, and concludes contrary to the Practices of the World; which Providence hath ſhewed us ways, how rugged ſoever they be, which will bring unto true Happineſs; and though we loſe theſe mortal Barks we ſail in, yet he will aſſuredly ſave the Paſſengers. Noble Lord, in reſpect of that great Haven, contemn theſe Tempeſts and Shipwracks at Sea. Your Lordſhips Servant, Mr. *Buſhel*, doth fear to have you impute his ſlow Diſpatch unto any want of his Diligence, and hath ſhewed his Fear in exceeding Sorrow, that it could not be ſooner, and with as much Care with all his beſt Means to effect it. I much thank your Lordſhip for your Favor to Sir *Charles Blunt*, of whom (if he be not thankful) I ſhall not only be deceived, but alſo revenged. I will pray continually for your Lordſhips Proſperity——— and that it ſhall be impoſſible to make me otherwiſe than

Your Lordſhips moſt honeſt,
and faithful Servant,
MOUNTJOY.

The Duke of Modena, *to the Duke of* Savoy.

WHen I was deprived of my Miſtriſs the *Infanta Izabella*, ſo intimately beloved of me, I was ſuddenly poſſeſſed with a moſt ardent Deſire of finding the Means how to follow her into Paradiſe; and diſtruſting, in regard of my Weakneſs and Life paſt, that I was not able to ſtand in thoſe Dangers wherein that holy Soul knew how to find Security and Tranquility, I reſolved to retire my ſelf out of the tempeſtuous Sea of Government, and to ſhelter my ſelf in the Harbour of Religion, rejoycing to ſacrifice that unto God which uſed to be ſo highly eſteemed in the World; and knowing, that truly to reign, is to ſerve his Divine Majeſty, hitherto I deferred the Execution of my purpoſe, becauſe, being bound in this, to depend upon the Counſel of him that governed my Soul, it ſeemed not expedient to him, that I ſhould retire my ſelf while there was need of Aſſiſtance, both in reſpect of the Age of the Duke my Father (which was *Cæſar d' Eſte*, who died 1628.) and of the Nonage of the Prince my Son (which is *Don Franciſco*, who now governeth.) Now that theſe Impediments are removed, I go moſt contentedly whither the Lord doth call me, namely, to take upon me the *Capuchin* Religion, out of *Italy*; and I do promiſe to find for my ſelf, in one little Cell, that Repoſe which all the Greatneſs of the World cannot give me. True it is, if I ſhould look back upon my Life paſt, I ſhould find Motives rather of Terror than of Comfort: But the Mercy of God doth make me confident, and my having (for his Love, and to perform his Will) renounced all that I could or had, I departed alſo moſt comforted, becauſe I leave the Prince my Son ſo well qualified, that I may confidently expect an excellent Iſſue of his Government, eſpecially if your Highneſs ſhall vouchſafe to direct him with your moſt prudent Counſels, and to ſhroud him under your benign Protection, whereunto, with reverent Affection, I do recommend him, together with the reſt of my Sons, eſpecially *Carlo Alexandro* (who is now living in your Highneſs his Court) ſince that (as a Man may ſay) they have no other Father than your Highneſs, and are Branches of your Princely Houſe.

Unto your Highneſs was, in all reſpects, due from me the Account which I have given you of my Vocation; I beſeech you to accept it, and to believe that I will always be anſwerable to my Duty, and will pray for the ſpiritual and temporal Encreaſe of your Highneſs, whoſe hands I reverently kiſs,

From *Saſſuolo* the 30*th.* of *July*, 1629.

Your Highneſſes moſt humble,
and moſt obliged Servant,
Alfonſo d' Eſte.

Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk, *to Queen* Elizabeth.

O Moſt dear and dread Sovereign and Lady Queen, and moſt gracious Miſtriſs, when I conſider with my ſelf, how far I have tranſgreſſed my Duty to your moſt gracious Majeſty, I dare not now preſume to look up, or hope for your gracious Favors, I confeſs my ſelf ſo far unworthy thereof; but again, when I look into your Highneſs's manifold, merciful, and moſt pitiful Nature, of which ſo many have ſo abundantly taſted of, ſince your Majeſty's moſt proſperous Reign, I am emboldened with penitent and ſorrowful Heart, to make my trembling Hand to offer unto your Highneſs my moſt rueful and lowly Submiſſion, having none other means to eaſe my oppreſſed Mind, I am for my Sins and Diſobedience to ask Pardon, that is, of Almighty God, and of your moſt excellent Majeſty: the

the first, I have done to Almighty God, and so I by the Grace of him will continue with a new Heart and full mind of Amendment, not doubting, but asking Mercy, to receive it, according to the Scripture, he that knocketh at the Door, shall have it opened unto him. Now do I prostrate my self at your Highness's most gracious Feet, my poor Children, and all that I have, hoping more in your Majesty's most gracious Clemency, than in any of mine unadvised Deserts; I seek to excuse my self no way, but wholly submit my self to what shall please your most merciful Heart, like a most gracious Queen, to a Man that hath been astray, who finding Mercy, hath afterwards with bad Service, oftentimes redoubled his former Folly. O most Noble Queen, it is in your most gracious Power to make of my wretched Mould what it pleaseth you, my Faith and Religion reserved to my Saviour, my Body being already to your Highness Subject, and imprisoned for my most just Desert, I dedicated my Mind and Heart, to be hereafter as it shall please your Majesty to direct it; I do not seek Favor at your Majesty's Hands, in respect of my former good Service, I confess undutifulness hath now blotted the same out; neither dare I remember, which heretofore was my greatest Comfort, because, I deserve not that Honor, which was, that it hath pleased your Highness to account me indeed your unworthy Kinsman. Wo, Wretch, that Day when I entred into that Matter which hath made such Alteration of your Majesty's most gracious Favor unto me, and hath heaped upon my self these intollerable Troubles. O unworthy that I am, that in all the Days of my Life, counting upon nothing but a quiet Life, I take God to Witness, whatsoever some have judged the contrary of me, I was so unhappy, to give ear to that which hath done, and ever was like to bring me to the contrary.

Sir Francis Norris, *to King* James.

Most gracious Sovereign,

THE Advantage which mine Adversary hath taken, in, first presenting his Complaint freely and uncontrouled, would have afflicted me greatly, had I not known that your Majesty hath given to your Judges Injunction, *Audire alteram partem.* That I entered into Discourse with the Lord *Willoughby*, in Church or Church-yard, may make it manifest, that I had no Disposition at all to quarrel. The rest of the World is wide enough for Men so affected. They that prophane such Places, trust more to the Place than their own Worth. That I was improvidently in such a Place by him surprized, muffled in my own Cloak, and treacherously buffetted, shewed, that I suspected no such Assault as was there made upon me, and where I was so disgracefully and ignobly assaulted by the Lord *Willoughby*, and he in no sort by me, yet will I hope to satisfie every indifferent Judgment, much more the supream Judge, that I had nothing in my Intention, either towards the Master or the Man. It is true, most gracious Sovereign, that after the Lord *Willoughby*'s dishonorable Indignity by me expelled, I seeing an unknown Face coming fiercely, with his Sword, upon me, for my Life (in Defence whereof God himself, the Law of Nature and Nations, doth warrant us to contend) I was forced to have forgone it at a Ruffians Command, or by resisting, to yield it up to your Majesty, to whom I have vowed it (whensoever you shall command it) to your Service. This I presume to write to a King, in whom rests the Spirit of Honor; and by that Spirit I hope your Majesty will judge, that he which will run from his own Defence, being injuriously assaulted, will also run from the Defence of his Sovereign Master. I also presume, in all Humility, to address my self to a Prince endued with the Spirit of Justice, joyned to the Divine Vertue of Compassion; by both which I nothing doubt your Majesty will judge, when you shall be truly informed of the proceeding and succeeding Wrongs offered me, that I am, and will be

Your Majesty's most humble,
and loyal Subject,
Fr. Norris.

The Countess of Nottingham, *to the Danish Embassador.*

SIR,

I Am very sorry this Occasion should have been offered me by the King your Master, which makes me troublesome to you for the present. It is reported to me by Men of Honor, the great Wrong the King of the *Danes* hath done me, when I was not by to answer for my self: For if I had been present, I would have letten him know, how much I scorn to receive that Wrong at his Hands. I need not urge the particular of it, for the King himself knows it best. I protest to you, Sir, I did think as honorably of the King your Master, as I did of my own Prince; but now I perswade my

ſelf there is as much Baſeneſs in him, as can be in any Man: For although he be a Prince by Birth, it ſeems not to me that there harbors any princely Thought in his Breaſt; for, either in Prince or Subject, it is the baſeſt thing that can be to wrong any Woman of Honor: I deſerve as little that Name he gave me, as either the Mother of himſelf, or of his Children; and if ever I come to know what Man hath informed your Maſter ſo wrongfully of me, I ſhould do my beſt for putting him from doing the like to any other: but if it hath come by the Tongue of any Woman, I dare ſay, ſhe would be glad to have Companions. So leaving to trouble you any further, I reſt, your Friend

M. Nottingham.

The Lord Nithiſdail, *to the Duke.*

My moſt Noble Lord,

FInding Matters at great uncertainty when I came hither, I reſolved to make farther Tryal before I ſhould part from hence. What Thanks is due to the Embaſſadors for their painful and diſcreet Carriage, can hardly be expreſſed.

Matters now being drawn to ſuch a Conformity (which I confeſs I thought Impoſſibilities, though withal I found much Reſpect always to the Prince, with a ſenſible Deſire of the Match expreſſed, both by the King, and thoſe I ſpake withal) our Embaſſadors ſeem ſtill to be diſcontent, that all things are not remitted to our Maſters verbal Promiſe, which tho it may be aſſurance ſufficient to all Catholicks, who have the Sence to conſider, that it muſt be our Maſters, and the Princes gracious Diſpoſition muſt be our Safety, more than either Word or Writ: yet the Writ being deſired privately (as they pretend) meerly to draw the Popes Conſent (without the which nothing is to be finiſhed) the Difference is not ſo great, their princely Promiſe being given already.

What Cauſe of Jealouſie the Refuſing hereof ſhould procure, you may conſider: beſides, my Judgment fails me, if a more eaſie way ſhall be aſſented unto upon this ſide. If the Embaſſadors have beſtirred themſelves to get this out of the publick Articles, I can bear Witneſs. Thus much I dare avow, that neither Time nor Place have been omitted by them to do Good; though I muſt confeſs, what Intelligence I had in the Proceeding, hath rather been from the *French* than from them. Their Reaſons (as I conceive) was their Doubts, that did bring me hither, having neither Letters from the King, the Prince, nor your Grace.

Whereupon, to remove theſe Conceits, I ſhewed them, that I did only take this in my Way, intending to go ſee the Jubilees, wherewith though his Majeſty, nor the Prince, neither yet your Grace were acquainted with at my parting, you will be pleaſed to make my Excuſe. I am infinitely beholden to the Embaſſador's noble Courteſie, which I know hath proceeded from that Relation which they know I have to you.

My Lord, let the Happineſs which ſhall come to the Prince by matching with ſuch a Lady, as, I proteſt before God, hath thoſe Perfections, to my thinking, can hardly be equalled, be a Means to haſten a happy Concluſion: And let not Matter of Ceremony draw Delays where the Subſtance is agreed upon. So ſhall all that belong to our Maſter be made happy in general, and you in particular, for that Love which they expreſs here to your ſelf.

Once more I humbly beg, you will conſider particularly upon each one of the Articles; and I hope, you ſhall not find ſuch unreconcileable Difference as an affected Puritan may pretend. Whereupon, if I have looked more with Eyes of a Papiſt than was fitting, it is my Lack of Judgment, and not of Zeal to my Maſters Honor, which of all earthly things ſhall be preferred. Beſeeching God to give a happy Succeſs hereunto, with a ſound Recovery of your own Health, I humbly take my Leave,

Dated at *Compion*,

Your Grace's faithful Servant,
Nithiſdail.

The Lady Elizabeth Norris, *to the Duke.*

My Lord,

EVer ſince your Lordſhip's firſt Recommendation of my Husband to me, I have thought my ſelf much engaged to your Lordſhip; for I muſt confeſs, after he had taken his Leave of me, I did love him never the leſs: for immediately after my Father's Death (when in my Conſcience he leaſt expected to hear from me) I did both ſend and write to him, which he might interpret an Encouragement, or rather an Invitation. I did it the rather, becauſe I did not believe thoſe which did him

ill

ill Offices; for thoſe which were moſt for him, on a ſudden were moſt againſt him. I muſt confeſs, that pity did confirm my Affection, and I truſt your Lordſhip will commiſerate his Eſtate, as you do the Fall of all Mankind; for I was the *Eve*, and he was the *Adam*; and I pray God, the King and your Lordſhip may forgive us, as I am confident God will pardon us. Your Lordſhip may imagine my Mother was of the Plot; but I take God to witneſs, that ſhe was not only againſt it, but contrarily. I did believe ſhe was wholly for your Brother: And for your Brother, my Mother recommended him to me, whom I uſed like a Gentleman of high Worth and Quality. But I did by no means abuſe him by Promiſe, or taking Gifts, which I falſly ſuffer for, in the Opinion of the World. I only took a Ring, by my Mother's appointment, which came as a Token from my Lady your Mother, which was of very ſmall value. My Husband and I am reſolved rather to ſuffer in the Opinion of the World, than contradict any thing which ſhall be aggravated againſt us. We muſt both Honour you, and think our ſelves much engaged to your Lordſhip. After God, I proteſt you are the only Author of it; for by your means, I firſt ſetled my Affection. I know there are thoſe which do my Husband and me ill Offices. I have reaſon to be jealous of the Lord *Montgomery*, for he would have put Tricks upon me in making me deny the Contract; and when he failed in that, he went about to make me believe Mr. *Wray* had denied his. And to tell your Lordſhip true, his violence and over-earneſtneſs made me the more averſe. If my Husband had not fetched me, I would have come to him; and ſo I ſent him word.

Thus humbly beſeeching your Lordſhip, as you are happy in your Wife, that you would be pleaſed to make our peace with the King; and ſeeing it is God's act, that you would Honour us with your Favour. We ſhall be both bound to joyn in Prayer, that you may be ever happy in your Wife, and in your Children's Children. And ſo with my humble Reſpect unto your Lordſhip, I reſt

Your Lordſhip's humble Servant,

Elizabeth Norris.

Sir John Ogle, *to the Duke.*

Right Excellent and moſt Gracious Lord,

AND becauſe you are ſo, why ſhould not I put my Soul in your Hand? That I have not done it ſooner, was not through want of Will in me; but it hath been the Will of God, that mine Acknowledgment ſhould be the fuller, your Goodneſs the greater. Your Grace cannot be ignorant of the many Motions I have had thereto; but my Judgment hath been made irreſolute by ſeveral Diſtractions. I lay now my ſelf, and the Fortunes of me and mine, at your Grace's feet. Take me up then (nobleſt Lord) as becometh the Fame which you have, and the Confidence which I have of you with a Hand of Goodneſs. If I had wilfully ſinned againſt you (when I was wickedly enſnared and beguiled by that Wretch at *Utretcht*, to whom I gave ſome Extract out of your Letters; as alſo out of the Lord Embaſſadors) or did yet with obſtinacy maintain ſuch indiſcreet proceeding, your Grace might in juſtice reject me as unworthy.

But ſince you have long diſcerned in me a propenſion to crave your pardon, though ſtill unhappily diverted till this time; I truſt your true Nobleneſs, Generouſneſs and Goodneſs to be ſuch, as you will not only not turn this hearty Submiſſion to any diſadvantage on my part; but looking upon mine Ingenuity, with a right eye of gracious Inclination, both pardon my Fault and Folly towards your ſelf, and alſo (to bind my Prayers to be offer'd in the greater zeal for you, for I ſhall not be able to do you better Service than in Prayer) be a ſtrong Mediator to his gracious Majeſty, that my Errours of Weakneſs, and want of Diſcretion, committed then towards his late Majeſty of ever bleſſed Memory, and his Embaſſador, with what other over-ſights may have been gathered up ſince, may be freely and fully forgiven and remitted, that ſo my Soul being diſcharged of all fear of diſpleaſure againſt me, I may with a chearful Heart and quiet Conſcience go on in ſuch a vocation as the Lord ſhall have appointed for me. My Lord, this Wound hath long feſter'd near my Heart; and though falſe Skins have been drawn over it ſometimes by unskilful Hands, yet have I ever judged it the ſureſt Cure to rip it up by Confeſſion, and heal it by Contrition. And ſure I judge that it favours more of a right generous Spirit to confeſs a Fault, than to conceal it, eſpecially when the Party offending is free from Malice, and the Party offended of a Nature ſo noble and full of Goodneſs, as nothing can be wiſh'd to be added unto it, and which is yet more, and this have you graciouſly done to me, my Lord, ſigned himſelf with his own Hand a true and faithful Friend unto him, the more to invite him to truſt him. And truſt you I do, my Lord, and in you (next my gracious Sovereign) as much as may be in any Arm of Fleſh. The God of Heaven (I hope will ſpeak peace to my Soul, if the King,

King, and your Grace, will ſend peace to my Heart. I truſt you will, and will pray to God you may, that I may in all chearfulneſs and thankfulneſs ever remain

Exeter, 3. June, 1625.

Your Grace's moſt humble, and faithful, and obliged Servant,

Jo. Ogle.

POST-SCRIPT.

I beſeech your Grace to ſend ſome other Man to take this Charge which I too weakly, for fear of offending by denial, have thus far undergone, but upon hope of being withdrawn. Yet ſtill I ſubmit my ſelf to your Grace's good pleaſure.

The Earl of Oxford, *to the Duke.*

My Lord,

I Cannot but believe that I have had ſome undeſerved ill Offices done me unto your Lordſhip, otherwiſe I ſhould not find this difficulty in being preferred, if not afore, at leaſt equally, in balance with my Accuſers. It is common unto all Men's Underſtanding, that it is not the guilt of the Accuſed, but the legal and juſt proceeding, which clears the King's Honour; and this I do, and ever will acknowledge to have been held towards me. Neither was it ever known, that the King's Grace, the more it came ſweetned with his Favour, did leſſen or diminiſh his Honour; but rather ſeem'd as a luſtre to make his Goodneſs ſhine brighter, and oblige the Receiver in a more ſtrict Tye of Gratitude. My Lord, it cannot wrong you to oblige me to your Service, nor add Reputation to you to throw me upon Rocks. I appeal to the King, and your own Conſcience, whether ever I have harbour'd any treaſonable Thoughts, either againſt his Majeſty, or his Iſſue, that ſhould make me uncapable of receiving his Grace, without imputation to thoſe faithful and dutiful Reſpects, with which I have ever ſerv'd his Majeſty: If it ſhall pleaſe him to line me out my path to death (the period whither we muſt all travel to) by impriſonment, I ſhall be far from repining at this Sentence, but with all humbleneſs will undergo it, and employ my heartieſt Prayers for the long continuance of his Honour and Happineſs.

I beſeech your Lordſhip receive my Character of what I am, and have ever been towards you, not from Conjectures and Reports of others, but from my own Mouth and Actions. For yet I have reaſon to ſuſpect your Opinion of me, elſe ſure I ſhould have found better fruits of your Power. I was always (as much as lay in me) deſirous to outſtrip, rather than come ſhort of, any in doing you ſervice; and the ſame Affections ſtill remaining with me; of the truth of which I pray you be confident.

To this only I will add one requeſt more; which is, That ſince your Lordſhip is pleaſed to mediate with his Majeſty for my freedom, you will procure it ſo free from rubs, as that my Obligation may be the greater, which I will ever willingly and faithfully pay unto your Lordſhip in all Reſpects, like him who truly is

Your Lordſhips, &c.

H. O.

An Order made at Whitehall, *betwixt the Univerſity and Town of* Cambridge, *Decemb.* 4. 1629.

Lord Keeper,
Lord Archb. of York,
Lord Treaſurer,
Lord Preſident,
Lord Privy Seal,
Lord High Chamberlain,
Earl Marſhal,
Lord Steward,
Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of Suffolk,
Earl of Dorſet,
Earl of Salisbury,
Earl of Bridgewater,
Earl of Holland,
Earl of Danby,
Earl of Kelly,
Lord Viſcount Dorcheſter,
Lord Viſcount Grandiſon,
Lord Biſhop of Winton,
Maſter of the Wards,
Maſter Chamberlain,
Mr. Secretary Cook.

THis day his Majeſty ſitting in Council, did hear at large the Controverſie between the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and certain Burghers of the Town, concerning the rating and ſetting the price of *Victualia*, and particularly of Candles, and other neceſſaries comprized under the

terms

terms of *Focalia*; and of the Conſequences lately fallen out upon the Controverſie; which having been long debated by Council learned on both ſides, his Majeſty finally ordered, by Advice of the Board, That as well the late Mayor and Bayliff, and *William Bridges*, as *Edward Almond*, *John Ball*, *Jonas Scot* and *Thomas Oliver*, ſhall acknowledge and ſubmit themſelves (by ſetting their Hands to this Order in the Council-Book) to the Juriſdiction and Priviledges of the Univerſity, as well for the rating and ſetting the price of all manner of *Victualia*, and of Candles, and all other neceſſaries under the term of *Focalia*, as for the correcting and puniſhing of all ſuch Inhabitants of the Town, as ſhall break and exceed the ſaid rates and prices ſo ſet by the Vice-Chancellor, or ſuch Officers of the Univerſity as are in that behalf authorized. And it is further ordered, That all the Parties fined by the Vice-Chancellor, ſhall pay the Fines, and ſuch Charges of the Court as were ſet upon them by the Vice-Chancellor; and ſhall make publick confeſſion, in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, of their Fault, in breaking the ſaid rates and prices ſo ſet, and refuſing to pay the Fines ſo aſſeſs'd upon them, and queſtioning the Priviledges of the Univerſity. And as touching the diſcommuning of any of the ſaid Perſons in this Order mention'd; it is ordered, That Peace and Agreement ſhall be ſetled between the Parties, according to the performance of that reſpect and ſubmiſſion which is due from the Inhabitants of the ſaid Town of *Cambridge* to the ſaid Univerſity.

Ex. *Will. Becher.*

Sir *John Perrot*'s Commiſſion for the Lord Deputy of *Ireland.*

ELizabetha *Dei gratia*, &c. *omnibus ad quos præſentes literæ pervenerint, ſalut. Sciatis quod nos certis urgentibus cauſis & conſiderationibus nos ſpecialiter moventibus, de provida circumſpectione & induſtria prædilecti & fidelis nobis* Johannis Perrot *milit. plenius confidentes de adviſamento Concilii noſtri aſſignavimus, facimus, ordinavimus, conſtituimus & deputavimus, & per præſentes aſſignavimus*, &c. *eundem* Johannem Perrot *milit. Deputat. noſtrum Generalem Regni noſtri* Hiberniæ, *habend. tenend. gaudend. exercend. & occupand. Officium prædict. eidem* Johanni Perrot *milit. durante beneplacito noſtro, dantes & concedentes eidem Deputat. noſtro Generali plenam tenore præſentium poteſtatem ad pacem noſtram ac ad leges & conſuetudines regni noſtri prædict. cuſtodiend. & cuſtodiri faciend. & ad omnes & ſingulas leges noſtras*, &c.

The whole Contents of the Commiſſion, for Lord Deputy.

TO conſerve the Peace, to puniſh Offenders, to make Orders and Proclamations, to receive Offenders to Grace, to give Pardons and impoſe Fines, to levy Forces, to Fight and make Peace, to diſpoſe Rebels Lands, to pardon all Treaſons ſaving touching the Queen's Perſon, and counterfeiting of Coyn; to give Offices, ſaving the Chancellor, Treaſurer, two Chief Juſtices, Chief Baron, and Maſter of the Rolls; to diſpoſe of Eccleſiaſtical Livings, except Archbiſhops and Biſhops; to receive Homage and the Oath, to make proviſion for his Houſhold according to the ancient cuſtom; to aſſemble the Parliament with her Majeſty's privity, to receive the account of Officers, ſaving the Treaſurers, to exerciſe Martial Law.

The Queen's Warrant to the Lords, &c. of Ireland, *for miniſtring the Oath, and delivery of the Sword to him,* January 31. 1583.

RIghtReverend Father in God, Right Truſty and Wellbeloved, and Truſty and Right Wellbeloved, We greet you well: Whereas upon the departure from thence of our Right Truſty and Wellbeloved the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, late our Deputy there, we thought it meet for our Government there, to appoint you joyntly to have the place of our Juſtices, until ſuch time as we ſhould reſolve to ſend another thither to be our Deputy there: We let you to wit, that meaning now no longer to burthen you with ſuch a Charge, wherein you have, according to the Truſt impoſed in you, very wiſely behaved your ſelves, greatly to our contentation, we have choſen and appointed our Right Truſty and Wellbeloved Sir *John Perrot* Knight, this Bearer, to be our Deputy of that our ſaid Realm, and that for that purpoſe to ſend him preſently thither: Wherefore our Will and Pleaſure is, and by virtue of theſe our Letters we authorize you, upon the view of our Letters Patents made and delivered unto him in that behalf, both to miniſter unto him the Oath accuſtomed to be given unto the Deputy there; and

alſo

alſo to deliver unto him the Sword, as heretofore hath been uſed. And further, that you communicate unto him amply the preſent eſtate of that our Realm, and of all our Affairs there, for his better inſtruction, at his entrance into that Government, and the advancement of our ſervice. And theſe our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in this behalf. Given under our Signet, &c. the laſt of *January*, 1583. the 26. year of our Reign.

Another, for his Entertainment there.

TRuſty and Well beloved, we greet you well: Whereas we have now appointed our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Sir *John Perrot* Knight to be our Deputy in that our Realm of *Ireland*, for which Office allowance as well of Diets as of Entertainments for certain Horſe-men is to be given him: Theſe be therefore to let you, to wit, that we allow unto him, for his ordinary Dyet, one hundred pounds ſterling, according to the laſt Eſtabliſhment in *March*, 1580. and for his Retinue fifty Horſe-men, and fifty Foot-men, with ſuch Wages for every Horſe-man and Foot-man, and for their Officers, as was allowed to Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, and Sir *Henry Sydney*, Knights, in the late times of their Governments in that Realm. After which Rates as well for his own Dyet, as for the ſaid fifty Horſe-men, and fifty Foot-men; and for their Officers, we will and command you to make payment to him, during his Employment and Service in that place, from the date of our Letters Patents, authorizing him to that Government; and theſe our Letters ſhall be ſufficient Warrant as well to you, as to any Treaſurer or Vice-Treaſurer there, for the time being, and to your and their Subſtitutes, as alſo to the Auditor, or his Deputies, and to all other Commiſſioners to be appointed over your Accompts, to paſs and allow the ſame payments to you accordingly. Given, &c. the fourth of *April*, 1583. in the 26. year of our Reign of *England*, &c.

The Queen's Inſtructions to Sir John Perrot.

YOu ſhall ſee, immediately upon your arrival into that Realm, aſſembled our Council there, and confer with them, what courſe of Government, upon due conſideration had of the preſent eſtate of the ſaid Realm, may be held, ſo as Juſtice may take place, our Charges be leſſen'd, our Revenues encreaſed, and our Subjects there not oppreſſed.

You ſhall alſo conſider what Forces are meet to be continued in pay, and how the reſt, chargeable unto us, and burthenſom unto the Country, may be diſcharged; and alſo, how the Horſe-men and Foot-men ſerving there may be reduced to their old pay, which by reaſon of the general Rebellion in that Realm (the Country being waſted) we were driven to encreaſe: And therefore, we ſee no reaſon but the Band reſiding in thoſe Countries that are not waſted may live well enough of the old pay, eſpecially being victualled by us: And for the eaſe and diminiſhing of our Charges in that behalf, we do think it meet, that you ſhould treat with thoſe Countries that are not waſted, as well in *Munſter*, or elſewhere in that Realm, to ſee if you can draw them, with good contentment, to contribute ſomething towards the finding of that Garriſon, as *Carberry* heretofore hath done.

And for that our Subjects in that Realm, &c.

To adviſe of the inhabiting of *Munſter*, the attainted Lands to be let out at eaſie Rents. Survey, certifie what States. 5. Port-Corn. 6. The attainted Lands to be beſtowed in Reward upon Servitors. 7. Younger Brothers of Noble-men, Diminiſh Penſioners. 9. Review former Inſtructions. 10.——11. Renewing of forfeited Leaſes for three years: Beef, Remittal of Arrearages. 12. Reverſion of Lands to the Governors. 13. Lands of the attainted to be appointed to Houſe-keeping. 14. Reverſion of Timber-woods. 15. Reſidence of Officers. 16. Report to the State, Outrages of diſloyal Subjects. 17. Profits of Cuſtoms, Eſcheats, &c. 19. Eſtabliſhment for *Connaught*. 20. Preſident for *Munſter*, allowance begin at *May*, Tranſportation. 21. Councellors, B. of *Meath*, *John Norris*, *Richard Bingham*, *Tho. Strange*. 22. Refer the choice of a perſon to the Chancellor, and others. 23. Certificate of the laſt Treaſurers Receipts and Expences.

Every one of theſe Articles doth contain half a ſide of Paper; and therefore, it is rather thought fit to abbreviate them, than to tranſcribe them at large, the whole Contents being contained in this abbreviation.

Sir

Sir John Perrot, *to the Lords of the Council.*

May it please your good Lordſhips,

ALthough I and this Council have, by our joynt-Letters, truly declared unto you the dutiful ſtate of things here, and the cauſes, both foreign and domeſtical, whereupon we gather it; and withal have ſhewed our extream wants, and what ſupplies are deſired: Yet underſtanding thence, but not from your Lordſhips (for I have had no kind of advertiſements, anſwer, or reſolution, for the ſame, theſe twelve months) that there is a great preparation made by the *Spaniſh* King againſt the Realm, and that your Lordſhips have intelligence thereof; I cannot but, as one whoſe chief charge and care it is, importune your Lordſhips to caſt your Eye more carefully this way; humbly praying you to conſider in what caſe we are in, to try with a moſt mighty Prince, whether this Realm ſhall be ſtill her Majeſty's, or his; if there be any ſuch matters (as your Lordſhips know beſt) then I beſeech your Lordſhips to think, whether it be more ſafety to ſay, that we have ſent Proviſion to encounter the danger; or elſe, you will ſend, when, perhaps, it will be too late. And withal, for mine own diſcharge, if I ſhall tarry, and have nothing wherewith: I have but a Life to yield for her Majeſty, and my Country; for the loſs thereof I grieve not, but rather for the harm that through defects, I fear, may come to her Majeſty and the State, and the ſhame I ſhall leave behind me. This foreign preparation, if there be any ſuch thing, is likely to be ſpent againſt *Munſter*, to ſeize upon, and to ſpoil the Cities and Towns of the ſame, which in truth are very weak. If I ſhall go thither, what for the late Wars, and this laſt bad ſeaſon, there is not ſo much to be had there, as will maintain that one Band of 200. that is under Mr. *Thomas Norris*, the Vice-Preſident there, but that I am enforced to ſhift them from Town to Town, who, by reaſon of their extream penury, do receive them with great grief and grudge. And though I had Men ſufficient to encounter the Enemy that ſhould come, yet, for want of Victuals, I ſhould be driven to abandon the place with danger and ſhame; where they that are to come over, are like to bring their Proviſion with them, and to ſettle it in ſome Town that they will ſoon ſeize upon for that purpoſe: Whereof what may enſue, amongſt this unconſtant People, naturally delighting in change, your Lordſhip may ſoon gather. Beſides this that I have ſaid of the bare eſtate of *Munſter*, where there is not ſo much to be had as will ſerve for my own Family, or yet to feed my Horſes till Graſs grow, I refer you to underſtand, not only the ſame more fully, but alſo the great wants of the reſt of the Realm, by the Declaration here encloſed; which, as *Beverly* the Victualler maketh it, ſo I know it to be true. And therefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, to ſend ſpeedy order, that ſuch a Staple of Victuals may be provided, and be ſent over, as your Lordſhips ſhall think requiſite to ſerve, as well for the numbers here already, as alſo for thoſe that are to be ſent over, to encounter ſuch an Accident as may fall out. And herein I would wiſh your Lordſhips to conſider the Winds and Weather, how untowardly they have framed this year: For as ſome have lain at *Cheſter* nine Weeks to come over hither, ſo hath there been no paſſage hence this ſix Weeks. Moreover, if there be ſuch purpoſes in hand, it were good ſome ſhipping were diſpatch'd, for the guard of the Coaſts. And to all theſe and other Difficulties, may I, with your Lordſhips favour, add one more to be conſidered of, How weakly I am ſeconded, if need fall out, by thoſe forreign attempts, whereof I would ſay little for any other cauſe: The Marſhal is old, and not able either to ride or go; the Maſter of the Ordnance is both abſent and old, and I wiſh there were a more ſufficient Man in his place: The Lord Preſident, and Sir *William Stanley*, who are Men of good Conduct, are drawn away; Sir *H. Harrington*, Mr. *Edward Barkley*, and the Seneſcal *Dantry*, are ſuffered to remain ſtill there; but I humbly pray, they may be ſped away, together with all other that are Servitors, by any manner of pay there. And ſo having herein diſcharged my Duty, I humbly end

From the Caſtle of Dublin,
Jan. 31. 1585.

Your Lordſhips moſt humble,
at Commandment,
John Perrot.

The Petition of Francis Philips, *to King* James, *for the releaſe of Sir* Robert Philips, *Priſoner in the* Tower.

Moſt dread Sovereign,

IF the Thrones of Heaven and Earth were to be ſollicited one and the ſame way, I ſhould have learned, by my often praying to God for your Majeſty, how to pray to your Majeſty for others: But the Liturgies of the Church and Court are different, as in many other points, ſo eſpecially in this,

That in the one, there is not ſo poor a Friend, but may offer his Vows immediately to the Almighty; whereas in the other, a right Loyal Subject may pour out his Soul in vain, without an *Ora pro nobis*. Now ſuch is the obſcure condition of your humble Suppliant, as I know no Saint about your ſacred Majeſty, to whom I can addreſs my Oriſons, or in whoſe Mediation I dare repoſe the leaſt aſſurance: Let it be therefore lawful for me, in this extraordinary occaſion, to paſs the ordinary forms; and raiſing my Spirits above Uncertainties, to fix my entire Faith upon your Majeſty's ſupream Goodneſs, which is, and ever ought to be eſteem'd, both the beſt Tribunal, and the beſt Sanctuary, for a good Cauſe. But how good ſoever my Cauſe be, it would be high preſumption in me to ſtand upon it; I have therefore choſen rather to caſt my ſelf at your Majeſty's feet, from whence I would not willingly riſe, but remain a Monument of Sorrow and Humility, till I have obtained ſome gracious Anſwer to my Petition: For though your Majeſty's Thoughts cannot diſcern ſo low, as to conceive how much it importeth a poor diſtreſſed Suppliant to be reviled and neglected; yet you may be pleaſed to believe, that we are as highly affected, and as much anguiſhed with the Extremities that preſs our little Fortunes, as Princes are with theirs. Which I ſpeak, not out of any pride I take in comparing ſmall things with great, but only to diſpoſe your Majeſty to a favourable conſtruction of my Words, if they ſeem to be over-charged with Zeal and Affection, or to expreſs more earneſtneſs than, perhaps, your Majeſty may think the Buſineſs merits, as my ſelf values it. The ſuit I am to make to your Majeſty, is no ſleight one, yet it may be eaſily granted without references: For, I dare aſſure your Majeſty, upon my Life, it is neither againſt the Laws of the Kingdom, nor will diminiſh any of your Treaſure, either that of your Coffers, or that of your Peoples Hearts; it being an act of Clemency, or rather a Word, for even that will ſatisfie to create in your poor dejected Suppliant a new Heart, and ſend him away as full of Content, as he is now of Grief and Deſpair. Nor is it for my ſelf I thus implore your Majeſty's Grace, but for one that is far more worthy, and in whom all that I am conſiſts, my dear Brother, who, I know not by what misfortune, hath fallen, or rather been puſhed, into your Majeſty's diſpleaſure; not in dark and crooked ways, as corrupt and ill-affected Subjects uſe to walk, and near to break their necks in; but even in the great road, which both himſelf, and all good *Engliſh*-men, that know not the paths of the Court, would have ſworn, would have led moſt ſafely and moſt directly to your Majeſty's Service, from your Majeſty's Diſpleaſure; there needs no other invention to crucifie a generous and honeſt-minded Suppliant, upon whom hath iſſued and been derived, a whole torrent of exemplary puniſhment, wherein his Reputation, his Perſon, and his Eſtate, grievouſly ſuffered.

For having (upon the laſt proceſs of Parliament) retired himſelf to his poor Houſe in the Country, with hope a while to breathe after theſe troubleſome Affairs, and ſtill breathing nothing but your Majeſty's Service; he was ſent for, 'ere he had finiſh'd his Chriſtmas, by a Serjeant at Arms, who arreſted him in his own Houſe, with as much terror as belongs to the apprehending of Treaſon it ſelf: But (thanks be to God) his Conſcience never ſtarted; and for his Obedience herein ſhewed, it was not in the power of any Authority to ſurprize it; for at the inſtant, without asking one minutes time of reſolution, he rendred himſelf to the Officers diſcretion, who (according to his directions) brought him up captive, and preſented him at the Council-Table as a Delinquent, from whence he was as ſoon committed to the *Tower*; where he ever ſince hath been kept cloſe priſoner, and that with ſo ſtrict a hand, as his own beloved Wife, and my ſelf, having ſometime ſince urgent and unfeigned occaſion to ſpeak with him, about ſome private buſineſs of his Family, and hereupon making humble Petition to the Lords of your Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, for the favour of acceſs, we were, to our great diſcomforts, denied it, by reaſon, as their Lordſhip's we pleaſed to declare unto us, that he had not ſatisfied your Majeſty fully in ſome points; which is ſo far from being his Fault, as, I dare ſay, it is the greateſt part of his Affliction, that he ſees himſelf debarred from the means of doing it. The Lords Commiſſioners that were appointed by your Majeſty to examine his Offence, ſince the firſt Week of his impriſonment, have not done him the Honour to be with him; by which means, not only his Body, but (the moſt part of his Mind) his humble Intentions to your Majeſty, are kept in reſtraint. May it pleaſe, therefore your moſt excellent Majeſty, now at length, after five Months impriſonment, and extream durance, to ordain ſuch expedition in this cauſe, as may ſtand with your Juſtice, and yet not avert your Mercy; either of them will ſerve our turns: But that which is moſt agreeable to your Royal and Gracious Inclination, will beſt accompliſh our deſire. To live ſtill in cloſe priſon, is all one as to be buried alive; and for a Man that hath any hope of Salvation, it were better to pray for the Day of Judgment, than to lie languiſhing in ſuch waking miſery; yet not ours, but your Majeſty's Will be done: For if in your Princely Wiſdom you ſhall not think it a fit ſeaſon to reſtore him to his former condition, or to accept the fruit of his correction, and humble and penitent ſubmiſſion for his unhappineſs in offending your Majeſty, which, I aſſure my ſelf, is long ſince ripe, and grown to full perfection, in ſo forward affection, and ſo proper for all Duties, as his hath ever been: If (I ſay) it be not yet time to have mercy, but that he muſt ſtill remain within the Walls of Bondage, to expiate that which he did in theſe priviledged ones, my hope is, that he will die at any time for your Majeſty's Service, and will find patience to live any where for your Majeſty's

Pleaſure;

Pleaſure; only thus much let me beſeech your Majeſty's Grace, again and again, not to deny your humble and moſt obedient Suppliant, that you will at leaſt, be pleaſed to mitigate the Rigor of his Sufferings ſo far, as to grant him the Liberty of the Tower, that he may no longer groan under the Burthen of thoſe Incommodities which daily prejudice his Health and Fortune in a higher Degree (I believe) than either your Majeſty knows or intends. I am the more bold to importune your Majeſty in the point of Favor, becauſe it concerns my own Good and Preſervation: For your Majeſty ſhall deign to underſtand, that I, your Suppliant, have no means to live, but what proceeds from his Brotherly Love and Bounty; ſo as if I may not be ſuffered to go to him, and receive Order for my Maintenance, I know none but *Our Father which art in Heaven* to beg my daily Bread on; he that was my Father on Earth is long ſince departed (if I have not been miſ-informed) who was then beyond ſea; your Majeſty's Anger was, to him, little better than the Meſſenger of Death, though, I perſwade my ſelf, it was rather ſent in your Majeſtys Name, than in your Warrant.

For what uſe could your Majeſty have of his not being, who neither was, nor could be ever but your faithful and affectionate Servant, who in his Soul adored your Royal Majeſty, as much as ever mortal Man did any mortal God; laſtly, whoſe Heart was ſo bent to pleaſe your Majeſty, as the very ſound of your Diſpleaſure was enough to break it. And more perfect Obedience than this can no Subject ſhew, to make his Sovereigns Favor equal to Life and Death.

Pardon me, dread Sovereign, if, on this occaſion, I cannot hinder my Father's Ghoſt from appearing: For how can it poſſibly be at reſt, as long as your fatal Diſpleaſure reigns ſtill in his Family, and makes it the Houſe of continual Mourning? Remove then (if it be your bleſſed Will) the Clouds that have been ſo long hanging over our Heads; and let not the preſent Storm, that wants Matter to produce, extort a Thunder-bolt: For what is *Philips*, or the Son of *Philips*, that your Majeſty ſhould ſo deſtroy them? We are unworthy of *Cæſar's* Anger, as well in regard of our Means, as of our Innocency.

To conclude my Prayers, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to forgive them; and let not the Ignorance of the Stile, or Ceremonies uſed in the Court, be imputed to your humble and well-meaning Suppliant, as a willing Want of Reverence; in whoſe Breaſt theſe two legal Qualities, Love and Fear, do more vigorouſly meet; or who could more willingly part with his Eſſence, to add the leaſt Acquiſition to the Greatneſs and Majeſty of this Sovereign. True it is, that the Subject that employed the Faculties of my Soul, at this preſent, is of ſuch a Nature, as I could not deny it the uttermoſt of my Affection; and he that thinks he can never ſpeak enough, may eaſily ſpeak too much. That neither my ſelf, nor my Brother, have failed in any thing but Words, that your Majeſty will pardon; without that, all Crimes are equal, and as much Danger lies in an humble Petition, as in a Plot of high Treaſon.

Be pleaſed then (moſt gracious Sovereign) to give us back one gracious Word, and keep our undoubted Hearts; at leaſt, ſhew us ſo much Mercy, as to judge us according to your own Goodneſs: For, if we had not Liberty to appeal thither, we ſhould be in danger of loſing the beſt part of our Birthright, and, inſtead of your Majeſty's Subjects, become other Mens Slaves. From your Majeſty, therefore, and from no other, your faithful Suppliant craves and expects the joyful Word of Grace; which if I may be ſo happy as to carry my poor Brother, before he grows any older in Miſery, I ſhall find an honeſt Heart with Prayers and Thankſgiving: And for my particular, your Majeſty's greateſt Favor and Liberality ſhall not more oblige, or better affect others, than your Royal Clemency ſhall me. In memory whereof, I ſhall daily pray, that your Majeſty may obtain all your Deſires of Heaven, and ſo be obeyed in all your Commandments on Earth, that we may live to ſee your holy Intentions to take Effect for the Good of Chriſtendom, and ſo you may honor the Age you live in with the Miracles of your Wiſdom. Finally, that your Felicity in this World may overtake that in the higheſt, to make you wear a perpetual Crown, to Gods Glory, and your own,

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble, Loyal,
and True hearted Engliſh Subject,
Francis Philips.

Sir Robert Philips, *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

BEfore the Receipt of that Diſpatch, with which you were pleaſed to honor me, from *Aſthorp*, dated the laſt of *July*, I was fully determined, at your Return to *Woodſtock*, to have preſented your Grace my moſt humble and faithful Service, and by that Means to have obtained the Knowledge, in what State and Condition of Health you had paſſed this part of the Progreſs. Your former Weakneſs, together with the dangerous Temper of the Seaſon, giving me cauſe both to doubt, and pray

againſt the worſt: But I found my ſelf then to be more ſtrictly obliged to the performance of this Duty, when I received from your Grace ſo clear and abundant a Teſtimony, as well of your good Opinion, as of the Truſt you repoſed in me. Obligations, certainly, of that Nature, and of ſo large an Extent, as do with reaſon deprive me of all degree of Liberty, and juſtly ſubject me to a perpetual Servitude and Obedience to all your Grace's Commandments.

I have diligently peruſed my Lord of *Briſtol*'s Anſwer, which it pleaſed your Grace to communicate unto me. And although it become me not, neither will I preſume to give my Opinion of the Strength or Weakneſs thereof; yet will I take the Liberty to ſay thus much, That I find, in his caſe, that to be verified which I have obſerved at other times, to wit, That when able and prudent Men come to act their own Parts, they are then for the moſt part not of the cleareſt Sight, and do commonly commit ſuch Errors, as are both diſcernable and avoidable, even by Men of mean Abilities.

Being now fallen to ſpeak of this Lord, I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to give me leave plainly and briefly to ſet before you ſome Cogitations of mine own, touching his preſent Occaſion.

Firſt, That it may be maturely conſidered, whether the tendring him any further Charge, unto which he may be able to frame a probable ſatisfactory Anſwer, will not rather ſerve to declare his Innocency, than to prepare his Condemnation, and ſo inſtead of preſſing him, reflect back with Diſadvantage upon the proceeding againſt him.

Secondly, That your Grace would be pleaſed to conſult with your ſelf, whether you may not deſiſt from having him further queſtioned, without either blemiſh to your Honor or manifeſt prejudice to the Service: Conſidering that you have (to your perpetual Glory) already diſſolved and broken the Spaniſh Party, and rendred them without either the Means, or the Hope of ever conjoyning in ſuch ſort together again, as may probably give the leaſt Diſturbance or Impediment to your Grace's ways and deſigns.

And laſtly, Although his Lordſhip, in ſundry places of his Anſwer, eſpecially in the later part, doth ſeem directly to violate the Rule of the * prudent Mariner, who in foul Weather, and in a Storm, is accuſtomed (to prevent Shipwrack) rather to pull down, then ſet up his Sails. Nevertheleſs as this Caſe ſtands, it deſerves to be throughly pondered, which of the two ways will moſt conduce to your Grace's purpoſe, and is likely to receive the better Interpretation and Succeſs, either to have him dealt with after a quick and round Manner, or otherwiſe to proceed ſlowly and moderately with him, permitting him for a time to remain where he is, as a Man laid aſide, and in the way to be forgotten. A State of being (if I miſtake not his Complexion) which will be by him apprehended equivalent to the ſevereſt and ſharpeſt Cenſure that poſſibly can be inflicted on him.

* Provident.

Thus have I over-boldly adventured to preſent unto your Grace theſe few Queries and Propoſals, which might be both enlarged, and more forcibly urged; yet to avoid the being too tedious, I have choſen to omit the further inſiſting upon them, till ſuch time as I may have the Honor and Felicity of being near your Perſon. At this preſent it ſhall ſuffice, humbly to beſeech your Grace, to be aſſuredly perſwaded, that what I have now delivered in this Subject, doth not proceed from any over-indulgent Reſpect I bear either to the Perſon or Fortune of my Lord of *Briſtol*; though I ſhould not be ſorry, that like a prudent Man he might, by his diſcreet Application to your Grace, render himſelf capable to be again readmitted to your Love and Favor. But the Motive which hath induced me principally to uſe this Plainneſs and Liberty, is, the Conſideration how importantly (as I conceive) the well ordering and diſpoſing this particular, doth concern your Graces Service. Unto the Advancement and Furtherance whereof, if I may be able, now, or at any time, to contribute the leaſt proportion, I ſhall eſteem my ſelf moſt happy, and more than abundantly rewarded, in caſe that my right humble Endeavors in that kind may receive from your Grace a favorable and acceptable Conſtruction.

I will conclude this Letter with a two-fold Prayer; firſt, to you for my ſelf, that your Grace will be pleaſed to pardon this Boldneſs. Next to God for you, that he will give you Health and length of Days, for his Majeſty's Service, and the Good and Honor of this common-Wealth. I humbly crave Leave to remain,

Your Grace's moſt obedient,
and moſt devoted Servant,
Robert Philips.

Aug. 21. 1624.

King Philip *the Third, of* Spain, *to the Conde* Olivarez.

THE King my Father declared at his Death, that his Intention never was to marry my Siſter the *Infanta Donna Maria* with the Prince of *Wales*; which your Uncle *Don Baltezer* well underſtood, and ſo treated this Match with an Intention to delay it; notwithſtanding it is now ſo far advanced, that,

that, considering withal the Averſneſs unto it of the *Infanta*, as it is high time to ſeek ſome Means to divert the Treaty, which I would have you find out, and I will make it good whatſoever it be; but in all other things procure the Satisfaction of the King of *Great Britain*, who hath deſerved very much; and it ſhall content me, ſo that it be not the Match.

Conde Olivarez, *his Answer to the King:*

Sir,

CONſidering in what Eſtate we find the Treaty of Marriage between *Spain* and *England*, and knowing certainly how the Miniſters did underſtand this Buſineſs, that treated it in the time of *Philip* the Third, Who is now in Heaven, that their Meaning was never to effect it; but by enlarging the Treaties and Points of the ſaid Marriage, to make uſe of the Friendſhip of the King of *Great Britain*, as well in the Matter of *Germany*, as thoſe of *Flanders*; and ſuſpecting likewiſe that your Majeſty is of the ſame Opinion (although the Demonſtrations do not ſhew ſo) joyning to thoſe Suſpitions, that it is certain that the *Infanta Donna Maria* is reſolved to put her ſelf into the Monaſtery the ſame Day that your Majeſty ſhall preſs her to make the Marriage, I have thought fit to preſent to your Majeſty that which my good Zeal hath afforded me in this Occaſion, thinking it a good time to acquaint your Majeſty withal, to the end you may reſolve of that which you ſhall find moſt convenient, with the Advice of thoſe Miniſters you ſhall think fit.

The King of *Great Britain* doth find himſelf at this time equally in the two Buſineſſes, the one is the Marriage, to which he is moved by the Conveniencies which he finds in your Majeſty's Friendſhip with making an Agreement with thoſe Catholicks that he thinks are ſecretly in his Kingdom, and by this to aſſure himſelf of them; as likewiſe to marry his Son to one of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, knowing that the *Infanta Donna Maria* is the beſt born Lady in the World. The other Buſineſs is, the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, in which he is yet more engaged. For (beſides that his Reputation is at ſtake) there is added, the Love and Intereſt of his Grand-Children, Sons of his only Daughter. So that, both by the Law of Nature, and Reaſon of State, he ought to put them before whatſoever Conveniencies might follow by diſſembling what they ſuffer. I do not diſpute whether the King of *Great Britany* be governed, in this Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, by Art of Friendſhip, I think a Man may ſay he hath uſed both; but as a thing not preciſely neceſſary to this Diſcourſe, I omit it. I hold it for a Maxim, that theſe two Engagements in which he finds himſelf, are unſeparable: for although the Marriage be made, we muſt fail in that which in any way of Underſtanding is moſt neceſſary, which is the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*. This being ſuppoſed, having made the Marriage in the Form as it is treated, your Majeſty may find your ſelf, together with the King of *Great Britain*, engaged in a War againſt the Emperor, and the Catholick League; ſo that your Majeſty ſhall be forced to clear your ſelf with your Arms againſt the Emperor and the Catholick League, a thing, which to hear, will offend your Majeſty's Godly Ears: or declaring your ſelf for the Emperor and the Catholick League, as certainly you will, your Majeſty will find your ſelf engaged in a War againſt the King of *England*, and your Siſter married with his Son, with the which, all whatſoever Conveniences that was thought upon with this Marriage, do ceaſe, if your Majeſty ſhall ſhew your ſelf Neutral, as it may be ſome will expound——

The firſt will cauſe a very great Scandal, and with juſt Reaſon, ſince in Matrers of leſs Oppoſition than of Catholicks againſt Hereticks, the Arms of this Crown hath taken the Godly againſt the contrary Part; and at this time the *French* Men have taken part with the *Hollanders* againſt your Majeſty, your Piety hath been ſuch, that you have ſent your Arms againſt the Rebels of that Crown, leaving all the great Conſiderations of State, only becauſe thoſe Men are Enemies of the Faith and the Church. It will oblige your Majeſty, and give good Occaſion to thoſe of the League, to make uſe of the King of *France*, and other Catholick Princes ill affected to this Crown, for it will be a thing neceſſary for them to do ſo; and thoſe, even againſt their own Religion, will foment and aſſiſt the Hereticks, for Hatred to us; without doubt they will follow the contrary part, only to leave your Majeſty with that Blemiſh that never hath befallen any King of theſe Dominions.

By the ſecond, the King of *England* will remain offended and diſobliged, ſeeing that neither Intereſſes nor Hopes do follow the Alliance with this Crown, as likewiſe the Pretext of particular Reſentment for having ſuffered his Daughter and Grand-children to be ruined for reſpect of the ſaid Alliance. The Emperor, though he be well affected and obliged to us, in making the Tranſlation at this time, as Buſineſſes now ſtand (the Duke of *Bavaria* being now poſſeſſed of all the Dominions) although he would diſpoſe of all according to our Conveniencies, yet it will not be in his Power to do it, as you and every Body may ſee: And the Memorial that the Emperors Embaſſador gave your Majeſty yeſterday makes it certain, ſince in the Liſt of the Souldiers, that every one of the League is to pay, he ſhews your Majeſty, that *Bavaria* for himſelf alone will pay more than all the reſt joyned together;

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the which doth ſhew his Power and his Intention, which is not to accommodate Matters, but to keep to himſelf the Superiority of all in this broken time. The Emperor is now in the Dyet, and the Tranſlation is to be made in it. The Oppoſition in this Eſtate is, by conſerving the Means for Conference, which your Majeſty's Miniſters will do with their Capacities, Zeal and Wiſdom; and it is certain they will all have enough to do; for the Difficulty conſiſts to find a Way to make the preſent State of Affairs ſtraight again, which with Lingring, as it is ſaid, both the Power and Time will be loſt, I ſuppoſe that the Emperor, as your Majeſty knows by his Ambaſſador, deſires to marry his Daughter with the King of *England*'s Son, I doubt not but he will be likewiſe glad to marry his ſecond Daughter with the Palatines Son.

Then I propound, that theſe two Marriages be made, and that they be ſet on foot preſently, giving the King of *England* full Satisfaction in all his Propoſitions for the ſtrict Union and Correſpondency that he may agree to it: I hold for certain, that all the Conveniencies that would have followed the Alliance with us, will be as full in this; it doth accommodate the Matter of the Palatinate, and the Succeſſion of his Grand-Children, with his Honor, and without drawing a Sword, or waſting Treaſure.

After I would reduce the Prince Elector, that was an Enemy to the Obedience of the Church, by breeding his Sons in the Emperors Court, with Catholick Doctrine.

This Buſineſs is great, the Difficulty greater than perchance hath been in any other Caſe, I have found my ſelf obliged to repreſent to your Majeſty, and ſhew (if you pleaſe to command me) what I think fit for the diſpoſing of the things, and of the great Miniſters that your Majeſty hath; I hope, with the particular Notice of theſe things (and all being helped with the good Zeal of the *Conde de Gondomar*) it may be that God will open a way to it; a thing ſo much for his and your Majeſty's Service.

The Proteſtants of France, *to* Charles, *King of* Great Britain.

SIR,

THE Knowledge and Reſentment which it hath pleaſed your Majeſty to take of the Miſery of the afflicted Churches of *France* hath given us the Boldneſs to awaken your Compaſſion in ſuch meaſure, as our Calamities are aggravated by the unmerciful Rigor of our Perſecutors, and as the preſent Storm doth threaten near at hand the total Ruin, and lamentable Deſtruction of that which the Mercy of God had yet kept entire unto us ſince the Deſolation of *Rochel*; and as we have adored with Humility the Judgment of God in this bad Succeſs (which we impute only to his Wrath juſtly kindled against us for our Sins) ſo our Silence could be thought no leſs than Ingratitude, if we had not at the beginning of our Aſſembly reſolved the moſt humble, and moſt affectionate Acknowledgment which we now render to your Majeſty, for the great Succour which you have ſent us, intereſſing your ſelf ſo far in the Grief of our Oppreſſion, and in the Means of our Deliverance. The moſt humble Supplication which we do offer to your Majeſty next after this our Thankſgiving, is, that your Majeſty (according to the ſweet Inclination of your Goodneſs) would permit us ſtill to preſent our Complaints, and diſcover our Wounds before the Eyes of your Royal Charity, proteſting unto your Majeſty, that we ſee none other Hand under of Heaven, by which we may be healed, but your Majeſty's, in caſe your Majeſty will ſtill vouchſafe to lift it up on the Behalf of oppreſſed Innocents, and of the Church of our Lord outragiouſly perſecuted by the moſt invenom'd Paſſion that our Age, or any Age precedent hath ſeen; we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to read this Letter, which is written with our Tears, and with our Blood; and (according to your exquiſite Judgment, your incomparable Wiſdom, and the Devotion of your Zeal to the Glory of God) to conſider our Eſtate, which is ſuch, that our Perſecutors, upon the Loſs of *Rochell*, ſuppoſing we had been put to utter Diſcomfiture, and into a Weakneſs without Recovery or Reſiſtance, and boaſting themſelves, that now there remained no more any Eyes unto us, but to bewail our ſelves, nor any Senſe, but to feel the Smart thereof, without further employing our Hands or our Arms for our Defence, have made uſe of this Advantage, with ſo much Fierceneſs, Inſultation and Cruelty, that they have not only ſacked the Houſes, and with an unheard of Rudeneſs and Barbariſm, rifled the Goods of our poor Brethren of this Province of *Languedock*, relying themſelves upon publick Faith, and the Benefits of the Edicts of Pacification (eſpecially of the laſt, which your Majeſty had favorably procured and confirmed unto us) diſſipating whole Families, and exiling them with perfidious Inhumanity, but alſo they have laid waſt and deſtroyed almoſt all the Churches of the ſame, which are at their Command and Diſcretion under the Liberty of Edicts; employing Monks (the Pope's Emiſſaries) aſſiſted with Force of Souldiers, and of the Tyrannical Authority of Governors, to raviſh Mens Souls, and to draw the moſt conſtant with Violence to Maſs, and to the Feet of the Idol, interdicting Aſſemblies, and all Exerciſe of true Religion in the ſame places, beating, impriſoning, ranſoming, aſſaſſinating the Faithful and their Paſtors with an

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enraged Fury, which hath exceeded all the Inhumanities of the Inquiſition, prophaning and demoliſhing of Temples; their Violence having proceeded ſo far, as publickly to burn, in Pomp and Triumph, the ſacred Books of Gods Covenant in Preſence of the Governor of the Province, with damnable Sacriledge, which cryeth for Vengeance before God, and doth elevate its Voice to the Ears, (Sir) of a moſt puiſſant Monarch, profeſſing the Purity of the Goſpel, zealous of his Glory, and capable to revenge ſo outragious an Injury. But your Majeſty ſhall underſtand, that all this hath produced an Effect much contrary to the Intention of our Perſecutors; for ſo far it is from us, that their Objects of Pity and Grief, whereof the very thought doth make us repine, ſhould render us faint-hearted, and cauſe us to yield our ſelves in prey to their Rage, that, on the contrary, ſeeing the Mask taken off, and the Pretext which they had alledged of the Army of Rebellion whereof they accuſed us, quite removed; and that without any more Diſſimulation, their Deſign goes on to the ruinating of our Religion, and the Extirpation of our Church, and that there remained no more hope of Safety and Liberty, but general Reſolution to die in the Arms of our juſt and vigorous Defence, and that our Perſecutors poſſeſſing the Spirit of our King, and hindring the Effects of his Bounty, have obtained a Declaration of the fifteenth of *December* laſt, which alluring us to implore his Grace and Mercy, yet leaveth us not any hope of enjoying the Benefits of any Edict, nor by conſequence of any tolerable Peace, and ſoliciting us to diſarm our ſelves, and to put our ſelves into the Condition of Sacrifices deſtined, by one, and by one, to the Slaughter, to be all at one ſtroak offered up to the Fury of Antichriſt, by one general Maſſacre throughout the whole Kingdom, whereof we do not only hear the Vaunts, but do almoſt ſee great Armies upon our Backs for Execution. This makes us (Sir) have recourſe to your Royal and undoubtable Puiſſance, as to a place of refuge, which God hath yet left open to us, in your ardent Charity, to find within your Aſſiſtance aſſured and effectual Means to avoid Ruin, which is ready inevitably to fall upon our Heads: And to attain thereunto (Sir) we have religiouſly renewed, in this Aſſembly, the Oath of Union, which binds us with a ſacred Bond unto the Arms of your Majeſty; of the violating whereof, your Majeſty may be aſſured that we will never make our ſelves guilty, being encouraged to this Reſolution by the reiterate Confirmations which my Lord the Duke of *Rohan* hath lately given us, that your Majeſty continues to take to heart the Aſſiſtance and Deliverance of our Churches, according to your Royal Promiſes, being Debtors to his ſage and valorous Conduct, and to his pious Magnanimity, for all that Strength and Liberty which we yet enjoy: and we will leave unto Poſterity memorable Examples of our Conſtancy, which prefers Death before reproachful Cowardize and ſhameful Servitude, hoping that out of our Aſhes God will draw Matter for his Glory, and the Propagation of his Church; being perſwaded (Sir) that you are the Inſtrument of his Election to give us Comfort and Deliverance from our Evils in time convenient. Be you aſſured alſo, that he will uphold us in that extraordinary Valor wherewith he hath inſpired us to endure all Extremities with a Patience invincible, expecting the Succour of his Hands through yours. Of all (Sir) which a great Monarch could ever do in the World, nothing can be more juſt than this Enterprize, nor more glorious than this Deliverance: the Lord having exalted you to the moſt eminent Degree of Dignity and Power to be the nurſing Father of his Church, ſhe hath Right, being thus mangled and bloody, to ſtretch forth her Arms unto you, even ſhe, that Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, the common Mother of Chriſtians, and your Mother alſo, by the Reſpect of her bruiſed Members, and of the ſearing of her innocent Breaſt, covered with Wounds, ſhe will move your Pity: She aſſures her ſelf (Sir) that the glorious Title which you bear of the Defender of the Faith, ſhall intercede for your accepting of her humble Requeſt: If you do extend unto us your Cares, your Affections, and your formidable Arms, you ſhall nouriſh in our Hearts Affections of our Honor and Obedience which ſhall never die; you ſhall daunt all Powers that would raiſe themſelves againſt your Crown; you ſhall raiſe your Glory to ſuch a height, that all the Earth ſhall admire it, all Chriſtendom ſhall celebrate it, and your Name ſhall be of ſweet Odor unto Angels and Men, and in perpetual Benediction unto all Poſterity of Saints, and your Reward ſhall be great and eternal in Heaven. May it pleaſe your Majeſty to pardon us, if our Neceſſities preſſing us, we all do preſs your Majeſty by our inſtant Supplications accompanied with a moſt humble Reſpect to ſtrengthen our ſelves ſo ſoon as may be, with the Honor of your Commandments, and the Declaration of your Favor, the wholeſome Effects of your Aſſiſtance, according to the Sweetneſs of your Compaſſion and Charity, and we will redouble our Prayers to the Divine Clemency for the Length and Safety of your Life, and the Proſperity of your Eſtate, being ready, with a moſt holy and ardent Affection, to expoſe our Goods and Lives to render us worthy of the Quality which we dare take of your moſt humble, moſt obedient, and moſt faithful Servants, the Deputies of the reformed Churches of *France*, in their general Aſſembly, held at *Niſmes*, and for all *Jaques de Maroſey adjunct la Reque.*

The

The Pope, to the Duke of Buckingham, *Gregory P. P. XV.*

Nobleman, Health, and the Light of Divine Grace,

THe Authority wherein we have underſtood your Nobleneſs to flouriſh in the *Britiſh* Court is accounted not only the Reward of your Merits, but alſo the patronage of Vertue; certainly an excellent Renown, and every way ſo worthy, that the People deſire a Diuturnity to be annexed unto it. But it is almoſt ineffable, what an increaſe of Glory thorowout the World would be annexed unto it, if by God's favour it ſhould become the defence of the Catholick Religion.

Certainly you have gained an opportunity by which you may inſert your ſelf into the Councils of thoſe Princes, who obtaining an immortal Name have attained the Celeſtial Kingdom.

Suffer not then (O Nobleman) this occaſion preſented to you from God, and commended by the Biſhop of *Rome*, to ſlip out of your Hands.

You that are privy to their Royal Councils, cannot chooſe but know in what eſtate the Affairs of *Britain* at this time ſtand, and with what Voices of the Holy Ghoſt (ſpeaking in them) they daily ſound in the Ears of your Princes. What Glory would redound unto your Name, if by your exhortation and perſwaſion, the *Engliſh* Kings ſhould again recover their Celeſtial Inheriance of that Glory left unto them by their Anceſtors in thoſe Kingdoms in abundant manner, by providing for the encreaſe of God's Worſhip, and by not only defending, but propagating the Juriſdiction of the Pontifical Authority. There have been many, and ſhall be hereafter, whom the Bounty of Kings hath enriched with fading Riches, and advanced to envied Titles, and yet mindful-Poſterity will not celebrate your Name with eternal Praiſes for having attained theſe: But if your Councels ſhould reduce thoſe moſt powerful Kings and People unto the Boſom of the Roman Church, the Name of your Nobleneſs would be written in the Book of the Living, whom the torment of Death toucheth not; and the Monument of Hiſtories ſhall place you amongſt thoſe wiſe Men in whoſe ſplendor Kings walked; but with what Comforts in this Life, and what Rewards in the Life to come, God who is rich in Mercy would reward you, they eaſily ſee who know the art and force by which the Kingdom of Heaven is conquer'd. It is not only our Pontifical Charity (to whoſe Care the Salvation of Mankind pertaineth) but alſo the Piety of your Mother, who as ſhe brought you into the World; ſo ſhe deſireth to bear you again to the *Roman* Church, which ſhe acknowledgeth for her Mother, that moved us to deſire, that you were made Partaker of ſo great felicity. Therefore when our beloved Son, the religious Man *Didacus de la Fuente* (who hath wiſely adminiſtred the Affairs of your Princes in this City) prepared his journey for *Spain*, we commanded him to come unto your Nobleneſs, and preſent theſe our Apoſtolical Letters, by which the *Greatneſs* of our Pontifical Charity, and the Deſire of your Salvation may be declared. Your Nobleneſs may therefore hear him as the interpreter of our Mind, and as one endued with thoſe Vertues which have won him the Love of foreign Nations, being a Catholick, and religious Prieſt: He certainly hath reported thoſe Things of you in theſe parts of the World, that he is worthy to be embraced of you with ſingular Affection, and defended by your Authority, being a Servant to the Glory and Salvation of the *Britiſh* Kings and People. This thing, truly will we pray for to the Father of Mercies, that he will open to your Nobleneſs the Gates of his Celeſtial Kingdom, and afford you frequent Documents of his Clemency. Given at *Rome*, at St. *Mary* the Greater, under the Ring of the *Fiſherman*, the Nineteenth of *May*, 1623. and of our Popedom the Third.

John Champolus.

The Lady Purbeck, *to the Duke.*

My Lord,

THough you may judge what pleaſure there is in the Converſation of a Man in the Diſtemper you ſee your Brother in; yet the Duty I owe to a Husband, and the Affection I bear him (which ſickneſs ſhall not diminiſh) makes me much deſire to be with him, to add what comfort I can to his afflicted Mind, ſince his only deſire is my Company; which if it pleaſe you to ſatisfie him in, I ſhall with a very good will ſuffer with him, and think all but my Duty, though I think every Wife would not do ſo. But if you can ſo far diſpence with the Laws of God, as to keep me from my Husband, yet aggravate it not by reſtraining from me his means, and all other Contentments; but, which I think is rather the part of a Chriſtian, you eſpecially ought much rather to ſtudy Comforts for me, than to add Ills to Ills, ſince it is the Marriage of your Brother makes me thus miſerable. For if you pleaſe but to conſider, not only the lamentable eſtate I am in, deprived of all Comforts of a Husband, and

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having no Means to live of; beſides falling from the Hopes my Fortune then did promiſe me; for you know very well, I came no Beggar to you, though I am like ſo to be turn'd off.

For your own Honor and Conſcience ſake, take ſome courſe to give me ſatisfaction, to tye my Tongue from crying to God and the World for Vengeance, for the unworthy dealing I have received. And think not to ſend me again to my Mothers, where I have ſtayed this quarter of a year, hoping (for that my Mother ſaid you promiſed) order ſhould be taken for me, but I never received penny from you. Her confidence of your Nobleneſs made me ſo long ſilent; but now, believe me, I will ſooner beg my Bread in the Streets, to all your Diſhonours, than any more trouble my Friends, and eſpecially my Mother, who was not only content to afford us part of the little means ſhe hath left her; but whilſt I was with her, was continually diſtempered with deviſed Tales, which came from your Family, and withal loſt your good Opinion, which before ſhe either had, or you made ſhew of it; but had it been real, I cannot think her words would have been ſo tranſlated, nor in the power of diſcontented Servants Tales to have ended it.

My Lord, if the great Honour you are in can ſuffer you to have ſo mean a thought as of ſo miſerable a Creature as I am, ſo made by too much Credulity of your fair Promiſes, which I have waited for performance of almoſt theſe five years: And now it were time to deſpair, but that I hope you will one day be your ſelf, and be governed by your own noble Thoughts, and then I am aſſured to obtain what I deſire, ſince my Deſires be ſo reaſonable, and but for mine own. Which whether you grant or no, the affliction my poor Husband is in (if it continue) will keep my Mind in a continual purgatory for him, and will ſuffer me to ſign my ſelf no other, but

Your unfortunate Siſter,
F. Purbeck.

Mr. John Packer, *to the Lord Keeper.*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

SInce my coming hither, finding my Lord at good opportunity, I have acquainted him in what perplexity I found your Lordſhip at my coming from *Weſtminſter*, and upon what reaſon. And though I am ſorry I can make no comfortable relation of his Anſwer, yet becauſe it ſo much importeth your Lordſhip to know in what terms you ſtand, I could not conceal it from you, being agreeable to thoſe Reports your Lordſhip hath already heard; ſaving that his Grace told me, he doth not ſeek your ruin (as ſome others had related) but only will hereafter ceaſe to ſtudy your fortune, as formerly he hath done; and withal added the reaſon, that your Lordſhip hath run a courſe oppoſite to him; which though he had cauſe to take ill at your hands, yet he could have paſſed it over, if it had been out of Conſcience, or Affection to his Majeſty's Service, or the publick Good; but being both dangerous to your Country, and prejudicial to the Cauſe of Religion (which your Lordſhip above all other Men ſhould have laboured to uphold) he thought he could not with reaſon continue that ſtrictneſs of Friendſhip, where your Lordſhip had made ſuch a ſeparation, eſpecially having divers times, out of his love to you, aſſayed to bring you into the right way, which once you promiſed to follow; but the two laſt times you met in Council, he found, that you took your Kue juſt as other Men did, and joyned with them in their Opinions, whoſe aim was to tax his proceedings in the managing of the Prince's buſineſs. But inſtead of laying it upon him, they did no leſs than throw dirt in the Prince's teeth: For either they would make him a *minor*, or put the refuſal of the Lady upon his Highneſs, and to lay an aſperſion upon his Carriage there. His Lordſhip's concluſion with me was, That for any Carriage of his, he deſireth no other Favour, but that the greateſt Counſel in *England* may be Judge of it, and the like he wiſheth for other Men's Actions. Yet I did what I could to perſwade his Grace to expoſtulate the matter with your Lordſhip, which he told me, he would no more do having done it already, but found no other ſatisfaction, but that by your practice you rejected what he had ſaid, and beſides, divulged what had paſſed between you, as he evidently perceived, meeting with it among others. Whereby you gained only thus much, that they eſteemed of you, as of a Man fit, by reaſon of your paſſion, to ſet all on fire, but held you not worthy of Truſt, becauſe you, that would not be true to him, would never be ſo to them.

My Lord, this is a part I would never have choſen; but being impoſed by your Lordſhip, I could do you no better ſervice than faithfully and plainly to diſcharge it, leaving the uſe to your Lordſhips Wiſdom, and ever reſting

Your Lordſhips moſt humble at Command,
J. P.

22. *of* May, 1624.

Having made Viſits at ſundry times to the* Spaniſh *Embaſſadors, I do here under my Hand declare, what paſſed betwixt them and me, ſo near as my Memory ſerveth, leſt in my abſence any ſuch matter ſhould fall in queſtion, I now intending to travel for a ſpace.

WHen his Highneſs was in *Spain*, being upon my Journey in *Scotland*, I went to *Ely*-Houſe to take leave of Don *Carlos*, where *Vanvail* was preſent, I expreſſing much joy of the Match (which in my mind would without all queſtion be perfected) did find no ſuch Humor, nor Inclination on their part, which did much aſtoniſh me; for they grumblingly did alledge, that the King my Maſter did perform nothing that he promiſed; or how could any thing be expected the Infanta being here, whereas nothing was performed, the Prince being in *Spain*? I beſought them to do better Offices, than without reaſon to put Jealouſies betwixt my Maſter and theirs, who would never have ſent his Son to *Spain* without a real intention. Which only act was reaſon ſufficient to remove all Doubts.

Yet did they ſtill continue their challenge of divers Brags, 'ſpecially againſt the ſending of Ships to *Scotland* to bring away the two *Dunkirkers*, and not perfecting ſuch Conditions as were promiſed to Catholicks. I did intreat them again, that ſuch Conceits of my Maſter might be removed, for they might be confident of full performance of what he had promiſed, by reaſon he had never broke his Promiſe to any. I deſire them likewiſe to conſider with what love our Prince was gone, and what a ſtain it ſhould be to the State of *Spain*, if uncourteouſly he ſhould return with diſtaſte; beſides, it might fall out to be the worſt act that ever they committed; where, on the contrary, if they had love to their Maſter, they would prove good Inſtruments. What was ſpoke by me in *Engliſh*, was related in *Spaniſh* to Don *Carlo*; ſo was it to me what they ſpoke in *Spaniſh*. Sometimes Don *Carlo* ſpoke in *French*, ſo that not a word paſſed which each Man did not know.

I went again after the Treaties were given up, and did remember Don *Carlo* of what I had foreſpoken, when the Marqueſs was preſent, and took the Speech; they did demand of me, whether I was come of my ſelf, or by Commiſſion, for they profeſſed to account me their Friend.

I anſwered, that I came meerly of my ſelf, and was ſorry that by their own deſerving they had procured ſuch alterations, and I thought ſtrange of ſuch Demands as they had made at *Hampton* Court, which did both expreſs much ſpleen, and lack of good intelligence. They did avow their Demands were reaſonable; but, from that time they would make Viſits to the Duke, and love him better than before, becauſe they were in doubt before, but now they know him to be an Enemy. I did anſwer, That I was ſorry for their proceeding, and was their Friend ſo long as they were Friends to my Maſter.

After a few haughty words, ſuch as, It was a wrong way to deal with their Maſter by Threatnings, who gave pay daily to 300000 Souldiers, that they had followed the Wars a long time, and had ſeen Men killed by the Cannon, Musket, Pike, and Sword, but never ſaw Men killed with Words; they deſired me to ſpeak to his Majeſty, that they might either be diſmiſſed, or have freedom to go about their buſineſs with ſecurity. They did deſire me likewiſe to ſpeak to his Majeſty, that the Treaty for the *Palatinate* might continue.

I did demand of them how theſe two things did agree, both to threaten and intreat? whereupon they paſſed upon me with odd Complaints. I went once more of late to give them a farewel. I ſaid they proved themſelves good Servants to their Maſter, in preſſing to raiſe Jealouſies in this State, but they were now too well known to do harm. The Marqueſs ſwore, that by this time the *Infanta* had been here, and the *Palatinate* reſtored, if the blame had not been on our part. I did intreat I might be excuſed not to believe that. I did ask whether they did not condemn their own Judgments in accuſing the Duke of *Buckingham* of that whereof he was cleared, both by the King and State. Their anſwer was, He was cleared by thoſe who were his Confederates, all as guilty as himſelf.

I demanded, Why they ſhould ſtill expreſs their Malice againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*. Did they not think but our Prince was a Man ſenſible of what Injuries he had received? Their anſwer was, If the Duke were out of the way, the Prince would be well diſpoſed. They ſaid farther, his Highneſs was an obedient Son before the Duke guided him; but ſince, he was not. So that when we ſpeak of his Majeſty, they ſpeak with much reſpect; but for that the Prince did not uſe them kindly, they did make the leſs account of him. So after I took my leave and parted,

Nithiſdail.

POSTSCRIPT.

Much I have omitted for brevity, wherein they did expreſs much reſpect to his Majeſty, and much of their threatnings to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Captain

Captain John Pennington, *to the Duke.*

May it please your Grace,

MY laſt to your Lordſhip was of the 18. of this preſent, from *Stokes*-Bay; ſince which time I have received two from your Grace, at *Diep*; one by your Secretary Mr. *Nicholas*, whereby your Grace commands me to deliver up his Majeſty's Ship, and the reſt under my Command, to the hands of ſuch *French*-men as his Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall appoint, according to his Majeſty's pleaſure ſignified by my Lord *Conway*; and that I and the reſt of the Maſters take ſecurity of them for our Ships ſeverally, according to the true valuation: And to ſee this put in execution, you ſent your Secretary Mr. *Nicholas*; and the other by Mr. *Ingham*, in anſwer of mine written from *Stokes*-Bay; the former part whereof being only a Command to put your former in practice, and the latter a denial of my humble ſuit for my being called home from this Service. Which ſaid part confirms abſolutely, that it was not your Grace's pleaſure that I ſhould yield up the Ships into their hands, and diſpoſſeſs my ſelf and Company of them; for I truſt your Grace had no ſuch unjuſt thought as to continue me here alone, after the *French* had poſſeſſion of her to be their Slave, as I am ſure they would have made me, if they had had their wills.

To give your Grace an account of what I have done ſince I came to *Diep* (which was the 21ſt, at this inſtant, about nine of the Clock at night) would be too tedious for this time. The 22d, in the morning early, I ſent my Boat aſhoar with my Lieutenant, to find out your Grace's Secretary to receive my Letters, whereby I might know your Grace's pleaſure, and to kiſs my Lord Embaſſador's Hands from me, and to let him know I was come with his Majeſty's Ship to do him ſervice, but could not command the reſt to come along with me, their Maſters not being there, and all their Companies in a mutiny. But his Jealouſie was ſuch, that he would not ſuffer your Grace's Secretary to come aboard, or to ſend me your Letters, or that my Lieutenant ſhould ſpeak to him, but in his preſence, but preſently ſent a Gentleman aboard to me, commanding me to come aſhoar to him, which I confeſs, I was very loath to do, in regard my People were much diſcontented, and ready daily to mutiny, being all wondrous unwilling to go againſt *Rochel*, or thoſe of their Religion. And beſides, I never having been aſhoar, ſince I came into my Command, neither on our own Coaſt, or elſewhere (it being not my uſe) yet notwithſtanding theſe particulars, knowing his Greatneſs, and your Grace's pleaſure, for the giving him all due reſpect, I preſently went to him, where he taking me into a Room apart with your Grace's Secretary, he firſt delivered me my Lord *Conway*'s Letter, or rather a Warrant (for ſo he terms it himſelf) for the delivery of the Ship into their hands (as they interpreted it) and then your Grace's Letter, commanding me to ſee his Majeſty's pleaſure (ſignified by my Lord *Conway*) put in execution. And laſtly, a Letter from the King of *France*, thereby willing me to receive his Souldiers aboard that he had provided, and his Couſin the *D. de Mommorencie*, and to go preſently, and to joyn with his great Fleet againſt his rebellious Subjects. This is the effect of that Letter. Having read all theſe Letters, he would preſently have poſſeſſion of the Ship that night, for that he could not ſtay longer. I told him, that I did not underſtand it ſo, but that I was to render all ſervice to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; but nothing would ſerve him, ſave the preſent poſſeſſion, which becauſe I would not yield unto, he grew into a ſtrange fury, telling me, that your Grace had ſent your Secretary to ſee her delivered, and ſecurity to be taken for her. My anſwer was, That I was ready to obey, according as I underſtood the Warrant, which was to do his Chriſtian Majeſty's ſervice, and to receive a convenient number of Souldiers aboard me. But to diſpoſſeſs my ſelf of my Command, I had no ſuch order: But ſtill nothing would ſatisfie him but the Ship, telling me, He would not entertain at the moſt (if they were willing) above 60 or 80 of our People. My anſwer was, I had no order to diſcharge a Man of them, neither could I; but if they were diſcharged, what they ſhould do, or how they ſhould get home, having neither Meat, Money, nor Cloaths, I knew not. To the firſt of theſe, he told me, that Mr. *Nicholas* had order, by word of mouth from your Grace to diſcharge us, which Mr. *Nicholas* confirmed, as alſo to ſee the Ship delivered, which he commanded me to do. But, with your Grace's pardon, I durſt not do it upon words, it being a Buſineſs of too high conſequence; neither if I had been willing, would my Company ever have condeſcended to it. To the ſecond, for our paſſage, he promiſed to have provided Barques for us; but to conclude this, and not to inſiſt upon the reſt of the particulars (they being too tedious) his rage and fury was ſuch, that I muſt of neceſſity give a little way thereto, or elſe I think he would have kept me aſhoar, ſo as I told him I was content if my Company would yield thereunto, and therefore deſired to go aboard to ſpeak with them, and to give order for the drawing up of the Inventory. And upon this, he ſuffered me to depart, but not without promiſes of a large ſum of Money, which ſhould be given me at the ſurrender, beſides a Royal Penſion during my Life, he ſending his Secretary, and many others, aboard with me to ſee all things put in execution, and your Grace's Secretary to perſwade me to do it. But when I had them aboard, I told them it was a thing not preſently done,

neither was my Company willing to deliver over the Ship, without a more ample Warrant, yet I would do my beſt to bring both to paſs ſo ſoon as I could. So uſing them with the beſt reſpect I could, and fair Promiſes, that I would uſe all diligence for the accompliſhing of their Deſires; though I muſt confeſs I never meant it, till I ſhould hear further from your Grace, and have an eſpecial Warrant from his Majeſty, or your Grace, for it, it being a Buſineſs of ſo high a nature. Upon theſe Hopes they departed, and went aſhoar; where they had not been long, till ſome of them returned back with a ſtrange Allarum from his Lordſhip, that he would preſently have poſſeſſion of her, or my reſolution to the contrary. And although I alledged, that the Inventory and other Buſineſs would not be diſpatched in two days, it would not ſuffice, except I would receive 400 Souldiers aboard in the mean time, till things were perfected.

Thus ſeeing I could not delay him till I heard farther from your Grace, I was forced to give him this reſolute anſwer, That upon this Warrant I would not deliver over the Ship unto him; neither if I would, would the Company give way unto the ſame, we nor holding it a ſufficient diſcharge for us: But that we were ready to receive a competent number of Souldiers aboard, with a chief Commander, and to go upon ſuch ſervice as his Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould direct us, according to the agreement with the King my Maſter; but nothing would ſatisfie him, but to have her delivered over to him; which if I did not preſently, my Head ſhould pay for it. I deſired his patience for two or three days, till I had written and ſent to your Grace, and that he would let me have a Shallop for that purpoſe; but he denied both the one and the other; notwithſtanding ſent away a Barque himſelf, with one to your Grace, but would not ſuffer me to ſend thereby, which made me the more jealous of the real intent of the Buſineſs. The 23d. he ſent your Lordſhip's Secretary aboard to work and perſwade me; but I could not give other anſwer, than I had done formerly, only that I would attend until I heard farther from your Grace; though, I muſt confeſs, I had much ado to perſwade my Company, who were very unwilling to it. But I had hope ſtill to have a more ample Order how to proceed in this great and weighty Buſineſs. And upon the 24th. at two of the Clock in the Morning, Mr. *Ingham* (whom I ſent from *Stokes*-Bay to your Grace) returned unto me with two Letters, one from your Grace, and another from my Lord *Conway*, the former Commands in execution: But the latter part prohibiting me to depart with my Charge, gave me the more Courage to ſtand upon my former terms.

This day your Grace's Secretary came aboard me again, after I had ſent your Grace's Letter to him, being ſent by the Embaſſador to proſecute the Buſineſs, for the delivery of the Ship unto them. But after I had ſhewed him that part of your Grace's Letter, he knew not what to ſay to it. I willed him to tell the Embaſſador, that this Letter was nothing but an Anſwer of mine written from *Stokes*-Bay, concerning the not coming of the reſt of the Ships. I further offered his Lordſhip this day, for the more expedition of the Buſineſs, to take one hundred and fifty of his Men aboard, and to run over for the Coaſt of *England*, and to ſend preſently to your Grace, that we were ready to ſurrender over there, upon an Authentick Warrant from his Majeſty, or your Grace. His anſwer to this was, That he would not put his Men in to be priſoners, nor that we ſhould be the major part. I then offered him to take in as many *French* as I had *Engliſh*, Man for Man, but without Arms; yet nothing would ſatisfie him but the poſſeſſion of the Ship, either by delivering of her over into their hands, or by receiving four hundred arm'd Men aboard, wherewith they would quickly have taken her from us, as you may plainly ſee their intent by their proceeding. Which I refuſing to do, this night about ten of the Clock he ſent his Secretary aboard, with three or four others, to make a Proteſtation againſt me, as a Rebel to my King and Country, as you may perceive by the Copy of it, which I ſend your Grace herewith; and this, he ſaid was the laſt he would have to do with me, for that on the morrow he would away for *Paris*. Whereupon, the next morning I ſent this Gentleman Mr. *Ingham* unto him, to know what farther Service he would command me, and whether he would have me attend his pleaſure longer here, for that I was ready to go upon any Service they would command, according to the former agreement, and to receive as many Men aboard as poſſibly I could; but he ſaid, he had nothing to do except I would either deliver up the Ship, or take in the four hundred Souldiers. In the interim came his Secretary, with the ſame Company he had before, and made another Proteſtation againſt me, in regard I would not take in his four hundred Men, and therewithal brought me a Letter from your Grace's Secretary (for he is ſo jealous that he will not ſuffer him to come aboard but when he liſteth) which Letter was, That the Embaſſador would ſtay till *Thurſday* next, if I would give it him under my Hand, to deliver up the Ship then, if I had not order to the contrary before, which I had as good have done at the preſent; for I expect no Letters from your Grace, in regard they would not ſuffer me to write to you, as I deſired. And if your Grace ſhould write to me by his Meſſenger, they would be ſure not to deliver them, till the day were paſt, except ſuch as were for their turn.

In all which your Grace may ſee their Intents, that there hath been no ſleights or ways left unaſſayed, to bring their purpoſe to paſs; firſt by fair Words, then by ſeeking to get me become the King's Servant, with promiſes of a great Penſion, and brave Employment, with offers of good Sums

to

to be laid down upon the ſurrender of the Ship, as aforeſaid. And when none of theſe courſes could prevail with me, than followed their threatnings of having my Head, and ſuch-like. All which (I thank God) I have withſtood; for I had rather live all my life with Bread and Water, than betray my King and Country of ſo precious a Jewel as this; and had rather the King ſhould take my Life, than to have a Hand in the ſurrender, or undervaluing ſuch a Bulwark of the Kingdom.

Upon the making of the laſt Proteſt, and with the threats they gave us, my Company grew into ſuch a fury and tumult, that they got up their Anchors, and ſet ſail for *England*, without acquainting me with it, or Order from me, ſaying, They would rather be hanged at home, than ſurrender the King's Ships, or be Slaves to the *French*, or fight againſt thoſe of the Religion. But I muſt confeſs, I heard what they were a doing, but let them alone, becauſe I ſaw they had reaſon; otherwiſe I ſhould rather have died amongſt them, than have ſuffered it.

And thus I have related the principal paſſages unto your Grace, wherein, if I have offended his Majeſty, or your Grace, it hath been for want of Diſcretion, and not of true Zeal to do his Majeſty, your Grace, and my Country ſervice; which if it be found to be an offence, I humbly crave pardon.

I am now come to an Anchor in the *Downs*, where I ſhall attend your Grace's farther pleaſure, to be diſpoſed of as his Majeſty and your Grace ſhall pleaſe. But to return again to *France*, I can aſſure your Grace, that all the People in the Ship will rather be hanged than do it, they have been ſo well uſed there. Thus praying for your Grace's many happy and proſperous days, I humbly reſt

From aboard the *Vanguard* in the *Downs*, 27. *July*, 1625.

Your Grace's moſt humble and faithful Servant,
Jo. Pennington.

Captain Pennington, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

TO take into your conſideration theſe particulars following:

Firſt, that there is no clauſe in the Contract for our quiet enjoying, and celebrating our Divine Service to God morning and evening, according to the ancient order of the Seas.

Secondly, That they may bring as many of their own Nation aboard as they will, and they ſpeak of putting in as many *French* as *Engliſh*, which will amount to 500 in all, which the Ship is neither able to carry, neither will it be for the Health of thoſe that go in her, or ſafety of the Ship to his Majeſty. All which I deſire may be conſidered of, and a courſe ſetled with the Embaſſador of the juſt number I ſhall receive aboard.

Thirdly, That we are bound to fight againſt any Nation that they command us, except our own; which you may likewiſe pleaſe to conſider of.

Fourthly, That there is no clauſe for the ſupply of the Victuals, and other Proviſions, before the ſix Months be expired; ſo that they may keep us till that time, and then turn us off, naked and deſtitute of all Proviſions, to be a prey to our Enemies.

Fifthly, That we may know where we ſhall receive our Supplies of Powder, and other Munition from them; for that the three laſt, which we have in here, with the appurtenance, is not ſufficient to maintain a fight of three hours.

The former five Articles I humbly deſire your Grace judiciouſly to conſider of; and what your Grace will have me therein perform may be inſerted in my Inſtructions.

Now further I humbly deſire your Grace,

Firſt, That all we *Engliſh* may be of a Squadron, and not ſeparated upon any occaſion, the accidents of the Sea excepted, and that we may be ready at all times to aid and aſſiſt one another.

Secondly, That I may have power in my Inſtructions, or otherwiſe, for the command of the reſt of the *Engliſh* that go along with me; if not, every Man may take his courſe, and do what liketh him beſt, which may prove prejudicial to the Service, diſhonourable to the State, and dangerous for the ſafety of his Majeſty's Ship.

Laſtly, I humbly deſire, that your Grace will be pleaſed to give order, that there may be ſome Proviſion of Cloaths laid in for naked Men (whereof there are many in the Ship) as Hoſe, Shooes and Shirts (at leaſt.) As alſo ſome proviſion of ſtore for ſick Men, of Oat-meal, Rice, Sugar, and Fruit, and ſome little ſtock of Money to relieve them, if neceſſity require it. It may afterwards be deducted out of their Wages, if your Grace will have it ſo.

Your Grace's Loyal and Faithful Servant,
ever to be commanded,
Jo. Pennington.

A Patent for the Admiralty of Ireland.

RIght truſty and well-beloved Couſin, and Councellor, We greet you well. Whereas we are graciouſly pleaſed, as well for the Increaſe of our Navy and Navigators, as alſo, for the better enabling and enriching of our Subjects in our Realm of *Scotland*, to give Way and Licence unto our loving Subjects of *Scotland*, and ſo many of them as may make a full, able, and compleat Company for Traffick and Merchandizing into the *Eaſt-Indies*, to erect and ſet up amongſt themſelves a Company, to be called *The Eaſt-India Company of Scotland*, making their firſt Magazine Store-Houſe for the ſaid Company, in ſome parts of our Realm of *Ireland*. But for that our Ports and Seas, upon the Coaſts of our ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, have of late, and ſtill are likely, without our ſpecial Aid and Aſſiſtance, to be much troubled and annoyed with Pirats, and other Sea-Robbers, to the great Diſcouragement of our loving Subjects and Merchants, paſſing that way: We, for the avoiding of thoſe Inconveniences, and for the better heartning of the ſaid Company in their intended Voyage and Traffick, have, for Reaſons to us beſt known, reſolved (notwithſtanding any other Employments of our Ships there) by our Letters Patents under our Great Seal of *England*, and at the humble Requeſt and Petition of our loving Subjects of the ſaid Company, do nominate and appoint *A. B.* our truſty Servant, to be employed in thoſe Seas and Coaſts of *Ireland*, as fully and amply as our Servant Sir *F. H.* is now for our narrow Seas. And to the end he may with more Courage, and leſs Prejudice to our ſaid Servant Sir *F. H.* by his Diligence and Induſtry in the ſaid Employment, free thoſe Seas from the ſaid Annoyances, our Pleaſure is, That you by your Deed Poll do give unto our ſaid Servant ſuch and the like Power and Authority for the *Iriſh* Seas and Chanel of St. *George*, as the ſaid Sir *F. H.* hath for the Narrow Seas: So always as the Power and Authority of the ſaid *A. B.* may begin where the Power and Authority of the ſaid Sir *F. H.* doth end, that is to ſay, from our Iſland of *Scillie* in our Realm of *England*, unto, and alongſt the Coaſt of *Ireland*, and the Channel of St. *George*. So not doubting of your ſpeedy effecting of what is here required, for the furtherance of ſo good a Work, We bid you heartily farewel.

From our Court at, &c.

Sir Thomas Roe, *to the Marqueſs of* Buckingham, *Lord Admiral.*

My Lord,

I Can give your Lordſhip no great Account of any thing that hath occurred ſince my Departure. I was bold to write to Mr. Secretary *Calvert* from *Malaga*, of the great Increaſe of the Pyrates in thoſe Seas, and of the Danger of the Merchants, with my own thoughts, if his Majeſty have any farther purpoſe to attempt their Deſtruction, which is both honorable and neceſſary: if theſe Trades, or the other of *Spain*, to the South of the *North Cape*, be of any Conſequence to his Majeſties Kingdoms; if they be ſuffered to increaſe, they will brave the Armies of Kings at Sea in a few Years, and attempt even the Coaſts and Shoars with peril. And becauſe they carry the Name only of Thieves, they are yet contemned, or neglected; but they will become a dangerous Enemy, when they ſhall rob with Fleets, and therefore would be in time conſidered. The *Spaniards* now make great offers to continue the Contract, though their performance be ſlow, and their own Eſtates chiefly intereſſed, yet beſides the Danger and Ruin of the Merchant, it is conſiderable, that this Army increaſing is at the Obedience of the Grand Seignior, the Common Enemy, who hath no ſtrength but Gallies. I know your Lordſhip will collect enough out of this, without further preſſure. The Armados of *Spain*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, have been in the *Archipelago*, the *Turk*'s Forces abſent in the Black Sea. Yet they have done nothing of conſequence, taken a few Carmiſales and Slaves, and are returned to the Port, where *Don Philibert* of *Savoy*, *Generaliſſimo*, is preſent, who is made Vice-Roy of *Sicily*, with abſolute power to diſpoſe of all Offices, without Attendance from *Spain*, which is more than Vice-Roy. He hath uſed me, for his Majeſty's Honour, with very great Reſpect, as I have in particular advertiſed Mr. Secretary. Among many Courteſies, finding thirteen Engliſh Captives in the Gallies, I thought it my Duty to ſuccour them. His Highneſs at the firſt Inſtance, to expreſs his good Affection to my Maſter, gave them to me all free, which I think is a good Work, and not ordinary. I beſeech your Lordſhip, that his Majeſty may be pleaſed to take Knowledge of it in *Spain*, for the Prince's Honor, that he may on the like Occaſion not think himſelf neglected.

The Advice from *Conſtantinople* is ſeconded, of the Overthrow of the Turk. God grant it be true, and yet the Pride of the Grand Seignior is not aſſwaged, but he threatens a new Attempt in the Spring. I hope I have hitherto done his Majeſty no Diſhonor, nor can I boaſt of Services; but being under your Lordſhips Protection, I will hope for a good Interpretation, beſeeching you to preſent my Name

Name to his Majeſty, that I be not forgotten in theſe great Diſtances, wherein my humble Fortune hath kept me; and as I have obſerved your Lordſhip to be the *Amparo* of thoſe that pretend to Virtue and Honor, and not to deſert them till they have forſaken themſelves: So I beſeech you, take me upon thoſe Conditions, which cannot ſhame you; and leave me, when I am other than

Meſſina, $\frac{7}{17}$ Decemb. 1621.

Your Lordſhip's faithful, and honeſt Servant,
Thomas Roe.

Cardinal *Richlieu*, to the Roman Catholicks of *Great Britain*.

Viri præclari, longius differo ad vos ſcribere, quia res veſtræ facta non verba deſiderant, vota veſtra noſtra ſunt ſtudia, & utraque propitio Deo, aliqua ex parte, ſaltem optatos ſperamus exitus inventura; ſpondet hoc nobis Rex Chriſtianiſſimus, qui aut nullas, aut certè honorificas Religioni, pro Regia ſua indole, conditiones fœderis unquam admiſſurus eſt; Ita à nobis formatus, ita animo præparatus eſt, ut ſe rei divinæ augendæ non minus quam finibus propagandis natum vocatumque eſſe meminerit: ſereniſſima Regina ejus Mater, ſedula opera, intenta cura cavebit, non modo ne quid detrementi Religio capiat, ſed etiam ut quà poſſit promoveri, promoveatur, & adjuvetur. Equidem ita me rerum veſtrarum miſeret, ut ſi non dico conſilio non fide, non Authoritate (quæ ſentio quam ſint exiguæ:) ſed ſi vita ipſa & ſanguine vos crepere vel levare etiam malis poſſem, libentiſſime facerem. Ex animo dico, teſtis eſt conſcientia, qua me veſtrum omnium, libertatiſque veſtræ ſemper & omni loco fore ſtudioſiſſimum pollicior. Vobis ex animo addictiſſimus,

Apud Sanctum German.
25 Auguſt. 1624.

Amandus, Cardinalis Richlieu.

The Duke of Rohan, *to his Majeſty of* Great Britain.

SIR,

THE deplorable Accident of the Loſs of *Rochel*, which God hath ſuffered, to humble us under his Hand, hath redoubled in the Hearts of our Enemies their paſſionate Fierceneſs to our utter Ruine, with an aſſured Hope to attain thereunto. But it hath not taken away from the Churches of thoſe Provinces, either the Heart, or the Affection, to oppoſe their unjuſt Plots by a juſt and lively Defence. This is it hath made them take reſolution to aſſemble themſelves to conjoyn, in the midſt of theſe Commotions, to aſſiſt me with their good Counſels, and, with me, to provide the Means of their Deliverance. And foraſmuch as the greateſt ſupport which God hath raiſed unto them upon Earth, is, the Succor our Churches have, and do look to receive from your Majeſty; the general Aſſembly hath deſired, that my Letters, which alone hitherto have repreſented unto your Majeſty the Intereſt of the publick Cauſe, might be joyned to their moſt humble Supplications put up to your Majeſty. I do it, Sir, with ſo much the more Affection, becauſe I am a Witneſs, that theſe poor People, who with Sighs and Groans implore your Aſſiſtance, having once laid down their Weapons, which the Oppreſſion of their Enemies made ſo neceſſary, becauſe they knew ſuch was your Deſire to take them up again, ſo ſoon as they heard that your Majeſty did oblige them thereunto by your Counſel and Promiſes; they have, upon this only Aſſurance, continued all Dangers, ſurmounted all Oppoſitions, accounted their Eſtates as nothing, and are ſtill ready to ſpend their Blood till the very laſt Drop: They eſteem your Love and Favor more precious than their own Lives; and whatſoever Promiſes or Threatnings have been uſed to ſhake their conſtant Reſolution, they could never be brought to make any Breach in that they had ty'd themſelves to, nor ever to hear of any Treaty without your Conſent. This great Zeal for the Preſervation of all the Churches of this Kingdom, which is naturally knit to the Preſervation of theſe few we have left, and that Fidelity, without Example, are worthy and glorious Subjects to exerciſe your Charity and Power. You are, Sir, Defender of that Faith whereof they make profeſſion, ſuffer it not therefore to be ſo unjuſtly oppreſſed; you have ſtirred up their Affection in this Defence by your Royal Promiſes, and thoſe ſacred Words, that your Majeſty would employ all the Power in your Dominions, to warrant and protect all our Churches from the Ruin that threatned them, have been (after Gods Favor) the only Foundation of all their Hope; ſo the Churches ſhould think no greater a Crime could be committed by them, than doubt of your Royal Performance thereof, if their Miſeries and Calamities have at the beginning moved your Compaſſion. This woful Subject hath increaſed with ſuch Violence, that nothing but your Succor can prevent their utter Undoing: for at this day, the greateſt Offence our Enemies lay to our Charge (and proclaim, nothing can expiate but our Blood) is, to have implored your Aid, and hope

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for it: For this Cauſe, our Lands and Poſſeſſions are taken away, and deſtroyed; our Houſes made deſolate, and reduced to Aſhes; our Heads expoſed to ſale to Murtherers; our Families baniſhed; and whereſoever the Cruelty of them that hate us can extend, Men and Women are dragg'd and beaten to Maſs with Baſtinadoes. To be ſhort, the horror of the Perſecution we ſuffer is ſo great, that our Words are too weak to expreſs it. Moreover, we ſee great and mighty Armies at our Gates, that wait their only fit time to fall with Impetuoſity upon the Places of retreat that remain; and after that, to expel and baniſh the Exerciſe of Religion, and maſſacre all the faithful ones throughout the whole Kingdom. Theſe things conſidered, Sir, I do beſeech your Majeſty, not to forſake us. I ſhould fear, by ſuch Words, to offend ſo great, ſo potent, and ſo faithful a King: But becauſe of urgent Neceſſity that preſſeth us, I have preſumed importunately to intreat the haſtning of your Aſſiſtance, to keep us from falling under the heavy Burthen of our Enemies Endeavors. Your Majeſty need not to draw, but out of the Source of your own profound Wiſdom, for the fit Means how to make your Succour dreadful and powerful to thoſe that contemn it, and ſalutiferous to ſo many People that wait and long for it. Your Majeſty ſhall, by this Means, acquire the greateſt Glory that can be deſired, pluck out from the Fire and Sword three hundred thouſand Families, that continually pray to God for your Proſperity; preſerve a People whom God hath purchaſed with his moſt precious Blood, and which hath (even in the midſt of moſt eminent Dangers, and crueleſt Torments, kept entire a ſound and upright Faith, both towards God and Man: You ſhall ſettle the Fidelity of your Word, the Reputation of your Kingdoms and Arms, to a Pitch worthy of your Grandeur; and, in repreſſing of the Audaciouſneſs of thoſe that go about every day to blemiſh the ſame through their vile and unworthy Reproaches, you ſhall add to your Titles that of the Reſtorer of a People, the moſt innocent, and moſt barbarouſly perſecuted that ever was. In that which concerns me, Sir, I will not make mention to your Majeſty of my own Intereſt, though I might do it, having, as it ſeems, the Honor to be unto you what I am: But I have ſo long ſince conſecrated all things with my ſelf to the publick Good, that I ſhall eſteem my ſelf happy enough, ſo that the Church were not miſerably diſtreſſed; and that I may have this Advantage, that through my Actions (which your Majeſty will not diſavow) I may make it known, that I am

March 12. 1628.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,
and moſt obedient Servant,
Henry de Rohan.

Sir Walter Raleigh, *to the Duke.*

IF I preſume too much, I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to pardon me, eſpecially, in preſuming to write to ſo great and worthy a Perſon, who hath been told, that I have done him wrong: I heard it but of late; but moſt happy had I been, if I might have diſproved that Villany againſt me, when there had been no Suſpicion, that the Deſire to ſave my Life had prevented my Excuſe.

But, my worthy Lord, it is not to excuſe my ſelf that I now write: I cannot, for I have now offended my Sovereign Lord: For all paſt, even all the World, and my very Enemies have lamented my Loſs, whom now, if his Majeſty's Mercy alone do not lament, I am loſt. Howſoever, that which doth comfort my Soul in this Offence, is, that, even in the Offence it ſelf, I had no other Intent than his Majeſty's Service, and to make his Majeſty know, That my late Enterprize was grounded upon a Truth, and which with one Ship ſpeedily ſet out, I meant to have aſſured, or to have died; being reſolved (as it is well known) to have done it from *Plymouth*, had I not been reſtrained: Hereby I hoped not only to recover his Majeſty's gracious Opinion, but to have deſtroyed all thoſe malignant Reports which had been ſpread of me. That this is true, that Gentleman whom I ſo much truſted (my Keeper) and to whom I opened my Heart, cannot but teſtifie, and wherein, if I cannot be believed living, my Death ſhall witneſs: Yea, that Gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards *London*, I deſired to ſave no other Treaſure, than the exact Deſcription of thoſe Places in the *Indies*. That I meant to go hence as a diſcontented Man, God, I truſt, and mine own Actions, will diſſwade his Majeſty; whom neither the Loſs of my Eſtate, thirteen Years Impriſonment, and the Denial of my Pardon, could beat from his Service; nor the Opinion of being accounted a Fool, or rather diſtracted, by returning as I did, balanced with my Love to his Majeſty's Perſon and Eſtate, had no place at all in my Heart.

It was the laſt ſevere Letter from my Lords, for the ſpeedy bringing of me up, and the Impatience of Diſhonor, that firſt put me in fear of my Life, or enjoying it in a perpetual Impriſonment, never to recover my Reputation loſt, which ſtrengthened me in my late, and too late lamented Reſolution, if his Majeſty's Mercy do not abound; if his Majeſty do not pity my Age, and ſcorn to take

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the extreameſt and utmoſt Advantage of my Errors; if his Majeſty, in his great Charity, do not make a Difference between Offences proceeding from a Life-ſaving natural Impulſion, without all ill Intent, and thoſe of an ill Heart; and that your Lordſhip, remarkable in the World for the Nobleneſs of your Diſpoſition, do not vouchſafe to become my Interceſſor; whereby your Lordſhip ſhall bind an hundred Gentlemen of my Kindred to honor your Memory, and bind me, for all the time of that Life which your Lordſhip ſhall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever proſper, and overbind me to remain

Your moſt humble Servant,
W. Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh, *to King* James, *before his Tryal.*

IT is one part of the Office of a juſt and worthy Prince, to hear the Complaints of his Vaſſals, eſpecially ſuch as are in great Miſery. I know not, amongſt many other Preſumptions gathered againſt me, how your Majeſty hath been perſwaded, that I was one of them who were greatly diſcontented, and therefore the more likely to prove diſloyal: But the great God ſo relieve me, in both Worlds, as I was the contrary; and I took as great Comfort to behold your Majeſty, and always learning ſome Good, and bettering my Knowledge, by hearing your Majeſty's Diſcourſe. I do moſt humbly beſeech your Sovereign Majeſty, not to believe any of thoſe, in my particular, who, under pretence of Offences to Kings, do eaſily work their particular Revenge. I truſt, no Man, under the Colour of making Examples, ſhall perſwade your Majeſty to leave the Word *Merciful* out of your Stile: for it will be no leſs Profit to your Majeſty, and become your Greatneſs no leſs than the Word *Invincible*. It is true, that the Laws of *England* are no leſs jealous of the Kings, than *Cæſar* was of *Pompey*'s Wife: For, notwithſtanding ſhe was cleared for having Company with *Claudius*, yet, for being ſuſpected, he condemned her. For my ſelf, I proteſt before Almighty God, and I ſpeak it to my Maſter and Sovereign, that I never invented Treaſon againſt him; and yet I know I ſhall fall *in manus eorum à quibus non poſſum evadere*, unleſs by your Majeſty's gracious Compaſſion I be ſuſtained. Our Law, therefore (moſt merciful Prince) knowing her own Cruelty, and knowing that ſhe is wont to compound Treaſon out of Preſumptions and Circumſtances, doth give this charitable Advice to the King her Supreme, *Non ſolum ſapiens eſſe, ſed & miſericors*, &c. *cum tutius ſit reddere rationem miſericordiæ quam judicii.* I do, therefore, on the Knees of my Heart, beſeech your Majeſty, from your own ſweet and comfortable Diſpoſition, to remember that I have ſerved your Majeſty twenty years, for which your Majeſty hath yet given me no Reward; and it is fitter I ſhould be endebted unto my Sovereign Lord, then the King to his poor Vaſſal: Save me therefore, moſt merciful Prince, that I may owe your Majeſty my Life it ſelf, than which there cannot be a greater Debt: Limit me, at leaſt, my Sovereign Lord, that I may pay it for your Service when your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe. If the Law deſtroy me, your Majeſty ſhall put me out of your Power, and I ſhall have none to fear but the King of Kings.

Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh, *to Sir* Robert Car, *after, Earl of* Somerſet.

SIR,

AFter many Loſſes, and many years Sorrows, of both which, I have cauſe to fear, I was miſtaken in their Ends: It is come to my Knowledge, that your ſelf (whom I know not but by an honorable Favor) hath been perſwaded to give me and mine my laſt fatal Blow, by obtaining from his Majeſty the Inheritance of my Children and Nephews, loſt in Law for want of a Word. This done, there remaineth nothing with me, but the Name of Life: His Majeſty, whom I never offended (for I hold it unnatural, and unmanlike, to hate Goodneſs) ſtaid me at the Graves Brink; not that I thought his Majeſty thought me worthy of many Deaths, and to behold mine caſt out of the World with my ſelf; but, as a King that knoweth the Poor in Truth, hath received a Promiſe from God, that his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed.

And for you, Sir, ſeeing your fair Day is but in the Dawn, mine drawn to the Setting, your own Vertues, and the King's Grace, aſſuring of many Fortunes, and much Honor; I beſeech you, begin not your firſt Building upon the Ruins of the Innocent, and let not mine and their Sorrows attend your firſt Plantation. I have ever been bound to your Nation, as well for many other Graces, as for the true Report of my Tryal to the King's Majeſty; againſt whom, had I been malignant, the hearing of my Cauſe would not have changed Enemies into Friends, Malice into Compaſſion, and the

Minds of the greateſt Number then preſent into the Commiſeration of mine Eſtate: It is not the Nature of foul Treaſon to beget ſuch fair Paſſions; neither could it agree with the Duty and Love of faithful Subjects (eſpecially of your Nation) to bewail his Overthrow that had conſpired againſt their moſt natural and liberal Lord. I therefore truſt, that you will not be the firſt that ſhall kill us outright, cut down the Tree with the Fruit, and undergo the Curſe of them that enter the Fields of the Fatherleſs; which if it pleaſe you to know the Truth, is far leſs in Value than in Fame: But that ſo worthy a Gentleman as your ſelf will rather bind us to you (being ſix Gentlemen, not baſe in Birth and Alliance) which have Intereſt therein; and my ſelf, with my uttermoſt Thankfulneſs, will remain ready to obey your Commandments.

Walter Raleigh.

Monſieur *Richer*, forced, recants his Opinions againſt the Papal Supremacy over Kings.

EGO Librum quem compoſui Eccleſiaſticæ poteſtatis, & meipſum meaſque omnes Propoſitiones ſubjicio Eccleſ. Cathol. Apoſt. & Roman. & ſanctæ ſedi Apoſtolicæ, quam matrem omnium Eccleſiarum eſſe agnoſco; & in qua ſemper viguit infallibile Judicium veritatis in rebus fidei decernendis. Vehementerque doleo in prædicto meo Libro quaſdam eſſe Propoſitiones quæ ſcandalum genuerint, & quæ ſint veritati Catholicæ, ut ſonant, contraria.

The Lord Viſcount Rochfort, *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

My Lord,

I Have received great Wrongs about my Lord of *Oxford*, by Reports which can find no Author; yet have they wrought ſuch Impreſſions in the Hearts of ſome, that it is hard to remove thoſe Calumniations: For divers are poſſeſſed, that I am to be his Accuſer; which is ſo ſtrange, and ſo maliciouſly bruited, that it is ſomewhat ſuſpected. Yet know I not any one particular for which he is in the Tower; neither, if I knew any ſuch ſlip (in ſo noble a Perſon as might deſerve the King's Diſpleaſure) would my Nature give me leave to play the Informer, except it nearly concerned the Safety, or the Honor of my King; and then ſhould my Diſcovery be publick, to the Face, and not private behind the Back; for that I account too baſe to be found faulty in.

Sorry am I to be ſo much as ſuſpected; but ſince ill-diſpoſed Perſons will raiſe ill Rumors without any Ground, the Clearneſs of my Heart is ſufficient Content unto me: And as my Heart hath been always moſt faithful and watchful to do you Service; ſo, good my Lord, let me intreat you, that, for my Sake, my Lord of *Oxford* may receive ſome Teſtimonies of your great Favor for his ſpeedy Enlargement, and that it may appear you are the more willing to do it for my earneſt Intreaty. My Lord, you ſhall not only hereby oblige all my Lord of *Oxford*'s Friends, but likewiſe the Lady *Diana*'s who doth loſe a great deal of precious time by my Lord's Impriſonment; and therefore, let all be Arguments to excite your noble Heart to procure his freedom. And ſo I kiſs your Hands, and reſt

More yours than his own,
H. R.

POSTSCRIPT.

Pray make all Haſte from *Spain*; for neither are your Pleaſures and Contents ſo great there as you may find them here, neither have you ſo faithful Friends there as you deſerve: but ſure I am you have many falſe ones; for I have Work enough both in Court and City to falſifie their Reports of you; yea, ſome of them (about Women) very baſe ones, and much tending to your great Diſhonor. And it is current among very great ones, that the Prince hath been ſomewhat diſpleaſed with you of late. I have ſent you another Letter of larger Contents, and I ſhould be glad to hear from you.

Mr. Ruthen, *to the Earl of* Northumberland.

My Lord,

IT may be interpreted Diſcretion ſometimes to wink at private Wrongs, eſpecially for ſuch a one as my ſelf, that have a long time wraſtled with a hard Fortune, and whoſe Actions, Words and Behaviour

haviour are continually ſubject to the Cenſure of a whole State; yet not to be ſenſible of publick and national Diſgrace, were Stupidity and Baſeneſs of Mind: For no Place, nor Time, nor State, can excuſe any Man from performing that Duty and Obligation wherein Nature hath tied him to his Countrey and to himſelf. This I ſpeak in regard of certain infamous Verſes lately by your Lordſhip's Means diſperſed abroad to diſgrace my Countrey and my ſelf, and to wrong and ſtain by me the Honor of a worthy and vertuous Gentlewoman, whoſe unſpotted and immaculate Vertue your ſelf is ſo much more bound to admire and uphold, in that having diſhonorably aſſaulted it, you could not prevail. But belike, my Lord, you dare do any thing but that which is good and juſt. Think not to bear down theſe things either by Greatneſs or Denial; for the Circumſtances that prove them are too evident, and the Vail wherewith you would ſhadow them is too tranſparent. Neither would I have you flatter your ſelf, as though, like another *Giges*, you could paſs in your Courſes inviſible. If you owe a ſpight to any of my Country-men, it is a poor Revenge to rail upon me in Verſe: or if the Repulſe of your lewd Deſire at the Gentlewomans Hands hath inflamed and exaſperated your Choler againſt her, It was never known that to refuſe *Northumberlands* unlawful Luſt was a Crime for a Gentlewoman deſerving to have her Honor called in Queſtion. For her part, I doubt not but her own unſpotted Vertue will eaſily wipe out any Blot which your Malice would caſt upon it; and for me and my Countrymen, know (my good Lord) that ſuch Blows as come in rime, are too weak to reach or harm us. I am aſham'd in your Lordſhip's Behalf for theſe Proceedings, and ſorry that the World muſt now ſee how long it hath been miſtaken in *Northumberland's* Spirit, and yet who will not commend your Wiſdom in chuſing ſuch a ſafe Courſe to wrong a Woman and a Priſoner? The one of which cannot, and the other by Nature and Quality of the Place, may not right his own Wrongs. Wherefore (ſetting aſide the moſt honorable Order of the Garter, and proteſting that whatſoever is here ſaid, is no way intended to the Nobility and Gentry of *England* in general, which I doubt not but will condemn this your diſhonorable Dealing, and for which, both my ſelf, and, I dare truly ſay, all my Countrymen ſhall be even as ready to ſacrifice our Bloods, as for our own Mother *Scotland*) I do not only in regard of our own Perſons affirm, that whatſoever in thoſe infamous Verſes is contained, is utterly falſe and untrue, and that your ſelf hath dealt moſt diſhonorably, unworthily, and baſely; but this I'll ever maintain. If theſe Words ſound harſhly in your Lordſhip's Ear, blame your ſelf; ſince your ſelf forgetting your ſelf hath taught others how to diſhonor you: And remember, that though Nobility makes a Difference of Perſons, yet Injury acknowledgeth none.

Patrick Ruthen.

The Copy of a Letter ſent from Spain, *concerning the Prince's Arrival there, &c.*

I Preſume his Highneſs being now returned, you may by Conference have ſuch Choice and free Relations of his Proceedings in *Spain*, that I may well hold my Pen (it being not priviledged with that Freedom that the Tongue is) yet to comply with that conſtant Obligation I purpoſe ſtill to owe you, I will write ſomething, and point at ſome Paſſages, where others perhaps may not ſo punctually inform you.

The Prince's coming hither ſeemed not ſo ſtrange as acceptable, and pleaſing unto all. The Common ſort expreſſed it by extraordinary Shouts and Acclamations of Joy, offering, and marrying the *Infanta* (as it were) preſently, by publick Voice, as having won, and truly deſerved her, by ſo brave an Adventure. The King and State ſtudied how to do him all the Honor that might be: The firſt Decree that the Council of State made, was, that at all Occaſions of Meetings, he ſhould have the Precedency of the King. That he ſhould make Entry into the Palace in the Form of State, as the Kings of *Spain* do in the firſt Day of their Coronation. That he ſhould have one of the chief Quarters of the King's Houſe for his Lodgings, one hundred of the Guard to attend him, all the Council to obey him, as the King's own Perſon. All Priſoners were releaſed, the new Proclamation againſt Exceſs in Apparel revoked, and ſundry other Arguments of joy. But a Wonder laſteth not but for nine Days.

This univerſal Joy was grounded upon Hopes, that the Prince came not only to fetch a Wife, but alſo to make himſelf a Catholick. The Pope incited him thereunto by Letters, which his Nuncio delivered. He ſent a Charge to the Inquiſitor General, to uſe all poſſible Diligence herein. Many Proceſſions and Shews were made to ſtir him. But they ſoon ſaw how improbable it was to win him, how amongſt all his Servants, there was not one Catholick about him: what ſlight Eſteem they made of the Churches and Religion here; ſome committing irreverent and ſcandalous Actions in the King's own Chappel, ſo that they began to behold the *Engliſh* with an ill aſpect, to inveigh againſt the *Conde de Gondomar*, that he ſhould inform the King and State, that the Prince had a diſpoſition eaſie to be wrought upon to be made a Catholick. Add hereunto the ill Offices that the *Iriſh* do, who to preſerve themſelves in the *Spaniſh*

Say you ſo?

For which God be thanked.

Penſion, did prejudice the Buſineſs, by caſting aſperſions upon the *Engliſh*, the miſ-information of the perſecution in their Country, and in *England*, notwithſtanding being here, and the abuſe of the Embaſſador's Servants in *London*.

When the Prince came, there wanted nothing for the final conſummation of all things but the Diſpenſation, which came two Months after. And whereas it was expected to come abſolute and full, it came infringed with Cautions and Limitations, *viz.* That the Infanta ſhould not be married till Matters in *England* were in perfect execution; that in caſe the King of *England* could not give ſufficient ſecurity, the King of *Spain* himſelf ſhould ſwear and undertake the Oath for him. Hereupon a *Junto* of Divines was appointed to determine hereof, Whether the King might do this with a ſafe Conſcience, or no. Theſe Divines went gravely and tediouſly to work; which put the Prince upon that impatiency, that he was upon point of departure; when at laſt the Buſineſs came to a reſolution, and ſo the Match was publickly declared. The Prince had then often (though publickly) acceſs to the Infanta, the King being ſtill himſelf preſent, and in hearing. After this, a Ratification was ſent for from *Rome*, but the Pope dying in the interim, and the new Pope falling ſuddenly ſick, it could not be ſpeedily procured. For want of this Ratification, there was no Contract made, and the Prince himſelf ſeemed not to deſire it. A little before his departure, the King and the Council of State, with the Patriarch of the *Indies*, and the Prince-Prelate, after the Biſhop of *Toledo* (who is under Age) ſwore to all the Capitulations, ſo that the Prince ſeemed to depart well ſatisfied. The King brought him to the *Eſcurial*; and a little before his departure, the King and he went into a cloſe Coach, and had a large Diſcourſe together (my Lord of *Briſtol* being in another Coach hard by, to interpret ſome hard Words when he was called) and ſo they parted with many tender demonſtrations of Love. A Trophey of Marble is erected in the place where they parted. Many rich Preſents were given on both ſides: The Prince beſtowed upon the Queen the biggeſt Crown-Pearl in the World, between two Diamonds. He gave the Infanta a Rope of Pearl, and an Anchor of great Diamonds, with many other Jewels. He hath been very bountiful to every one of the King's Houſe, and all the Guard. Never Prince parted with ſuch an univerſal love of all. He left every mouth filled with his Commendations, every one reporting him to be a truly Noble, Diſcreet, and Well-deſerving Prince. I write what I hear and know, and that without paſſion, for all he is the Prince of my Country.

My Lord of *Buckingham*, at firſt, was much eſteemed, but it laſted little; his *French* Garb, with his ſtout haſtineſs in negotiating, and over-familiarity with the Prince, was not liked. Moreover, the Council of *Spain* took it ill, that a green Head ſhould come with ſuch a ſuperintendent Power to treat of an Affair of ſuch conſequence, among ſo many grave Miniſters of State, to the prejudice of ſo able and well-deſerving a Miniſter as my Lord of *Briſtol*, who laid the firſt Stone of this Building. Hereupon his Power was called in queſtion and found imperfect, in regard it was not confirmed by the Council. Thus the buſineſs began to gather ill Blood between *Olivarez* and him, and grew ſo far out of ſquare, that unleſs there had been good Heads to piece them together again, all might have fallen quite off the hinges. He did not take his leave of the Counteſs of *Olivarez*, and the farewel he took of the *Conde* himſelf was harſh; for he told him he would be an everlaſting Servant to the King of *Spain*, the Queen, and the Infanta, and would endeavour to do the beſt Offices he could, for the concluding of this Buſineſs, and ſtrengthening the Amity between the two Kingdoms; but for himſelf, he had ſo far diſobliged him, that he could make no profeſſion of Friendſhip to him at all. The *Conde* turn'd about, and ſaid he accepted of what he had ſpoken, and ſo parted.

Since his Highneſs's departure, my Lord of *Briſtol* negotiates cloſely, he is daily at the Palace to attend the Infanta, and he treats by means of the Counteſs of *Olivarez*.

There is a new *Junto* appointed for the diſpoſing of the Infanta's Affairs, and we hope here, that all things will be ripe againſt the next Spring to bring her over. And ſo I reſt, *&c.*

From Madrid, *Septemb*, 30. 1623.

A Privy-Seal for Tranſporting of Horſe.

Charles by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To the Treaſurer and Under-Treaſurer of our Exchequer for the time being, greeting. We do hereby will and command you, that out of our Treaſure remaining in the receit of our ſaid Treaſury, forthwith to pay, or cauſe to be paid unto *Philip Burlamack* of *London* Merchant, the ſum of 30000 *l.* to be by him paid over to the *Low-Countries* by Bill of Exchange, and *Germany*, unto our Truſty and Well-beloved Sir *William Belfour* Knight, and *John Dabler* Eſq; or either of them, for levying and providing a certain number of Horſe, with Arms for Foot and Horſe to be brought over

over into this Kingdom for our ſervice, *viz.* for the levying and tranſporting of 1000 Horſe, 15000 *l.* for 5000 Muskets, 5000 Corſlets, 5000 Pikes, 10500 *l.* for 1000 Curaſiers compleat, 200 Corſlets and 200 Carbines, 4500 *l.* amounting to the whole to the ſaid ſum of 30000 *l.* And this your Letter ſhall be our ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge in this behalf. *Given under Our Privy Seal, at our Palace of* Weſtminſter, *January* 30. *in the Third Year of Our Reign,* Anno Domini, 1627.

The Earl of Suffolk, *to his Majeſty.*

Gracious Sovereign,

IN this grievous time of my being barred from your preſence, which to me is the greateſt affliction that can lie upon me; and knowing by my former Service to you, the ſweet and Princely diſpoſition that is in you naturally, together with that unmatchable Judgment which the World knoweth you have, is the occaſion that I preſume at this time to lay before your Majeſty my moſt humble ſuit; which is, that you would be pleaſed to look upon the caſe of your poor Servant, who after ſo many faithful Deſires of mine to do you Service, I do not ſay that ſucceſs hath fallen out as I wiſhed, ſhould now not only have ſuffered for my Weakneſs and Errors, but muſt be further queſtioned to my diſgrace. I would to God your Majeſty did truly underſtand the Thoughts of my Heart; and if there you could find out the leaſt of ill Affections to you, I wiſh it pull'd out of my Body.

Now to add to my Miſeries, give me leave to let your Majeſty know the hard eſtate I am in; for I do owe at this preſent (I dare avow upon my Fidelity to you) little leſs than 40000 *l.* which I know will make me and mine poor and miſerable for ever.

All this I do not lay down to your Majeſty's beſt judging Eyes, that I mean this by way of complaint; for I do acknowledge the reaſon that your Majeſty had to do what you did: Neither do I go about to excuſe Errors to have eſcaped me, but will now and ever acknowledge your gracious favourable dealing with me, if you will be pleaſed now to receive me again to your Favour after this juſt Correction; without which, I deſire not to enjoy fortune of Goods, or Life in this World, which in the humbleſt manner that I can beg at your Princely Feet, as, *&c.*

Yours, &c.
T. Suffolk.

The Earl of Southampton's *Letter to the Biſhop of* Lincoln.

My Lord,

I Have found your Lordſhip already ſo favorable, and affectionate unto me, that I ſhall be ſtill hereafter deſirous to acquaint you with what concerns me, and bold to ask your Advice and Councel; of which makes me to ſend this Bearer to give your Lordſhip an account of my Anſwer from Court, which I cannot better do, than by ſending unto you the Anſwer it ſelf, which you ſhall receive here encloſed: Wherein you may ſee what is expected from me, that I may not only magnifie his Majeſty's gracious dealing with me, but cauſe all my Friends to do the like, and reſtrain them from making any extenuation of my Errors; which if they be diſpoſed to do, or not to do, is impoſſible for me to alter, that am not likely for a good time to ſee any other than mine own Family. For my ſelf, I ſhall ever be ready (as is fit) to acknowledge his Majeſty's Favour to me, but can hardly perſwade my ſelf, that any Error by me committed, deſerved more puniſhment than I have had, and hope that his Majeſty will not expect, that I ſhould not confeſs my ſelf to have been ſubject to a Star-Chamber Sentence, which God forbid I ſhould ever do. I have, and ſhall do, according to that part of my Lord of *Buckingham*'s Advice, to ſpeak of it as little as I can; and ſo ſhall I do in other things, to meddle as little as I can. I purpoſe (God willing) to go to morrow to *Tichfield* (the place of mine own confinement) there to ſtay as long as the King ſhall pleaſe.

Sir *William Parkhurſt* muſt go with me, who hoped to have been diſcharged at the return of my Meſſenger from Court, and ſeems much troubled, that he is not, pretending that it is extream inconvenient for him, in regard of his own occaſions. He is fearful he ſhould be forgotten. If therefore when your Lordſhip writes to the Court, you would but put my Lord of *Buckingham* in remembrance of it, you ſhall (I think) do him a favour. For my part, it is ſo little to trouble me, and of ſo ſmall moment, as I mean to move no more for it. When this Bearer returns, I beſeech you return by him this incloſed Letter, and believe that whatſoever I am, I will ever be

Your Lordſhips moſt aſſured Friend, to do you Service,
H. Southampton.

The.

The Lord Keeper's Anſwer, to the Earl of Southampton's *Letter.*

My Lord,

I Have peruſed your Lordſhip's Letter, and that encloſed I return back again, and doubt nothing of my Lord Admiral's remembring of you upon the firſt opportunity: Great Works (as I hope this will be a perfect reconciling of his Majeſty's Affection to you, of your beſt Studies and Endeavours to the Service of his Majeſty) do require ſome time: They are but poor Actions, and of no continuance, that are ſlubber'd up in an inſtant. I know (my Lord) Men's Tongues are their own; nor lieth it in your power to preſcribe what ſhall be ſpoken for you, or againſt you. But to avoid that *Complacentia* (as the Divines call it) that itching and inviting of any interpretation, which ſhall ſo add to your Innocency as it ſhall derogate from the King's Mercy, which (I ſpeak as I would do before God) had a great Cloud of Jealouſies and Suſpicions to break through, before it came to ſhine upon you. This (I take it) is the effect of my Lord's exhortation, and I know it ever hath been your Lordſhip's reſolution. How far you could be queſtion'd in the Star-Chamber, is an unreaſonable time to reſolve. The King hath wav'd off all Judgment, and left nothing for your meditation, but Love and Favour, and the increaſing of both theſe. Yet I know (upon my late occaſions to peruſe Preſidents in that Court) that ſmall Offences have been in that Court (in former times) deeply cenſured, in the ſixteenth of *Edward* II. (for the Court is of great antiquity) *Henry* Lord *Beaumont*, running away of his own accord about the invading of *Scotland*, and diſſenting from the reſt of the King's Council, becauſe of his abſenting himſelf from the Council-Table, was fined and impriſoned, though otherwiſe, a moſt worthy and deſerving Noble-man. But God be thanked, your Lordſhip hath no cauſe to trouble your Head about theſe Meditations: For (if I have any Judgment) you are in a way to demean your ſelf ſo, as you may expect rather more new additions, than ſuſpect the leaſt diminution from his gracious Majeſty. For mine own part, aſſure your ſelf I am your true and faithfulf Servant, and ſhall never ceaſe ſo continue, as long as you make good your Profeſſions to this Noble Lord. Of whoſe extrardinary Goodneſs, your Lordſhip, and my ſelf, are remarkable reflections. The one of his ſweetneſs, in forgetting of Wrongs, the other of his forwardneſs in conferring of Courteſies.

With my beſt reſpect to your Lordſhip, and my Noble Lady, and my Commendations to Sir *William Parkhurſt*, I recommend your Lordſhip, *&c.*

Aug. 2. 1621.

Oliver St. John, *to the Mayor of* Marlborough, *againſt the Benevolence.*

AS I think this kind of Benevolence is againſt Law, Reaſon and Religion.

Firſt, The Law is in the Statute call'd *Magna Charta*, 9 *H.* 3. *cap.* 29. That no Free-man be any way deſtroy'd, but by the Laws of the Land.

Secondly, Beſides that the ſaid Statute of *Magna Charta* is by all Princes ſince eſtabliſh'd and confirm'd, it is, in the 'ſpecial caſe of voluntary or free Grants, enacted and decreed 25 *E.* 1. *cap.* 5. That no ſuch be drawn into cuſtom; and *cap.* 6. That henceforth be taken no ſuch Aids, Taſks, free Grants, or Prizes, but by aſſent of all the Realm, and for the good of the ſame. And in *primo R.* 3. *cap.* 2. That the Subjects and Commons in this Realm from henceforth ſhall in no wiſe be charged by any Charge or Impoſition called a Benevolence, or any ſuch like Charge; and that ſuch Exactions, called a Benevolence, ſhall be damned and annulled for ever.

Firſt, It is not only without, but againſt Reaſon, that the Commons, in their ſeveral and particulars, ſhould be made Relievers or Suppliers of his Majeſty's Wants, who neither know his Wants, nor the Sums that may be this way raiſed to ſupply the ſame.

Secondly, It is againſt reaſon, that the particular and ſeveral Commons, diſtracted, ſhould oppoſe their Judgment and Diſcretion, to the Judgment and Diſcretion of the Wiſdom of their Land aſſembled in Parliament, who have there denied any ſuch aid.

It argueth in us want of Love and due Reſpect of our Sovereign Lord and King, which ought to be in every of us towards each other, which is, to ſtay every one which we ſee falling, and reduce the current. What proſperity can be expected to befall either our King or Nation, when the King ſhall, haply out of ignorance, or ('tis I hope) out of forgetfulneſs or headineſs, commit ſo great a ſin againſt his God, as is the violating of his great and ſolemn Oath taken at his Coronation, for the maintaining of his Laws, Liberties and Cuſtoms of this Noble Realm; and his Subjects, ſome for fear, ſome in pride, ſome to pleaſe others, ſhall joyn hands to forward ſo unhappy an atchievement? Can he any way

way more highly offend the Divine Majeſty (whom he then invocated?) As alſo, can he then give unto another *Hen.* 4. (if ſuch an one ſhould riſe up, which God forbid) a greater advantage? Let thoſe Articles put up againſt *R.* 2. be looked on, it will appear, that the breach of the Laws, infringing the Liberties, and failing in this his Oath, were the main Blemiſhes wherewith he could diſtain and ſpot the Honour of that good and gentle Prince; who, indeed, was rather by others abuſed, than of himſelf miſchievouſly any way diſpoſed.

Secondly, As very irreligiouſly and uncharitably, we help forward the King's Majeſty in that grievous ſin of Perjury; ſo into what an helliſh danger we plunge our ſelves, even ſo many of us as contribute, is to be learned out of the ſeveral Curſes and Sentences of Excommunication given out againſt all ſuch Givers, and, namely, the two following, *viz.* the great Curſe given out, the 36 *H.* 3. againſt all Breakers of the Liberties and Cuſtoms of the Realm of *England*, with their Abettors, Counſellors and Executioners; wherein, by the Sentence of *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the chief part of all the Biſhops of this Land, are *ipſo facto* excommunicated. And that of 24 *Ed.* 1. denounced immediately upon the Acts made againſt ſuch Benevolence, free Grants and Impoſitions, had, and taken without common aſſent; which, becauſe it is not ſo large as that former, I will ſet down as our Books deliver the ſame.

IN the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, *Amen.* Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, to the Honour of God, and of the Holy Church, and for the common Profit of the Realm, hath granted, for him and his Heirs for ever, theſe Articles above-written: *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Primate of all *England*, admoniſh'd all his Province, once, twice, and thrice, becauſe that ſhortneſs will not ſuffer ſo much delay, as to give knowledge to all the People of *England* of theſe Preſents in writing. We, therefore, enjoyn all Perſons, of what eſtate ſoever they be, that they, and every of them, as much as in them is, ſhall uphold and maintain thoſe Articles granted by our Sovereign Lord the King in all points; and all thoſe that, in any point, do reſiſt or break thoſe Ordinances, or in any manner hereafter procure, counſel, or in any ways aſſent to, reſiſt, or break thoſe Ordinances, or go about it by word or deed, openly or privately, by any manner of pretence or colour: We therefore, the ſaid Archbiſhop, by our Authority in this Writing expreſſed, do excommunicate and accurſe, and from the Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and from all the Company of Heaven, and from all the Sacraments of the Holy Church, do ſequeſter and exclude.

Sir, Hearing that to morrow the Juſtices will be here about this buſie work of Benevolence, wherein you have both ſent unto, and talked with me, and thinking that it may be, you would deliver up the Names of the Non-givers: Foraſmuch as, I think, I ſhall ſcarcely be at home to make my further Anſwer, if I ſhould be call'd for, I pray you, both hereby to underſtand my Mind your ſelf, and, if cauſe ſo require, to let the Juſtices perceive as much. So leaving others to their own Conſciences, whereby in that laſt and dreadful day they ſhall ſtand or fall before him who will reward every Man according to his Deeds, I commend you to the Grace of the Almighty, and reſt

Your loving Neighbour, and Friend,
Oliver St. John.

The Earl of Suffolk, *to the Duke.*

My Honourable good Lord,

AT the firſt minute of mine and my Wives delivery out of the *Tower*, I had returned ſuch acknowledgment due for ſo great a Favour, but that Sir *George Goring* only deſired to be the Meſſenger, as well as he was of the other. Let not (my Lord) my late Misfortunes make me or mine more unable to ſerve and thank you, than any he that thus takes advantage thereby to wrong me in your belief: For, what I have received, both in abatement of my Fine, and ſpeedy Liberty, I muſt confeſs to come from your Noble Mediation to his Majeſty; whoſe Diſpleaſure hath been more grievous to my Soul, than all the reſt this World can inflict upon me.

As your Lordſhip's Kindneſs hath begun to eaſe me, ſo now let the ſame Hand cure and preſerve me from a worſe relapſe wherein I am like to fall, if your Power prevent it not. The motion of his Majeſty for my perſwading my Sons out of their places, was the grievouſeſt ſound that ever entred me; for thereby I ſtill breathed under the heavy weight of all my Afflictions, not deſpairing but their care (charged upon them with my Bleſſing) might ſomewhat redeem my Errours, and aſſure his Majeſty, that my Will, was never tainted with offending him.

I know, my Lord, there is little benefit in ſerving againſt Maſter's Minds; but they are unworthy Servants, that will leave ſuch Maſters upon any Conditions: Such as make ſuit to chop or change

change for their own Advantage are better loſt than kept; but as for mine, my Curſe ſhould follow them, if ever I could think, they followed his Majeſty with ſuch Indifferency. My Obedience to his Majeſty was ever of more Force with me, than mine own Ends any way laid; nor ever joyed I more, then in running to his Commands. But this (my Lord) rends my Heart, to think, that unfortunate I ſhould bury my Sons alive, and pronounce that Sentence which would make me and them Scorns to Poſterity. Whilſt I have Knee to bend, Eye to lift up, or Tongue to beg, I muſt implore his Majeſty's Pardon and Mercy in this Kind. As for that more droſſie part of my Eſtate, it ſtill lies at his Majeſty's Feet; and if he now pleaſe to recall what he remitted, without further Condition I muſt obey, and let his Majeſty ſee, no change of Time or Place can change me, my Love, my Duty, or my Zeal to him.

My Lord, here you may read me, in my greateſt Griefs that ever did fall to me: Weigh them well, and think that one day you may be a Father, and be as nearly touched as now I am. The Favor you ſhall do me herein ſhall prove no hidden Talent; for the Increaſe ſhall not only be the Happineſs of a good Work well done, but the hearty Acknowledgment of a whole Family, and all theirs, that ſhall as faithfully ſerve and honor you, as the beſt of thoſe that would ſucceed them, which I hope your Lordſhip will believe from me, who will ever be

Yours, &c. T. Suffolk.

The Earl of Suffolk, *to his Majeſty.*

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

YOur Princely Favor, in delivering me and my Wife out of the Tower, muſt, and ſhall ever be acknowledged of us with all humble Thanks. And now be pleaſed to give me leave to be an humble Suitor to your Majeſty, that out of the tender Compaſſion of your Princely Heart, you will be pleaſed to caſt your Eye upon the miſerable Eſtate of your diſtreſſed, afflicted, and old Servant, now brought into Fear of never recovering of your Majeſty's Favor; and ſo wretched my Caſe is, as the little Hope that remained in me to live in your Memory, was by my two Sons Service to your gracious Self and the Prince, it is now required of me, to impoſe upon them the Reſignation of their Places; which, with all Humility, I beſeech you to give me leave to ſay, I would ſooner uſe my Power over them, to will them to bury themſelves quick, than by any other way than Enforcement to give up their Places of Service, which only remains to me, to be either my dying Comfort, or my living Torment.

Beſides, they are now paſt my Government, being both married, and have Children; only I have a Paternal Care of them; which I humbly beſeech your beſt judging Majeſty to weigh reſpectively, how unhappy I muſt of neceſſity think my ſelf, if I ſhould be the Perſwader of that Misfortune to my Children, that their Children, within a few years, would curſe me for, either living or dead. Upon all theſe juſt Conſiderations (moſt gracious Maſter) give me leave to turn my cruel and unnatural Part, of perſwading them to yield to that for which I ſhould deteſt my ſelf, to my humbleſt Deſire, upon the Knees of my Heart, to beg humbly of your Majeſty, that whatſoever Favor you have ever had to me for any Service done, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to ſpare the Ruin of theſe two young Men; whom I find ſo honeſtly diſpoſed in their Deſire of ſpending their Fortunes and Lives in your Majeſty's and your Princely Son's Service, as if your Diſpleaſure be not fully ſatisfied with what I have ſuffered already, that you lay more upon me, and ſpare them. I have written to my Lord of *Buckingham*, to be my Mediator to your Majeſty in this Behalf, which I aſſure my ſelf he will nobly perform, as well as he hath formerly done, in being my Means to your Majeſty in obtaining this great begun Favor. To conclude, with my Prayer to God, that your Majeſty may ever find the ſame Zeal and Love to your Perſon in whomſoever you ſhall employ, that my Hearts ſole Affection did, and ever ſhall carry unto you, which, God knows, was, and is more to your Majeſty, than to my Wife and Children, and all other worldly things, which God meaſure unto me according to the Truth, as

Yours, &c. T. Suffolk.

Sir Philip Sidney, *unto Q.* Elizabeth, *touching her Marriage with* Monſieur.

Moſt feared and beloved, moſt ſweet and gracious Sovereign,

*TO ſeek out Excuſes of this my Boldneſs, and to arm the Acknowledging of a Fault, with reaſons for it, might better ſhew, I knew I did amiſs, then any way diminiſh the Attempt, eſpecially in your Judgment; who being able to diſcern lively into the Nature of the thing done, it were Folly, to hope, by laying on better Colours, to make it more acceptable. Therefore carrying

carrying no other Olive-branch of Interceſſion, than the laying of my ſelf at your Feet; nor no other Inſinuation, either for Attention or Pardon, but the true vowed Sacrifice of unfeigned Love; I will, in ſimple and direct Terms (as hoping they ſhall only come to your merciful Eyes) ſet down the overflowing of my Mind, in this moſt important Matter; importing, as I think, the Continuance of your Safety, and (as I know) the joys of my Life. And, becauſe my Words (I confeſs, ſhallow, but coming from the deep Well-ſpring of moſt Loyal Affection) have delivered unto your moſt gracious Ear, what is the general Sum of my travelling Thoughts therein; I will now but only declare, what be the Reaſons that make me think, That the Marriage with *Monſieur* will be unprofitable unto you; then will I anſwer the Objections of thoſe Fears which might procure ſo violent a Refuge.

The Good or Evils that will come to you by it, muſt be conſidered, either according to your Eſtate or Perſon. To your Eſtate: What can be added to the being an abſolute born, and accordingly reſpected, Princeſs? But as they ſay, The *Iriſh-men* are wont to call over them that die, They are Rich, they are fair, what needed they to die ſo cruelly? Not unfitly of you, endowed with Felicity above all others, a Man might well ask, What makes you, in ſuch a Calm, to change Courſe? to ſo healthful a Body, to apply ſo unſavory a Medicine? What can recompence ſo hazardous an Adventure? Indeed, were it but the altering of a well-maintained, and well-approved Trade: For, as in Bodies natural, every ſudden Change is full of Peril; ſo, this Body Politick, whereof you are the only Head, it is ſo much the more dangerous, as there are more Humors to receive a hurtful Impreſſion: But Hazards are then moſt to be regarded, when the Nature of the Patient is fitly compoſed to occaſion them.

The Patient I account your Realm, the Agent *Monſieur*, and his Deſign; for neither outward Accidents do much prevail againſt a true inward Strength; nor doth inward Weakneſs lightly ſubvert it ſelf, without being thruſt at by ſome outward Force.

Your inward Force (for as for your Treaſures, indeed the Sinews of your Crown, your Majeſty doth beſt, and only know) conſiſteth in your Subjects, generally unexpert in warlike Defence; and as they are divided now into mighty Factions (and Factions bound upon the never dying Knot of Religion) the one of them to whom your happy Government hath granted the free Exerciſe of the Eternal Truth; with this, by the Continuance of Time, by the Multitude of them, by the principal Offices and Strength they hold; and laſtly, by your Dealings both at Home and abroad againſt the adverſe Party; your State is ſo entrapped, as it were impoſſible for you, without exceſſive Trouble, to pull your ſelf out of the Party ſo long maintained. For ſuch a Courſe once taken in Hand is not much unlike a Ship in a Tempeſt, which how dangerouſly ſoever it be beaten with Waves, yet is there no Safety or Succour without it: Theſe, therefore, as their Souls live by your happy Government, ſo are they your chief, if not your ſole Strength. Theſe, howſoever the Neceſſity of Human Life makes them Lack, yet can they not look for better Conditions than preſently they enjoy: theſe, how their Hearts will be galled, if not aliened, when they ſhall ſee you take a Husband, a *Frenchman*, and a Papiſt, in whom (howſoever fine Wits may find further Dealings, or painted Excuſes) the very common People well know this, that he is the Son of a *Jezabel* of our Age; that his Brother made Oblation of his own Siſters Marriage, the eaſier to make Maſſacres of our Brethren in Belief. That he himſelf, contrary to his Promiſe, and all Gratefulneſs, having had his Liberty and principal Eſtate by the *Hugonots* Means, did ſack *Lachariſts*, and utterly ſpoil them with Fire and Sword: This, I ſay, even at the firſt ſight, gives occaſion to all, truly Religious, to abhor ſuch a Maſter, and conſequently, to diminiſh much of the hopeful Love they have long held to you.

The other Faction (moſt rightly indeed to be called a Faction) is the Papiſts; Men, whoſe Spirits are full of Anguiſh; ſome being infeſted by others, whom they accounted damnable; ſome having their Ambition ſtopped, becauſe they are not in the way of Advancement; ſome in Priſon and Diſgrace; ſome, whoſe beſt Friends are baniſhed Practiſers; many thinking you are an Uſurper; many thinking alſo you had diſannulled your Right, becauſe of the Popes Excommunication: All burthened with the Weight of their Conſcience; Men of great Numbers, of great Riches (becauſe the Affairs of State have not lain on them) of united Minds, (as all Men that deem themſelves oppreſſed naturally are;) with theſe I would willingly joyn all diſcontented Perſons, ſuch as Want and Diſgrace keeps lower than they have ſet their Hearts; ſuch as have reſolved what to look for at your Hands; ſuch, as *Cæſar* ſaid, *Quibus opus eſt Bello civili*; and are of his Mind, *Malo in acie quàm in foro cadere*: Theſe be Men ſo much the more to be doubted, becauſe, as they do embrace all Eſtates, ſo are they commonly of the braveſt and wakefulleſt Sort, and that know the Advantage of the World moſt. This double Rank of People, how their Minds have ſtood, the Northern Rebellion, and infinite other Practices, have well taught you, Which, if it be ſaid, it did not prevail, that is true indeed; for, if they had prevailed, it were too late now to deliberate. But, at this preſent, they want nothing ſo much as a Head, who, in effect, needs not but to receive their Inſtructions, ſince they may do Miſchief enough only with his Countenance. Let the *Sigingniam*, in *Henry* the Fourth's Time; *Perkin Warbeck*, in your Grand-father's; but, of all, the moſt lively and proper is that of *Lewis*, the *French* King's Son,

in *Henry* the Thirds Time, who having at all no ſhew of Title, yet did he cauſe the Nobility, and more, to ſwear direct Fealty and Vaſſallage, and they delivered the ſtrongeſt Holds unto him: I ſay, let theſe be ſufficient to prove, That Occaſion gives Minds and Scope to ſtranger things than ever would have been imagined. If then the affectionate Side have their Affections weakned, and the Diſcontented have a Gap to utter their Diſcontent; I think it will ſeem an ill Preparative for the Patient, I mean, your Eſtate, to a great Sickneſs.

Now the Agent Party, which is *Monſieur*, whether he be not apt to work upon the Diſadvantage of your Eſtate, he is to be judged by his Will and Power: His Will to be as full of light Ambition as is poſſible, beſides the *French* Diſpoſition, and his own Education; his inconſtant Attempt againſt his Brother, his thruſting himſelf into the Low-Country Matters, his ſometime ſeeking the King of *Spain's* Daughter, ſometimes your Majeſty, are evident Teſtimonies of his being carried away with every Wind of Hope; taught to love Greatneſs any way gotten: and having for the Motioners and Miniſters of the Mind, only ſuch young Men as have ſhewed, they think, evil Contentment a Ground of any *Rebellion*; who have ſeen no Common-wealth but in Faction, and divers of which have defiled their Hands in odious Murthers; with ſuch Fancies and Favorites, what is to be hoped for? or that he will contain himſelf within the Limits of your Conditions, ſince, in truth, it were ſtrange, that he that cannot be contented to be the ſecond Perſon in *France*, and Heir apparent, ſhould be content to come to be ſecond Perſon where he ſhould pretend no way to Sovereignty? His Power, I imagine, is not to be deſpiſed, ſince he is come into a Country where the Way of Evil-doing will be preſented unto him; where there needs nothing but a Head, to draw together all the ill-affected Members: Himſelf, a Prince of great Revenues, of the moſt popular Nation of the World, full of Souldiery, and ſuch as are uſed to ſerve without Pay, ſo as they may have ſhew of Spoil; and, without queſtion, ſhall have his Brother ready to help him, as well for old Revenge, as to divert him from troubling *France*, and to deliver his own Country from evil Humors. Neither is King *Philip's* Marriage herein any Example, ſince then it was between two of one Religion; ſo that he, in *England*, ſtood only upon her Strength, and had abroad King *Henry* of *France*, ready to impeach any Enterprize he ſhould make for his Greatneſs that way: And yet what Events time would have brought forth of that Marriage, your moſt bleſſed Reign hath made vain all ſuch Conſiderations. But things holding in preſent State, I think I may eaſily conclude, that your Country, as well by long Peace, and Fruits of Peace, as by the Poyſon of Diviſion (wherewith the Faithful ſhall by this Means be wounded, and the contrary enabled) made fit to receive Hurt, and *Monſieur* being every way likely to uſe the Occaſions to hurt, there can, almoſt, happen no worldly thing of more eminent Danger to your Eſtate Royal. And as to your Perſon, in the Scale of your Happineſs, what Good there may come by it, to balance with the Loſs of ſo honorable a Conſtancy, truly, yet I perceive not. I will not ſhew ſo much Malice, as to object the univerſal Doubt, the Races Unhealthfulneſs; neither will I lay to his Charge the Ague-like manner of Proceedings, ſometimes hot, and ſometimes cold, in the time of purſuit, which always rightly is moſt fervent: And I will temper my Speeches from any other unreverend Diſgracings of him in particular (though they might be never ſo true;) this only will I ſay, that if he do come hither, he muſt live here in far leſs Reputation than his Mind will well brook, having no other Royalty to countenance himſelf with; or elſe you muſt deliver him the Keys of your Kingdom, and live at his Diſcretion; or, laſtly, he muſt be ſeparate himſelf, with more Diſhonor, and further diſ-uniting of Heart than ever before. Often have I heard you, with proteſtation, ſay, No private Pleaſure, nor Self-affection, could lead you unto it; but if it be both unprofitable for your Kingdom, and unpleaſant to you, certainly, it were a dear Purchaſe of Repentance: Nothing can it add unto you, but the Bliſs of Children, which, I confeſs, were a moſt unſpeakable Comfort; but yet no more appertaining, unto him than to any other, to whom the height of all good Haps were allotted, to be your Husband; and therefore I may aſſuredly affirm, that what Good ſoever can follow Marriage, is no more his than any bodies; but the Evils and Dangers are peculiarly annexed to his Perſon and Condition. For, as for the enriching of your Country with Treaſure, which either he hath not, or hath otherwiſe beſtowed it; or the ſtaying of your Servants Minds with new Expectations and Liberality, which is more dangerous than fruitful; or the eaſing of your Majeſty of Cares, which is as much to ſay, as the eaſing of you to be Queen and Sovereign; I think every Body perceives this way either to be full of Hurt, or void of Help. Now reſteth to conſider, what be the Motives of this ſudden Change, as I have heard you in moſt ſweet Words, deliver: Fear of ſtanding alone, in reſpect of foreign Dealings; and in them from whom you ſhould have Reſpect, doubt of Contempt. Truly, ſtanding alone, with good Fore-ſight of Government, both in Peace and war-like Defence, is the honorableſt thing that can be to a well eſtabliſhed Monarchy; thoſe Buildings being ever moſt ſtrongly durable which lean to none other, but remain from their own Foundation.

So yet, in the Particulars of your Eſtate at preſent, I will not altogether deny that a true *Maſſiniſſa* were very fit to countermine the Enterprize of mighty *Carthage*: But how this general Truth can be applied to *Monſieur*, in Truth, I perceive not. The Wiſeſt that have given beſt Rules where ſureſt Leagues are to be made, have ſaid, That it muſt be between ſuch as either vehement Deſire of a third

third thing, or as vehement Fear doth knit their Minds together. Desire is counted the weaker Bond; but yet that bound so many Princes to the Expedition of the *Holy Land*. It united that invincible *Hen.* 5. and that good Duke of *Burgundy*: the one desiring to win the Crown of *France* from the *Dauphin*; the other desiring to revenge his Fathers Murther upon the *Dauphin*; which both tended to one. That coupled *Lewis* the Twelfth, and *Ferdinando* of *Spain*, to the Conquest of *Naples*. Of Fear, there are innumerable Examples. *Monsieur*'s Desires, and yours, how they should meet in publick Matters, I think, no Oracle can tell: For as the Geometricians say, That Parallels, because they maintain divers Lines, can never joyn; so truly, two, having in the beginning contrary Principles, to bring forth one Doctrin, must be some Miracle. He of the *Romish* Religion; and, if he be a Man must needs have that manlike Property, to desire that all Men be of his Mind: You the Erecter and Defender of the Contrary, and the only Sun that dazleth their Eyes. He *French*, and desiring to make *France* great; Your Majesty *English*, and desiring nothing less than that *France* should grow great. He, both by his own Fancy, and his youthful Governors, embracing all ambitious Hopes, having *Alexander*'s Image in his Head, but, perhaps evil painted: Your Majesty, with excellent Vertue, taught what you should hope; and by no less Wisdom, what you may hope; with a Council renowned over all *Christendom*, for their well tempered Minds, having set the utmost of their Ambition in your Favor; and the Study of their Souls in your Safety.

Fear hath as little shew of outward Appearance, as Reason, to match you together; for in this Estate he is in, whom should he fear? his Brother? Alas! his Brother is afraid, since the King of *Navar* is to step into his Place. Neither can his Brother be the safer by his Fall; but he may be the greater by his Brothers; whereto, whether you will be an Accessary, you are to determine. The King of *Spain*, certainly cannot make War upon him, but it must be upon all the Crown of *France*; which is no likelihood he will do. Well may *Monsieur* (as he hath done) seek to enlarge the Bounds of *France* upon this State; which likewise, whether it be safe for you to be a Countenance to, any other way, may be seen; so that if neither Desire, nor Fear, be such in him as are to bind any publick Fastness; it may be said, That the only Fortress of this your Marriage is, of his private Affection; a thing too incident to the Person laying it up in such Knots.

The other Objection of Contempt in the Subjects, I assure your Majesty, if I had heard it proceed out of your Mouth, which, of all other, I do most dearly reverence, it would as soon (considering the Perfections both of Body and Mind, have set all Mens Eyes by the height your Estate) have come to the possibility of my Imagination, if one should have told me on the contrary side, That the greatest Princess of the World should envy the State of some poor deformed Pilgrim. What is there either within you or without you, that can possibly fall into the Danger of Contempt, to whom Fortunes are tyed by so long Descent of your Royal Ancestors? But our Minds rejoyce with the Experience of your inward Vertues, and our Eyes are delighted with the Sight of you. But because your own Eyes cannot see your self, neither can there be in the World any Example fit to blaze you by, I beseech you vouchsafe to veigh the Grounds thereof. The Natural Causes are length of Government, and uncertainty of Succession: The Effects, as you term them, appear by cherishing some abominable Speeches which some hellish Minds have uttered: The longer a good Prince reigneth, it is certain the more he is esteemed; there is no Man ever was weary of well being. And Good encreased to Good, maketh the same Good both greater and stronger; for it useth Men to know no other Cares, when either Men are born in the Time, and so never saw other; or have spent much part of their flourishing Time, and so have no Joy to seek other: in evil Princes, Abuse growing upon Abuse, according to the Nature of Evil, with the increase of Time ruins it self. But in so rare a Government, where Neighbors Fires gives us Light to see our Quietness, where nothing wants that true Administration of Justice brings forth, certainly the length of Time rather breeds a Mind to think there is no other Life but in it, than that there is any Tediousness in so fruitful a Government. Examples of good Princes do ever confirm this, who the longer they lived, the deeper still they sunk into their Subjects Hearts. Neither will I trouble you with Examples, being so many and manifest. Look into your own Estate, how willingly they grant, and how dutifully they pay such Subsidies as you demand of them? How they are no less troublesome to your Majesty in certain Requests, than they were in the beginning of your Reign: and your Majesty shall find you have a People more than ever devoted to you.

As for the uncertainty of Succession, although for mine own part I have cast the utmost Anchor of my Hope, yet for *England*'s Sake, I would not say any thing against such Determination; but that uncertain Good should bring Contempt to a certain Good, I think it is beyond all reach of Reason: nay, because if there were no other Cause (as there are infinite) common Reason and Profit would teach us to hold that Jewel dear, the loss of which would bring us to we know not what: which likewise is to be said of your Majesty's Speech of the rising Sun, a Speech first used by *Scilla* to *Pompey* in *Rome*, as then a popular City, where indeed Men were to rise or fall, according to the Flourish and Breath of a many headed Confusion. But in so lineal a Monarchy; where ever the Infants suck the Love of their rightful Prince, who would leave the Beams of so fair a Sun, for the dreadful Expecta-

tion of a divided Company of Stars? Vertue and Juſtice are the only Bonds of Peoples Love: and as for that Point, many Princes have loſt their Crowns, whoſe own Children were manifeſt Succeſſors; and ſome, that had their own Children uſed as Inſtruments of their Ruine; not that I deny the bliſs of Children, but only to ſhew Religion and Equity to be of themſelves ſufficient ſtays: Neither is the love was born in the Queen, your Siſters days, any contradiction hereunto; for ſhe was the Oppreſſor of that Religion which lived in many Men's Hearts, and whereof you were known to be the Favourer; by her loſs, was the moſt excellent Prince in the World to ſucceed; by your loſs, all blindneſs light upon him that ſees not our miſery. Laſtly, and moſt properly for this purpoſe, ſhe had made an odious Marriage with a Stranger (which is now in queſtion, whether your Majeſty ſhould do, or no) ſo that if your Subjects do at this time look for any after chance, it is but as the Pilot doth to the Ship-boat, if his Ship ſhould periſh; driven by extremity to the one; but, as long as he can with his Life, tendring the other. And this I ſay, not only for the lively parts that be in you; but even for their own ſakes, ſince they muſt needs ſee what tempeſts threaten them.

The laſt proof in this contempt ſhould be the venemous matter certain Men impoſthum'd with Wickedneſs ſhould utter againſt you. Certainly not to be evil ſpoken of, neither Chriſt's Holineſs, nor *Cæſar*'s Might, could ever prevent or warrant: There being for that no other Rule, than ſo to do, as that they may not juſtly ſay evil of you; which whether your Majeſty have not done, I leave it in you, to the Sincereneſs of your own Conſcience, and Wiſdom of your Judgment; in the World, to your moſt manifeſt Fruits and Fame through *Europe*: *Auguſtus* was told, that Men ſpake of him much hurt; *It is no matter*, ſaid he, *ſo long as they cannot do much hurt.* And laſtly, *Charles* V. to one that told him, *Le Hollander parlent mal, mais ilz. parlent bien*, anſwered *Le.* I might make a Scholar-like reckoning of many ſuch Examples; it ſufficeth that theſe great Princes knew well enough upon what ways they flew, and cared little for the barking of a few Currs: And truly, in the behalf of your Subjects, I durſt with my Blood anſwer it, That there was never Monarch held in more precious reckoning of her People, and before God how can it be otherwiſe? For mine own part, when I hear ſome loſt Wretch hath defiled ſuch a Name with his mouth, I conſider the right Name of Blaſphemy, whoſe unbridled Soul doth delight to deprave that which is accounted generally moſt High and Holy. No, no, moſt excellent Lady, do not raze out the impreſſion you have made in ſuch a multitude of Hearts, and let not the ſcum of ſuch vile Minds bear any Witneſs againſt your Subjects Devotions: Which, to proceed one point further, if it were otherwiſe, could little be helped, but rather nouriſhed, and in effect began by this. The only means of avoiding contempt, are *Love* and *Fear*: *Love*, as you have by divers means ſent into the depth of their Souls; ſo if any thing can ſtain ſo true a form, it muſt be the trimming your ſelf, not in your own likeneſs, but in new Colours unto them: Their fear by him cannot be encreaſed without appearance of *French* Forces, the manifeſt death of your Eſtate; but well may it againſt him bear that face, which (as the Tragick *Seneca* ſaith) *Metus in Authorem redit*; as becauſe both in Will and Power he is like enough to do harm. Since then it is dangerous for your State, as well becauſe by inward weakneſs (principally cauſed by diviſion) it is fit to receive harm; ſince to your Perſon it can no way be comfortable, you not deſiring Marriage, and neither to Perſon nor Eſtate he is to bring any more good than any Body; but more Evil he may, ſince the Cauſes that ſhould drive you to this, are either fears of that which cannot happen, or by this means cannot be prevented; I do with moſt humble Heart ſay unto your Majeſty (having aſſayed this dangerous help) for your ſtanding alone, you muſt take it for a ſingular Honour God hath done you, to be indeed the only Protector of his Church; and yet in worldly Reſpects your Kingdom very ſufficient ſo to do, if you make that Religion upon which you ſtand, to carry the only ſtrength, and have abroad thoſe that ſtill maintain the ſame courſe, who as long as they may be kept from utter falling, your Majeſty is ſure enough from your mightieſt Enemies.

As for this Man, as long as he is but *Monſieur* in Might, and a Papiſt in Profeſſion, he neither can, nor will greatly ſhield you: And if he grow to be King, his Defence will be like *Ajax*'s Shield, which rather weigh'd them down, than defended thoſe that bare it. Againſt contempt, if there be any, which I will never believe, let your excellent Vertues of Piety, Juſtice and Liberality, daily, if it be poſſible, more and more ſhine; let ſuch particular Actions be found out (which be eaſie, as I think, to be done) by which you may gratifie all the Hearts of your People: Let thoſe in whom you find truſt, and to whom you have committed truſt, in your weighty Affairs, be held up in the Eyes of your Subjects. Laſtly, doing as you do, you ſhall be as you be, the Example of Princes, the Ornament of this Age, the Comfort of the Afflicted, the Delight of your People, and the moſt excellent Fruit of your Progenitors, and the perfect Mirror of your Poſterity.

The Lord Sanquir's *Caſe.*

*IN this cauſe of the Life and Death, the Juries part is in effect diſcharged; for after a frank and formal Confeſſion, their labour is at an end; ſo that what hath been ſaid by Mr. Attorney, or ſhall be ſaid by my ſelf, is rather convenient than neceſſary.

My

My Lord *Sanquir*, your Fault is great, and cannot be extenuated, and it cannot be aggravated; and if it needed, you have made ſo full an Anatomy of it out of your own feeling, as it cannot be match'd by my ſelf, or any Man elſe, out of Conceit; ſo as that part of aggravation I leave.

Nay, more, this Chriſtian and penitent courſe of yours draws me thus far, that I will agree in ſome ſort to extenuate it; for certainly, as even in extream Evils there are degrees; ſo this particular of your Offence is ſuch, as though it be foul ſpilling of Blood, yet there are more foul; for if you had ſought to take away a Man's Life for his Vineyard, as *Achab* did; or for envy, as *Cain* did, or to poſſeſs his Bed, as *David* did; ſurely the Murther had been more odious.

Your Temptation was Revenge, which the more natural it was to Man, the more have Laws both Divine and Humane ſought to repreſs it; *Mihi vindicta.* But in one thing you and I ſhall never agree. That generous Spirits (you ſay) are hard to forgive; no, contrariwiſe, generous and magnanimous Minds are readieſt to forgive; and it is a weakneſs and impotency of Mind to be unable to forgive; *Corpora magnanima ſatis eſt proſtraſſe Leoni.*

But howſoever Murther may ariſe from ſeveral Motives, leſs or more odious, yet the Law both of God and Man involve them in one degree, and therefore you may read that in *Joab*'s caſe, which was a Murther upon Revenge, and matcheth with our caſe; he for a dear Brother, and you for a dear part of your own Body, yet there was never a ſevere charge given, that it ſhould not be unpuniſhed.

And certainly the circumſtance of time is heavy upon you; it is now five years ſince this unfortunate Man *Turner*, be it upon accident, or be it upon deſpight, gave the Provocation, which was the ſeed of your Malice: All Paſſions are aſſwaged with Time, Love, Hatred, Grief, all; Fire it ſelf burns out with Time, if no new Fuel be put to it. Therefore for you to have been in the Gall of Bitterneſs ſo long, and to have been in reſtleſs chaſe of this Blood for ſo many years, is a ſtrange Example; and I muſt tell you plainly, that I conceive you have ſuck'd thoſe Affections of dwelling in Malice rather out of *Italy*, and Outlandiſh Manners where you have converſed, than out of any part of this Iſland, *England* or *Scotland.*

But that which is fitteſt for me to ſpend time in (the matter being confeſſed) is, to ſet forth and magnifie to the Hearers the Juſtice of this day; firſt of God, and then of the King.

My Lord, You have Friends and Entertainments in foreign parts; it had been an eaſie thing for you to ſet *Carliſle*, or ſome other Blood-hound on work, when your Perſon had been beyond the Seas, and ſo this News might have come to you in a Packquet, and you might have looked on how the Storm would paſs; but God bereaved you of this fore-ſight, and bound you here under that Hand of a King, that though abundant in Clemency, yet is no leſs zealous of Juſtice.

Again, When you came in at *Lambeth*, you might have perſiſted in the denial of the procurement of the fact. *Carliſle*, a reſolute Man, might perhaps have cleared you (for they that are reſolute in Miſchief, are commonly obſtinate in concealing their Procurers) and ſo nothing ſhould have been againſt you but preſumption. But then alſo God, to take away Obſtructions of Juſtice, gave you the Grace (which ought indeed to be more true comfort to you, than any Device, whereby you might have eſcaped) to make a clear and plain Confeſſion.

Other impediments there were (not a few) which might have been an interruption to this days Juſtice, had not God in his Providence removed them.

But now that I have given God the Honour, let me give it likewiſe where it is next due, which is, to the King our Sovereign.

This Murther was no ſooner committed, and brought to his Majeſty's Ears; but his juſt indignation wherewith he firſt was moved, caſt it ſelf into a great deal of Care and Prudence to have Juſtice done: Firſt came forth his Proclamation ſomewhat of a rare form, and deviſed and in effect dictated by his Majeſty himſelf, and by that he did proſecute the Offenders, as it were, with the breath and blaſt of his mouth: Then did his Majeſty ſtretch forth his long Arms (for Kings have long Arms when they will extend them) one of them to the Sea, where he took hold of *Grey* ſhipped for *Luedia*, who gave the firſt light of Teſtimony; the other Arm to *Scotland*, and took hold of *Carliſle*, 'ere he was warm in his Houſe, and brought him the length of his Kingdom under ſuch ſafe watch and cuſtody, as he could have no means to eſcape, no nor to miſchief himſelf, no nor learn no Leſſons to ſtand mute; in which caſe, perhaps, this Day's Juſtice might have received a ſtop: So that I may conclude his Majeſty hath ſhewed himſelf God's true Lieutenant, and that he is no Reſpecter of Perſons; but *Engliſh*, *Scotiſh*, Noblemen, Fencers, are to him alike in reſpect of Juſtice.

Nay, I muſt ſay further, That his Majeſty hath had, in this, a kind of Prophetical Spirit; for what time *Carliſle* and *Grey*, and you my Lord your ſelf, were fled, no Man knew whither, to the four Winds; the King ever ſpake in a confident and undertaking manner, That whereſoever the Offenders were in *Europe*, he would produce them forth to Juſtice; of which noble Word, God hath made him Maſter.

Laſtly, I will conclude, towards you my Lord, That though your Offence hath been great, yet your Confeſſion hath been free, and your Behaviour and Speech full of diſcretion; and this ſhews,

That

That though you could not reſiſt the Tempter, yet you bear a Chriſtian and generous Spirit, anſwerable to the Noble Family of which you are deſcended. This I commend in you, and take it to be an aſſured Token of God's Mercy and Favour, in reſpect whereof all worldly Things are but Traſh; and ſo it is fit for you, as your ſtate now is, to account them; and this is all I will ſay for the preſent.

My Lady Shrewsbury's *Cauſe.*

Your Lordſhips do obſerve the Nature of this Charge.

MY Lady of *Shrewsbury*, a Lady wiſe, and that ought to know what Duty requireth is charged to have refuſed, and to have perſiſted in refuſal to anſwer, and to be examined in a high cauſe of State, being examined by the Council-Table, which is a repreſentative Body of the King.

The nature of the cauſe upon which ſhe was examined is an eſſential point which doth aggravate and increaſe this contempt and Preſumption, and therefore of neceſſity with that we muſt begin.

How graciouſly and Parent-like his Majeſty uſed the Lady *Arabella*, before ſhe gave him cauſe of Indignation, the World knoweth.

My Lady, notwithſtanding, extreamly ill-adviſed, tranſacted the moſt weighty and binding Part and Action of her Life, which is her Marriage, without acquainting his Majeſty, which had been a neglect even to a mean Parent. But being to our Sovereign, and ſhe ſtanding ſo near to his Majeſty as ſhe doth, and then chooſing ſuch a Condition as it pleaſed her to chooſe, all Parties laid together, how dangerous it was, my Lady might have read it in the Fortune of that Houſe wherewith ſhe is matched; for it was not unlike the caſe of Mr. *Seymer*'s Grandmother.

The King, nevertheleſs, ſo remembred he was a King, as he forgot not he was a Kinſman, and placed her only *ſub libera cuſtodia.*

But now did my Lady accumulate and heap up this Offence with a far greater than the former by ſeeking to withdraw her ſelf out of the King's Power into foreign parts.

That this flight or eſcape into foreign parts, might have been Seed of Trouble to this State, is a matter whereof the conceit of a vulgar Perſon is not capable.

For although my Lady ſhould have put on a Mind to continue her Loyalty, as Nature and Duty did bind her; yet when ſhe was in another Sphere, ſhe muſt have moved in the motion of that Orb, and not of the Planet it ſelf. And God forbid the King's Felicity ſhould be ſo little, as he ſhould not have Envy and Enviers enough in foreign parts.

It is true, if any foreigner had wrought upon this occaſion, I do not doubt but the intent would have been, as the Prophet ſaith, *They have conceived miſchief, and brought forth a vain thing.* But yet your Lordſhips know that is Wiſdom in Princes, and it is a watch they owe to themſelves, and to their people, to ſtop the beginnings of Evils, and not to deſpiſe them. *Seneca* ſaith well, *Non jam amplius levia ſunt pericula ſi levia videantur*: Dangers ceaſe to be light, becauſe by deſpiſing they grow and gather ſtrength.

And accordingly hath been the practice both of the wiſeſt and ſtouteſt Princes to hold, for matter pregnant of peril, to have any near them in Blood to fly into foreign parts. Wherein I will not wander, but take the example of King *Hen.* VII. a Prince not unfit to be parallel'd with his Majeſty; I mean not the particular of *Perkin Warbeck*, for he was but an Idol, or a Diſguiſe: But the Example I mean, is that of the Earl of *Suffolk*, whom the King extorted from *Philip* of *Auſtria*. The ſtory is memorable, That *Philip* after the death of *Iſabella* coming to take poſſeſſion of his Kingdom of *Caſtile* (whch was but Matrimonial to his Father-in-Law *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*) was caſt by weather upon the Coaſt of *Tarmouth*, where the *Italian* Story ſaith, King *Henry* uſed him in all things elſe as a Prince, but in one thing as a Priſoner; for he forced upon him a promiſe to reſtore the Earl of *Suffolk* that was fled into *Flanders*; and yet this I note was in the twenty firſt year of his Reign, when the King had a goodly Prince at Man's eſtate, beſides his Daughters, nay, and the whole Line of *Clarence* nearer in Title, for that Earl of *Suffolk* was deſcended of a Siſter of *Edward* IV. ſo far off did that King take his aim.

To this Action of ſo deep conſequence, it appeareth you (my Lady of *Shrewsbury*) were privy, not upon foreign Suſpicions or ſtrained Inferences, but upon vehement Preſumptions, now clear and particular Teſtimony, as hath been open'd to you; ſo as the King had not only Reaſon to examine you upon it, but to have proceeded with you upon it as for a great Contempt; which if it be reſerved for the preſent, your Ladyſhip is to underſtand it aright, that it is not defect of Proof, but abundance of Grace that is the cauſe of this proceeding. And your Ladyſhip ſhall do well to ſee into what danger you

you have brought your ſelf: All Offences conſiſt of the Fact which is open, and the Intent which is ſecret; this Fact of conſpiring in the Flight of this Lady, may bear a hard and gentler Conſtruction; if upon over-much Affection to your Kinſwoman, gentler; if upon Practice or other End, harder; you muſt take heed how you enter into ſuch Actions, whereof if the hidden part be drawn unto that which is open, it may be your overthrow, which I ſpeak not by way of charge, but by way of caution.

For that which you are properly charged with, you muſt know that all Subjects, without diſtinction of Degrees, owe to the King Tribute and Service, not only of their Deed and Hand, but of their Knowledge and Diſcovery.

If there be any thing that imports the King's Service, they ought themſelves, undemanded, to impart it; much more if they be called and examined, whether it be of their own Fact, or of anothers, they ought to make direct anſwer: Neither was there ever any Subject brought into Cauſes of Eſtate to tryal judicial, but firſt he paſſed examination; for examination is the entrance of Juſtice in criminal Cauſes; it is one of the Eyes of the King's politick Body: there are but two, Information and Examination: It may not be endured that one of the Lights be put out by your Example.

Your Excuſes are not worthy your own Judgment: Raſh Vows of lawful things are to be kept, but unlawful Vows, not; your own Divines will tell you ſo. For your Examples, they are ſome erroneous Traditions. My Lord of *Pembroke* ſpake ſomewhat that he was unletter'd, and it was but when he was examined by one private Counſellor, to whom he took exception. That of my Lord *Lumley* is a fiction; the Preheminencies of Nobility I would hold with to the laſt grain; but every days experience is to the contrary. Nay, you may learn Duty of my Lady *Arabella* her ſelf, a Lady of the Blood, of an higher Rank than your ſelf, who declining (and yet that but by Requeſt neither to declare of your Fact) yieldeth ingenuouſly to be examined of her own: I do not doubt but by this time you ſee both your own Error, and the King's Grace in proceeding with you in this manner.

Dr. Sharp, *to King* James.

The Complaint of Europe *our Mother aged and oppreſſed.*

TO whom? To the Kings and Princes of *Europe*. Of whom? Of the Pope of *Rome*. For what matter? For cauſing by his Catholick League ſo much Blood to be ſpilt within theſe few years in *Europe*. To this effect, as that excellent Poet ſpeaks, with a little change of his Words:

Quis non Europæo ſanguine pinguior.
Campus ſepulchris impia prælia
Teſtatur? auditumque Turcis
Europæ ſonitum ruinæ?
Qui gurges aut quæ flumina lugubris
Ignara belli? quo Mare Civicæ
Non decoravêre cædes?
Quæ Caret ora cruore noſtro?

And what further danger is it like to breed? Even to bring the *Turk* into *Auſtria*, *Italy*, *Germany*, into *Vienna*, and into *Rome* it ſelf, as it hath brought him into *Pannonia*, and of late into *Polonia*, to the great danger of all Chriſtendom. Which danger ſhe doth forſee, and lament, and telleth, That no *European* King hath ſought to compound theſe bloody home-Quarrels, but the King of *Great Britain*. She moſt humbly deſires the reſt of the Princes, that they would commiſerate her moſt afflicted eſtate; her Cities taken, her Houſes ſpoiled, her Children murthered, her Matrons and Virgins defloured, her Ways full of Thieves, her Seas of Pyrates, all the Helps of Life taken from her in many parts, her Flocks and Herds ſcattered, her Tillage ceaſed, her Trade decayed, the Laws ſilent, Learning fallen, good Manners ruined, neither Fear of God left, nor Care of Men, that all things ſeem to tend to their firſt *Chaos*, &c. And therefore ſhe doth beſeech the Princes, to whoſe Truſt God hath committed, not to whoſe Power he hath permitted his two Wards, two Twins, the Commonwealth and the Church, as two Guardians, that they will look better to their Charge.

And firſt, not ſuffer the Commonwealth of Chriſtendom by their Arms (at the Pope's ſecret inſtigation) to be deſtroy'd; and to this end, ſhe firſt uſeth the Example of good Heathen Emperours, to perſwade them, as *Auguſtus*, *Veſpatian*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Antonius*, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Alexander Severus*, *Probus*; that they will ſettle Peace at home, and by joynt Forces make War abroad upon the Common Enemy of their Kingdoms, and ſo make the Commonwealth to Honour them, being made by them rich in Wealth, ſtrong in Power, famous in Glory, honeſt in Manners, the Felicity of every earthly Commonwealth.

Now

Now for the other Ward, or Twin, the Church, the heavenly Common-wealth, becauſe ſhe hath before profeſſed, that as ſhe had been long a Pagan, ſo now, by the Grace of God, hath long been a Chriſtian, and did take this to be her greateſt Honor, to be the Harbor of the Chriſtian Church, ſhe ſtirs them up to be more careful by the Example of the beſt Chriſtian Emperors, *Conſtantine*, *Jovinian*, *Gratian*, *Theodoſius*, *Arcadius*, *Honorius*, *Charlemaign*, and his Sons, *Lotharius* and *Lodovicus*, to defend her from Hereſies within, and from Violence without.

And now ſhe begins to tell them, That as one walking with others in the Sun, not thinking on it, muſt needs be Sun-burn'd; ſo ſhe walking with her reformed Children in this new riſen Sun of the Goſpel of Chriſt, did feel her ſelf coloured (as it were) with the Spirit of Chriſt, by obſerving the Differences between the two Churches with great Indifferency.

Here, becauſe ſhe hath before challenged the Pope and the Jeſuits of Cruelty, and perſwading firſt, that as Men they ſhould ſpare human Blood.

Secondly, As *Europeans*, they ſhould ſpare *European* Blood.

Thirdly, As Chriſtians, they ſhould ſpare Chriſtian Blood.

She is firſt thus anſwered by the Pope, ſpeaking for himſelf and his Jeſuits, that they are not the Authors of ſhedding Chriſtian Blood, but Heretical Blood: and that her reformed Sons (as ſhe terms them) are not Chriſtians, becauſe they be no Catholicks: And therefore Hereticks to be taken away by Death, according to the Sentence of St. *Paul*; *Hæreticum hominem poſt unam aut alteram admonitionem devita*; *Hoc eſt*, *de vita tolle*, as Cardinal *Allen* doth expound it, and according to the Decree of the Council of *Lateran*.

And where, I pray you, was this your reformed Church befor *Luther*? And as for my Jeſuits, you call them bloody, even as you call your Phyſitians bloody, who, for driving away a peſtilential Fevor, do take more corrupt and putrified Blood from the Party than they would.

And thereupon he doth twit *Europe* as an old doubting *Sybylla*, in her Youth, being the Concubine of one *Taurus*, whom ſhe feigned to be *Jupiter*, to cover her Fault with the Greatneſs of her Lover, who did alſo give her the Name of this divided World, that by the Honor of her Title ſhe might excuſe the Shame of her Fact: And bites the fond Orator that puts this Perſon upon her, a Whelp of *Luthers*, that makes this Minion to accuſe him before the Princes of Homicide, or an inſenſible piece of Earth to plead his Cauſe.

To which *Europe* anſwereth,

First, for her ſelf:

Then, for the Church.

This Sum I thought good to preſent to your Majeſty; if it pleaſe your Judgment, I ſhall bring the whole Work to your Majeſty when I am recovered.

And thus, craving Pardon of your Majeſty for troubling your greater Thoughts, though this tend to the Good of Chriſtendom which you intend, I reſt

Your Majeſties moſt humble Chaplain,
Leonel Sharp.

Dr. Sharp, *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

IT is not my Purpoſe to adviſe, but to attend what others ſhall determine of the Match of the *Palatinate*: but if that be broken off, and this not reſtored according to Promiſe, every one may conceive that Peace muſt give place to War abroad; but with whom, and where, and how it is to be made, it is for an higher Council, than for any private Man to reſolve.

Peace were beſt, if it had *Nihil infidiarum*, as *Tully* ſaith; but it is to be feared, that the Malice of the Catholick League doth and will hinder the Work of the Kings moſt Noble and Chriſtian Heart, and then it will be a War wrapt in the Name of Peace.

A juſt War is the Exerciſe of Faith, as *Peter Martyr* well collects out of thoſe Wars which thoſe worthy Kings and Princes *Heb.* 11. fought for their God and his *Iſrael*: ſo War is juſt which is made for the Maintenance of Gods true Religion, and for the Safety of the Common-wealth, either for the keeping of that we have, or recovering of that we have loſt.

Every one therefore doth rejoyce to ſee the King and his Subjects ſo joyned in Love together, and in the Purpoſe of this Defence; every one, I mean that is a true Chriſtian, and good Subject; and do wiſh that two things preſently were added, Care at home to coup up all falſe-hearted Subjects that are known; and Proviſion to meet with the ſecret and open Practices of ſuch foreign Enemies as are like to abet them.

The

The good Policies of the former Reign in ſuch times is the beſt Preſident for this, at this Time. The Heads were then committed *liberali Cuſtodiæ*, divided from their inferior Parts, the Papiſts diſarmed, their Claws pared, that they might not hurt us, the Laws executed upon the Jeſuits and Prieſts, Fire-brands of Sedition and Rebellion withal: Or if not Blood drawn of them, yet cloſe Impriſonment, or Baniſhment enjoyned them.

Large Subſidies granted to prepare the Navy, and pay the Armies. And a great while no War proclaimed, but brave Adventurers ſent forth, as to *Portugal*, the *Groin*, to the *Weſt-Indies*, &c. And before Letters of ſurpriſal granted to the Merchants to make up their Loſſes, a *Rowland* for an *Oliver*, becauſe they had granted Letters of Mart againſt us. By this means Carricks were brought in, the Treaſure of their *Weſt Indian* Mines laid for at their Return, ſo to make War upon them with their own Money, till they had made the Enemy bankrupt, and to break with their Bankers of *Ausburg* and *Genoa*, that he was not able to pay his Souldiers and Garriſons; and ſtill the Low-Countries ſtrongly aſſiſted, and War made upon the Enemy there, or at Home at his own Doors, which was more noble, gainful, and ſafe for us; for we ſtill had Peace and Plenty at Home, though War Abroad. *Ausburg.*

I know not how the Caſe ſtands now between us and the *Spaniards*; but methinks it ſhould not be very well, when nothing will ſatisfie him, but the Head of him that ſpake the Truth for the Good of the King and Kingdom. Certainly if we break with him, as they which ſit at the Helm know what is beſt to do, he is ready to ſtrike, and will peradventure ſtrike quickly, before we be fully prepared; therefore our Preparations had need to be more ſpeedy thorough, leſt we fall into the Snare. While they were treating of Peace in 88. they did even then invade us. I pray God they have not uſed this Treaty of Marriage to as bad a Purpoſe; for it ſeems they never did intend it, but for Delays, and to make it ſerve their Turn, they have plainly abuſed us in the *Palatinate* thereby. But I can ſay nothing for the preſent, yet what is to be done, it is proper to an higher Judgment; only I tell what was then, when we were Enemies.

I remember in 88, waiting upon the Earl of *Leiceſter* at *Tilbury* Camp, and in 89, going into *Portugal* with my noble Maſter the Earl of *Eſſex*, I learned ſomewhat fit to be imparted to your Grace.

The Queen lying in the Camp one Night, guarded with her Army, the old Treaſurer *Burleigh* came thither, and delivered to the Earl the Examination of *Don Pedro*, who was taken and brought in by Sir *Francis Drake*, which Examination the Earl of *Leiceſter* delivered unto me, to publiſh to the Army in my next Sermon. The Sum of it was this.

Don Pedro being asked what was the Intent of their coming, ſtoutly anſwered the Lords, What? But to ſubdue your Nation, and root it out. *Don* Pedro's *Confeſſion.*

Good, ſaid the Lords, and what meant you then to do with the Catholicks? He anſwered, we meant to ſend them (good Men) directly unto Heaven, as all you that are Hereticks to Hell. Yea, but, ſaid the Lords, what meant you to do with your Whips of Cord and Wire? (whereof they had great ſtore in their Ships) What? ſaid he, We meant to whip you Hereticks to Death, that have aſſiſted my Maſters Rebels, and done ſuch Diſhonors to our Catholick King and People. Yea, but what would you have done, ſaid they, with their young Children? They, ſaid he, which were above ſeven years old, ſhould have gone the Way their Fathers went, the reſt ſhould have lived, branded in the Fore-head with the Letter *L.* for *Lutheran*, to perpetual Bondage.

This, I take God to witneſs, I received of thoſe great Lords upon Examination taken by the Council, and by Commandment delivered it to the Army.

The Queen the next Morning rode through all the Squadrons of her Army, as armed *Pallas*, attended by Noble Foot-men, *Leiceſter*, *Eſſex* and *Norris*, then Lord Marſhal, and divers other great Lords. Where ſhe made an excellent Oration to her Army, which, the next day after her Departure, I was commanded to re-deliver to all the Army together, to keep a publick Faſt.

Her Words were theſe.

MY loving People, we have been perſwaded by ſome that are careful of our Safety, to take heed how we commit our Self to armed Multitudes, for fear of Treachery; but I aſſure you, I do not deſire to live to diſtruſt my faithful and loving People. Let Tyrants fear, I have always ſo behaved my ſelf, that under God, I have placed my chiefeſt Strength and Safeguard in the loyal Hearts and good Will of my Subjects, and therefore I am come amongſt you, as you ſee, at this time, not for my Recreation and Diſport, but being reſolved, in the midſt and heat of the Battle, to live or die amongſt you all, to lay down for my God, and for my Kingdom, and for my People, my Honor, and my Blood, even in the Duſt, I know I have the Body but of a week and feeble Woman, but I have the Heart and Stomach of a King, and of a King of *England* too, and think foul Scorn that *Parma* or *Spain*, or any Prince of *Europe* ſhould dare to invade the Borders of my Realm; to

which, rather than any Diſhonor ſhall grow by me, I my ſelf will take up Arms, I my ſelf will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of every one of your Vertues in the Field. I know, already for your Forwardneſs, you have deſerved Rewards and Crowns; and we do aſſure you, in the Word of a Prince, they ſhall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my Lieutenant General ſhall be in my ſtead, than whom never Prince commanded a more Noble or worthy Subject, not doubting but by your Obedience to my General, by your Concord in the Camp, and your Valor in the Field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous Victory over thoſe Enemies of my God, of my Kingdoms, and of my People.

This I thought would delight your Grace, and no Man hath it but my ſelf, and ſuch as I have given it to, and therefore I made bold to ſend it unto you, if you have it not already.

I would I could perſwade your Grace, either to read your ſelf, or to command your Secretary to gather out of the Hiſtory of *Spain*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, towards the End, five or ſix Leaves, which hath Matter of great Importance fit for the Parliament, eſpecially for two Points; the one concerning the ſetled Intention of the State of *Spain* againſt *England*, whenſoever they can get an Opportunity; the other concerning the main Reaſons of State, which moved the Queen and Council, then to take upon her the Protection of the *Low-Countries*.

They were of two ſorts, the firſt inherent in the Perſon of the Prince then being, which died with her (as ſome think) the Quarrel being then between the Queen and King of *Spain*, *Philip* the Second, which are ſaid to be buried in their Graves; the other inherent in their Eſtates, which live with them, and remain in the Heart of the State of *Spain* againſt us, whoſoever is their King.

And this appeareth by a large Diſputation of State had before the King of *Spain*, and blabb'd out by their Chronicler in many Words, wherein, *pro & contra*, two do argue. The one, who proves that the *Netherlands* their Rebels are firſt to be conquered, that it may ſerve them as a Riſe to the Conqueſt of *England*, and the Reaſons for that Project. The other, who proves, that the *Engliſh* are firſt to be conquered, the Supporters of thoſe their Rebels, and for a Riſe to the Empire of Chriſtendom, and the Reaſons for the Project; and eſpecially for that it is more eaſie now for the diſuſe of Armies in *England*; for that *England* is not now that *England* which it hath been, *&c.*

And the Mean, how they may win themſelves into us by a Treaty of Marriage, as *Mariana* blabs it out in general, that which the Prince hath tryed, and your Grace hath uttered in Parliament in ſpecial, that *Colloquia de Contractibus* are with them *Mera ludibria parata tantum Regnum animis, Ne noceant diſtinendis, dum ea quæ ipſi intendunt perficiantur.* Which *Guicciardine* alſo doth, in general, affirm, That the *Spaniards* bring more things to paſs by Treaties and Subtilties, than by force of Arms.

And that you may truly underſtand the full Intention of the *Spaniards* to the State of this Kingdom, and Church, I would your Grace would read a notable Diſcourſe of the late moſt noble Earl of *Eſſex*, made by the Commandment of Queen *Elizabeth*, and debated before her Majeſty and her Council, concerning this Point, Whether Peace or War was to be treated with *Spain*? The Lord *Buckhurſt* ſpeaking for a Treaty of Peace, to the which the Noble Queen, and her old Lord Treaſurer, inclined: The Earl ſpeaking for War, becauſe no ſafer Peace could be made with that State, for three ſpecial Reaſons, which are in that Treatiſe ſet down at large, which is not fit for me yet to deliver by writing, but there you ſhall find them. Your Grace may have the Book of divers Noblemen your Friends. If you have it not (if I may underſtand your Pleaſure) I will get it for you. It was of that effect, that it brought the Queen and Treaſurer, contrary to their purpoſe, to his ſide, for the very neceſſity of the common Safety.

Your Lordſhip having angred them, and endeared your ſelf to us, you had need to look to your ſelf, you are as odious to them as ever the Earl of *Eſſex* was.

The Jeſuite *Walpool* ſet on one of the ſtable (*Squire*) one well affected to my Lord, to poyſon the reſt of his Chair. And ſeeing they ſtrike at the Miniſters, which deal effectually for his Church (witneſs worthy Doctor *White*) what will they do to ſuch Pillars of State as you are? The Lord preſerve your Grace, and watch over you. And thus I reſt,

Your Grace's moſt humble
at Commmand,

Leonel Sharp.

Sir

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *then Ambaſſador in* France, *to Queen* Elizabeth, *touching a free Paſſage for the Queen of* Scots *through* England *into* Scotland.

* IT may pleaſe your Majeſty to underſtand, that the 17*th.* of *July* I received your Letters at *Poiſſy* of the 14*th.* of the ſame, by *Franciſco*, this Bearer; and for that I could not, according to your Majeſty's Inſtructions in the ſame Letters, accompliſh the Contents of them, until *Monſieur d' Oyſell* had delivered your Letters to the *French* King, the Queen of *Scotland*, and the Queen Mother (who did not arrive at this Court till the 20*th.* of this preſent) I did defer to treat with any of the Princes, of your Majeſty's Anſwer to the ſaid *Monſieur d' Oyſell*. Nevertheleſs, the 18*th.* of this Month I required Audience of the *French* King, which was granted me; the ſame day in the Afternoon I repaired to his Court, being at St. *Germans*, and there the Queen-Mother, accompanied with the King of *Navarre*, and ſundry other great Perſonages, was in the Place of State to hear what I had to ſay to the King her Son, who was abſent; unto her I declared your Majeſty's Pleaſure, according to my Inſtructions, concerning your Acceptation of the Hoſtages already received, and hereafter to be received, ſignified to me by your Majeſty's Letters of the 17*th.* of *June*; and, as I wrote to your Majeſty lately, brought to me by *Monſieur de Noailles* the 16*th.* of *July*; for Anſwer whereunto, the Queen-Mother ſaid, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, we marvel greatly how it cometh to paſs that the Queen your Miſtriſs doth not make more ſtay to receive the King my Son's Hoſtages, than ſhe hath done heretofore; for from the beginning, ſince the Hoſtages were ſent into *England*, neither the King, my late Lord and Husband, nor the late King my Son, did either recommend the ſufficiency of their Hoſtages by their Letters, or cauſe their Names to be recommended unto you the Ambaſſador; but the preſentation of them by our Ambaſſador in *England* did ſuffice: thereunto I ſaid, Madam, you know they be Hoſtages for a Matter of ſome Moment: and if they ſhould neither have the Kings Aſſurance for their Validity, nor the Queen my Miſtriſs Ambaſſadors Allowance of their ſufficiency, ſome Perſonages might be ſent which were neither meet for the King to ſend, nor for the Queen my Miſtriſs to receive; and yet, Madam, the Queen my Miſtriſs doth not require the manner of recommending the ſufficiency of the Hoſtages, for any doubt ſhe hath that unmeet Perſons ſhould be ſent; but rather, becauſe a friendly and ſincere Faſhion of Dealing ſhould be betwixt her good Brother and her, with whom her Majeſty is ſo deſirous to have a perfect and aſſured Amity: I ſaid alſo, that the King her Son hath notified both to my Lord of *Bedford* at his being here, and unto me, the Names of ſome of the Hoſtages; as the Count of *Benon* before his going into *England*, as *Monſieur de Sualt*, who had the Charge ſo to do, could well inform her; ſo as this Motion need not ſeem ſtrange for the Newneſs. The Queen anſwered, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſador*, we be well pleaſed, ſeeing your Miſtriſs doth require it, that from henceforth either the Hoſtages ſhall have the King my Sons Letters of Recommendation, or elſe their Names ſhould be notified unto you, or any other her Ambaſſador here; and I pray you *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, quoth ſhe, give the Queen your Miſtriſs, my good Siſter, to underſtand from me, That if there be any thing in this Country that may pleaſe her, ſhe ſhall have it, if I may know her Liking; I told the ſaid Queen, That I was ſure your Majeſty was of the ſame Mind towards her, for any Pleaſures to content her in your Realm; and ſo I took my leave of her for that time.

It may further pleaſe your Majeſty, having Intelligence that *Monſieur d' Oyſell* had advertiſed the Queen of *Scotland* by *Rollot* her Secretary, the 17*th.* of this preſent, what Anſwer your Majeſty had made him; and hearing alſo of the ſundry Praiſes and Diſcourſes made here, of that your Majeſty anſwered, I ſent to *Dampier* (a Houſe of the Cardinal of *Lorrains*) the 19*th.* of this Month, to the Queen of *Scotland*, to require Audience of her, which ſhe appointed me to have the next day in the Afternoon at St. *Germans*; She was (accompanied) at *Dampier* with her Uncles the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Guiſe*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*; there was alſo the Duke of *Nemours*, who the ſame day arrived there in Poſt out of *Savoy*, and viſited the ſaid Queen before he came to this Town.

The 20*th.* of this preſent, in the Afternoon, I had acceſs to the ſaid Queen of *Scotland*, with whom I found *Monſieur d' Oyſell* talking when I entered into her Chamber; ſhe diſmiſſed *Monſieur d' Oyſell*, and roſe from her Chair when ſhe ſaw me; unto whom I ſaid, Madam, whereas you ſent lately *Monſieur d' Oyſell* to the Queen my Miſtriſs, to demand her Majeſty's ſafe Conduct for your free Paſſage by Sea into your own Realm, and to be accommodated with ſuch Favors as upon Events you might have need of upon the Coaſt of *England*, and alſo did farther require the free Paſſage of the ſaid *Monſieur d' Oyſell* into *Scotland* through *England*: The Queen my Miſtriſs hath not thought good to ſuffer the ſaid *Monſieur d' Oyſell* to paſs into *Scotland*, nor to ſatisfie your Deſire for your Paſſage Home, neither for ſuch other Favors as you required to be accommodated withal at her Majeſty's Hand, in as much as you have not accompliſhed the Ratification of the Treaty accorded by your Deputies in *July*, now twelve Months ago, at *Edenburgh*, which in Honor you are bound many ways to perform;

perform; for beſides, that you ſtand bound by your Hand and Seal, whereby your Commiſſioners were authorized, it may pleaſe you, Madam, to remember that many Promiſes have been made for the Performance thereof, as well in the King your Husband's Time, as by your Self ſince his Death, and yet notwithſtanding the Treaty remaineth unratified, as before, a whole Year being expired ſince the Accord thereof, which by your Commiſſioners was agreed to have been ratified within ſixty days: So as upon this unamicable and indirect Dealing, the Queen my Miſtriſs hath refuſed you theſe Favors and Pleaſures by you required, and hath grounded this her Majeſty's Strangeneſs unto you upon your own Behaviour, which her Majeſty doth uncomfortably, both for that your Majeſty is, as ſhe is, a Queen, her next Neighbour, and next Kinſwoman; nevertheleſs, her Majeſty hath commanded me to ſay unto you, Madam, (quoth I) that if you can like to be better adviſed, and to ratifie the Treaty, as you in Honor are bound to do, her Majeſty will not only give you and yours free Paſſage, but alſo will be moſt glad to ſee you paſs through her Realm, that you may be accommodated with the Pleaſure thereof, and ſuch friendly Conference may be had betwixt you, as all Unkindneſs may be quenched, and an aſſured perfect Amity betwixt you both for ever eſtabliſhed. Having ſaid thus much unto her, the ſaid Queen ſat down, and made me ſit alſo by her; ſhe then commanded all the Audience to retire them further off, and ſaid, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, I know not well my own Infirmity, nor how far I may with my Paſſion be tranſported: but I like not to have ſo many Witneſſes of my Paſſions, as the Queen your Miſtriſs was content to have, when ſhe talked with *Monſieur d' Oſſell*; there is nothing that doth more grieve me, than that I did ſo forget my ſelf, as to require of the Queen your Miſtriſs, that Favor which I had no need to ask; I needed no more to have made her Privy to my Journey, than ſhe doth me of hers; I may paſs well enough Home into my own Realm, I think, without her Paſs-port or Licenſe; for tho the late King your Maſter (ſaid ſhe) uſed all the Impeachment he could both to ſtay me, and to catch me when I came hither, yet you know *Monſieur le Ambaſſadour*, I came hither ſafely, and I may have as good Means to help me Home again, as I had to come hither, if I would imploy my Friends: Truly (ſaid ſhe) I was ſo far from evil Meaning to the Queen your Miſtriſs, that at this time I was more willing to employ her Amity to ſtand me in ſtead, than all the Friends I have; and yet you know, both in this Realm, and elſewhere, I have both Friends and Allies, and ſuch as would be glad and willing to employ both their Forces and Aid to ſtand me inſtead; you have *Monſieur le Ambaſſadour* (quoth ſhe) oftentimes told me, That the Amity between the Queen your Miſtriſs and me were very neceſſary and profitable for us both; I have ſome Reaſon (quoth ſhe) now to think that the Queen your Miſtriſs is not of that Mind; for I am ſure, if ſhe were, ſhe would not have refuſed me thus unkindly; it ſeemeth ſhe maketh more account of the Amity of my diſobedient Subjects, than ſhe doth of me their Sovereign, who am her Equal in Degree, though inferior in Wiſdom and Experience, her nigheſt Kinſwoman, and her next Neighbour; and trow you (quoth ſhe) that there can be ſo good Meaning between my Subjects and her, which have forgotten their principal Duty to me their Sovereign, as there ſhould be betwixt her and me? I perceive that the Queen your Miſtriſs doth think, that becauſe my Subjects have done me wrong, my Friends and Allies will forſake me alſo: Indeed your Miſtriſs doth give me cauſe to ſeek Friendſhip where I did not mind to ask it; but *Monſieur le Ambaſſador*, let the Queen your Miſtriſs think that it will be thought very ſtrange amongſt all Princes and Countries, that ſhe ſhould firſt animate my Subjects againſt me, and now being Widow, to impeach my going into my own Country: I ask her nothing but Friendſhip; I do not trouble her State, nor practiſe with her Subjects: And yet I know there be in her Realm that be inclined enough to hear Offers, I know alſo they be not of the Mind ſhe is of, neither in Religion, nor other things. The Queen your Miſtriſs doth ſay that I am young, and do lack Experience; indeed (quoth ſhe) I confeſs, I am younger than ſhe is, and do want Experience: But I have Age enough and Experience to uſe my ſelf towards my Friends and Kinsfolks friendly and uprightly; and I truſt my Diſcretion ſhall not ſo fail me, that my Paſſion ſhall move me to uſe other Language of her than it becometh of a Queen, and my next Kinſwoman. Well, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, I could tell you that I am as ſhe is, a Queen allied and friended, as is known; and I tell you alſo, that my Heart is not inferior to hers, ſo as an equal Reſpect would be had betwixt us on both parts; but I will not contend in Compariſons: firſt, you know (quoth ſhe) that the Accord was made in the late King my Lord and Husbands Time; by whom, as Reaſon was, I was commanded and governed; and for ſuch Delays as were then in his Time uſed in the ſaid Ratification, I am not to be charged; ſince his Death, my Intereſt failing in the Realm of *France*, I left to be adviſed by the Council of *France*, and they left me alſo to mine own Council; indeed (quoth ſhe) my Uncles being, as you know, of the Affairs of this Realm, do not think meet to adviſe me in my Affairs; neither do my Subjects, nor the Queen your Miſtriſs, think meet that I ſhould be adviſed by them, but rather by the Council of my own Realm; here are none of them, nor none ſuch as is thought meet that I ſhould be counſelled by; the Matter is great, it toucheth both them and me, and in ſo great a Matter it were meet to uſe the Advice of the Wiſeſt of them; I do not think it meet in ſo great a Matter to take the Counſel of private and unexpert Perſons, and ſuch as the Queen your Miſtriſs knoweth be not moſt acceptable to ſuch of my Subjects as ſhe would have me be adviſed by;

by: I have (quoth she) oftentimes told you, that as soon as I had their Advices, I would send the Queen your Mistriss such an Answer as should be reasonable; I am about to haste me home as fast as I may, to the intent the matter might be answer'd; and now the Queen your Mistriss will in no wise suffer neither me to pass home, nor him that I sent into my Realm; so as *Monsieur l' Embassadour* (quoth she) it seemeth the Queen your Mistriss will be the cause why in this manner she is not satisfied, or else she will not be satisfied; but liketh to make this matter a Quarrel still betwixt us, whereof she is the Author: The Queen your Mistriss saith, that I am young; she might as well say, that I were as foolish as young, if I would in the State and Country that I am in proceed to such a matter of my self, without any Counsel; for that which was done by the King my late Lord and Husband must not be taken to be my act; so as neither in Honour, nor in Conscience, I am bound, as you say I am, to perform all that I was by my Lord and Husband commanded to do; and yet (quoth she) I will say truly unto you, and as God favours me, I did never mean otherwise unto her than becometh me to my good Sister and Cousin, nor meant her no more harm than to my self; God forgive them which have otherwise perswaded her, if there be any such. What is the matter, pray you, *Monsieur l' Ambassadour* (quoth she) that doth so offend the Queen your Mistriss, to make her thus evil-affected to me? I never did her wrong neither in Deed, nor Speech; it should the less grieve me, if I had deserved otherwise than well; and though the World may be of divers Judgments of us and our doings one to another, I do well know, God that is in Heaven can and will be a true Judge, both of our Doings and Meanings. I answer'd, Madam, I have declared unto you my Charge commanded by the Queen my Mistriss, and have no more to say to you on her behalf, but to know your Answer for the Ratification of the Treaty.

The Queen answer'd, I have afore-time shew'd you, and do now tell you again, that it is not meet for to proceed in this matter, without the Advice of the Nobles and States of mine own Realm, which I can by no means have until I come amongst them. You know (quoth she) as well as I, there is none come hither since the death of the King my late Husband and Lord, but such as are either, come for their private Business, or such as dare not tarry in *Scotland*. But, I pray you, *Monsieur l' Ambassadour* (quoth she) tell me, how riseth this strange Affection in the Queen your Mistriss towards me? I desire to know it, to the intent I may reform my self, if I have failed. I answer'd, Madam, I have by the Commandment of the Queen my Mistriss, declared unto you the cause of her Mis-contentation already: But seeing you so desirous to hear how you may be charged with any deserving, as one that speaketh of mine own Mind, without instruction, I will be so bold, Madam, by way of discourse, to tell you: As soon as the Queen my Mistress, after the death of her Sister, came to the Crown of *England*, you bore the Arms of *England* diversly quarter'd with your own, and used in your Country notoriously, the Stile and Title of the Queen my Mistriss, which was never by you put in ure in Queen *Mary*'s time: And if any thing can be more prejudicial to a Prince, than to usurp the Title and Interest belonging to them, Madam, I do refer it to your own Judgment. You see, such as be noted Usurpers of other Folks States, cannot patiently be born withal for such doings; much more the Queen my Mistriss hath cause to be grieved (considering her undoubted and lawful Interest) with the offer of such Injury. *Monsieur l' Ambassadour*, said she, I was then under the Commandment of King *Henry* my Father, and of the King my Lord and Husband; and whatsoever was done then by their Order and Commandments, the same was in like manner continued until both their deaths; since which time, you know I neither bore the Arms, nor used the Title of *England*. Methinks (quoth she) these my doings might ascertain the Queen your Mistriss, that that which was done before, was done by Commandment of them that had the power over me; and also in reason she ought to be satisfied, seeing I order my doings as I tell you. It were no great dishonour to the Queen my Cousin, your Mistriss, though I, a Queen also, did bear the Arms of *England*; for, I am sure, some, inferiour to me, and that be not on every side so well apparented as I am, do bear the Arms of *England*. You cannot deny (quoth she) but that my Grandmother was the King her Father's Sister, and (I trow) the eldest Sister he had. I do assure you, *Monsieur l' Ambassadour*, and do speak unto you truly as I think, I never meant nor thought matter against the Queen my Cousin. Indeed (quoth she) I know what I am, and would be loth either to do others wrong, or suffer too much wrong to my self: And now that I have told you my Mind plainly, I pray behave your self betwixt us like a good Minister, whose part is, to make things betwixt Princes rather better than worse. And so I took my leave of the said Queen for that time.

The same day, after this my Audience, I required Audience in like manner of the *French* King, which was assigned me on the twenty first of this present, at afternoon: At which time, I did set forth, as well as I could, to the Queen-Mother, the good Reasons and just Occasions, according to your Majesty's Instructions, why your Majesty did refuse the Queen of *Scotland* your safe Conduct, for her free passage into her Country; and declared, at good length, the Causes why your Majesty did not accommodate the said Queen of *Scotland* with such Favours as she required in her passage, not forgetting the Reasons that moved your Majesty to return *Monsieur d' Oysselle* back hither again.

The

The Queen-Mother anſwer'd, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour*, the King my Son, and I, are very ſorry to hear, that the Queen my good Siſter, your Miſtriſs, hath refuſed the Queen my Daughter free paſſage home into her own Realm; this may be an occaſion of further unkindneſs betwixt them, and ſo prove to be a cauſe and entry into War: They are Neighbours, and near Couſins, and either of them hath great Friends and Allies; ſo, as it may chance, that more unquietneſs ſhall enſue of this matter than is to be wiſh'd for, or than is meet to come to paſs. Thanks be to God (quoth ſhe) all the Princes of Chriſtendom are now in peace, and it were great pity that they ſhould not ſo continue: And where (ſaid ſhe) I perceive the matter of this unkindneſs is grounded upon the delay of the Ratification of the Treaty, the Queen my Daughter hath declared unto you, That ſhe doth ſtay the ſame, until ſhe may have the Advice of her own Subjects; wherein methinks (ſaid ſhe) my Daughter doth diſcreetly, for many reſpects: And though ſhe have her Uncles here, by whom it is thought (as reaſon is) ſhe ſhould be adviſed; yet conſidering they be Subjects and Counſellors to the King my Son, they be not the meeteſt to give her Counſel in this matter; the Nobles and States of her own Realm would neither like it, nor allow it, that their Sovereign ſhould reſolve, without their Advice, in matter of Conſequence: Therefore, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour* (quoth ſhe) methinks the Queen your Miſtriſs might be ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and accommodate the Queen my Daughter, her Couſin and Neighbour, with ſuch Favour as ſhe demandeth. I anſwer'd, Madam, the Queen, my Miſtriſs truſteth you will, upon the Reaſons before by me declared, as her good Siſter and Friend, interpret the matter as favourably on her part, as on the Queen of *Scotland*'s; and that your will alſo indifferently conſider, how much it importeth my Miſtriſs, not to ſuffer a matter ſo dangerous to her and her State as this is to paſs unprovided for; it ſeemeth, by the many delays which in this matter have been uſed, after ſo many fair and ſundry Promiſes, that the Queen of *Scotland* hath not meant ſo ſincerely and plainly as the Queen my Miſtriſs hath done; for by this time the ſaid Queen might have known the Minds of her Subjects in *Scotland*, if ſhe liked to propound the matter unto them. There have been, ſince the death of the King, your Son and her Husband, two or three Aſſemblies of the Nobles and States in *Scotland*, and this matter was never put forth amongſt them: Hither have come, out of *Scotland*, many of ſundry Eſtates, and ſome that the Queen did ſend with Commiſſion thither, as the Lord of *Finliter*, to treat on her behalf with the Eſtates of that Realm, and of other matters; ſo as, if ſhe had minded an end in this matter of the Treaty, before this time ſhe might have heard her Subjects Advices. Thereto the Queen-Mother ſaid, the King my Son, and I, would be glad to do good betwixt the Queen my Siſter, your Miſtriſs, and the Queen my Daughter, and ſhall be glad to hear that there were good Amity betwixt them; for neither the King my Son, nor I nor none of his Council, will do harm in the matter, nor ſhew our ſelves other than Friends to them both.

After this, I took my leave of the ſaid Queen-Mother, and addreſſed my Speech to the King of *Navarre*; unto whom I declared as I had done to the Queen-Mother, adding, that your Majeſty eſteem'd his Amity and Friendſhip entire; that you did not doubt of his good Acceptation of your Doings and Proceedings with the Queen of *Scotland*. And ſaid further, That for your Majeſty's purpoſe to have reaſon, at all times, and in all things, of the Queen of *Scotland*, it were better ſhe were in her own Country than here. The ſaid King conceived, that your Majeſty needed not doubt, that the King his Sovereign would ſhew himſelf, in this matter, more affectionate to the Queen of *Scotland*, than to you his good Siſter; and thereof he bade me aſſure your Majeſty. Then taking my leave of the ſaid King of *Navarre*, I went to the Conſtable, and declared unto him, as I had done unto the King of *Navarre*, on your Majeſty's behalf. The Conſtable humbly thanked your Majeſty, that you would communicate your Affairs with him, which argued your good Opinion of him: He ſaid, he truſted that your Expectation ſhould not be deceived of him, but would rather ſo behave himſelf towards your Majeſty, as your good Opinion of him ſhould be encreaſed. As to the matter of the Queen of *Scotland*, he was ſorry that the Occaſions were ſuch, as your Majeſty could not beſtow ſuch Kindneſs on her, as was meet betwixt Princes, ſo near Neighbours and Kinſfolks; but he truſted that time would repair theſe Unkindneſſes betwixt you. As for his part, he prayeth your Majeſty to think, that he would never give other Advice to the King his Sovereign, but ſuch as ſhould rather encreaſe the good Amity betwixt both your Majeſties, than diminiſh it; and ſo prayed me to preſent his moſt humble Commendation and Service to your Majeſty, wherewith I took my leave of him. And to the intent I might the better decypher whether the Queen of *Scotland* did mind to continue her Voyage, I did, the ſame 21 of *July* (after my former Negotiations finiſh'd) repair to the ſaid Queen of *Scotland*, to take my leave of her; unto whom I then declared, That in as much as I was your Majeſty's Embaſſador, as well to her, for the matters of *Scotland*, as to the *French* King your good Brother, and hearing, by common bruit, that ſhe minded to take her Voyage very ſhortly, I thought it my Duty to take my leave of her, and was ſorry ſhe had not given your Majeſty ſo good occaſion of Amity, as that I, your Miniſter, could not conveniently wait upon her to her embarking. The ſaid Queen made Anſwer, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour*, if my Preparations were not ſo much advanced as they are, peradventure the Queen your Miſtriſs's Unkindneſs might ſtay my Voyage; but now I am determin'd

termin'd to adventure the matter, whatſoever come of it: I truſt (quoth ſhe) the Wind will be ſo favourable, as I ſhall not need to come on the Coaſt of *England*; and if I do, then, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour*, the Queen your Miſtriſs ſhall have me in her hands to do her Will of me; and if ſhe be ſo hard-hearted as to deſire my end, ſhe may then do her pleaſure, and make Sacrifice of me; peradventure that Caſualty might be better for me than to live: In this matter (quoth ſhe) God's Will be fulfill'd. I anſwer'd, ſhe might amend all this matter, if ſhe would, and find more Amity of your Majeſty and your Realm, than of any other Prince or Country. The Queen anſwer'd, I have (methinketh) offer'd and ſpoken that that might ſuffice the Queen my Siſter, if ſhe will take any thing well at my hand: I truſt (ſaid ſhe) for all this, we ſhall agree better than ſome would have us; and for my part, I will not take all things to the worſt. I hope alſo (ſaid ſhe) the Queen my Siſter and Couſin will do the like; whereof (quoth ſhe) I doubt not, if Miniſters do no harm betwixt us. And ſo the ſaid Queen embraced me.

This is the ſum of my Negotiations, at theſe my laſt Audiences with the *French* King, the Queen-Mother, the King of *Navarre*, the Queen of *Scotland*, and the Conſtable; whereof I have thought meet to enlarge to your Majeſty, in ſuch ſort as the ſame paſſed, and was utter'd betwixt us. As far as I can perceive, the ſaid Queen of *Scotland* continueth her Voyage ſtill; and I hear that *Villageigmon* and *Octavian* have the principal Order of her ſaid Voyage, and mean to ſail along the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and ſo to ſtrike over to the North-part of *Scotland*, as the Wind ſhall ſerve: She did once mean to uſe the Weſt-paſſage, but now ſhe dares not truſt the Duke of *Chaſtilherault*, nor the Earl of *Argyle*, and therefore dareth not to paſs by the Weſt Seas.

The ſaid Queen, as I hear, deſireth to borrow of the *French* King an hundred thouſand Crowns, the ſame to be receiv'd again of her Dowry, which is twenty eight thouſand Crowns by the year: The Queen-Mother is willing to help her; the King of *Navarre* doth not further the matter, but ſeeketh to abridge the ſum. After I had done my Negotiations at the Court, I was conſtrain'd to diſlodge from *Poiſſey*, for the Aſſembly of the Clergy, who met there to the end of this Month, and the Embaſſadors are now appointed to lodge at *Paris*.

The Queen of *Scotland* departed from St. *Germains* yeſterday, the 25 of *July*, towards her Voyage, as ſhe bruiteth it; ſhe ſendeth moſt of her Train ſtreight to *New haven* to embarque, and ſhe her ſelf goeth ſuch a way between both, as ſhe will be at her choice, to go to *New-haven*, or to *Calice*: Upon the ſudden, what ſhe will do, or where ſhe will embarque, ſhe will be acknown to never a *Scotch*-man, and but to few *French*: And for all theſe ſhews and boaſts, ſome thinks ſhe will not go at all; and yet all her Stuff is ſent down to the Sea, and none other bruit in her Houſe but of her haſty going. If it would pleaſe your Majeſty, to cauſe ſome to be ſent privily to all the Ports on this ſide, the certainty ſhall be better known to your Majeſty that way, by the laying of her Veſſels, than I can advertiſe it hence. She hath ſaid, that at her coming into *Scotland*, ſhe will forthwith rid the Realm of all the *Engliſh*-men there; namely, of your Majeſty's Agent there; and forbid mutual Traffick with your Majeſty's Subjects. If ſhe make the haſte to embarque that ſhe ſeemeth to do, ſhe will be almoſt ready to embarque by that time this ſhall come to your Majeſty's hands. Two or three days ago the *French* King was troubled with a pain in his Head, and the ſame beginneth to break from him by bleeding at the Noſe, and running at his Ear: It is taken to be the ſame Diſeaſe in his Head, whereof his Brother died; but by voiding it (which the other could not do, that Organ being ſtopp'd) this King is well amended.

At the diſpatch hereof, the King of *Navarre* was diſquieted by a Flux and a Vomit, and the Queen-Mother with a Feaver. I hear, that in *Gaſcoigny* the People ſtir apace for Religion (as they do in many other places) and being there aſſembled, to the number of four Thouſand, have entred a Town, thrown down the Images, and put out the Prieſts, and will ſuffer no Maſs to be ſaid there.

My Lord of *Leviſton*, being ready to go homewards into *Scotland*, through *England*, went to the Queen of *Scotland* for her leave ſo to do; but ſhe hath commanded him to tarry and wait on her, and to meet her at *Abbeville*, without letting him know any thing elſe: He, in doubt what ſhe will do, is content to expect her coming thither, and to do then as ſhe ſhall command him; and, ſeeing no likelihood of her ſhort paſſing (which, he ſaith, is uncertain) but that ſhe will go to *Calice*, there to hover, and hearken what your Majeſty doth to ſtop her, and according thereunto to go or ſtay. He mindeth to get him home: He hath required my Letters of Recommendations to your Majeſty's Officers, at his landing in *England*; which, for his good Devotion towards your Majeſty, and for that he is one that wiſheth the ſame well, I have not refuſed him; and ſo I humbly beſeech your Majeſty's good Favour towards him, at his coming to your Majeſty for his Paſs port. Here is a bruit that the *Turk* is greatly impeached, both by a ſort of *Jews* within his own Country, and alſo by the *Sophy*. And thus I pray God long to preſerve your Majeſty in Health, Honour, and all Felicity.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble, and moſt obedient Subject and Servant,
N. Throckmorton.

Paris, July 26. 1561.

Monſieur

Monſieur Toyrax, *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

My Lord,

YOur Courteſies are ſufficiently known to all the World; and you place them with ſo much Judgment, that thoſe only may hope after them that make themſelves worthy by their Actions. Now I know no Action ſo worthy of that Merit, as for a Man to employ himſelf, —— if in the defence of this place he vanquiſh not all Difficulties —— ſo that no deſpair of ſuccour, nor fear of rigour, in caſe of extremity, can make me quit a Deſign ſo generous; as alſo, I ſhall eſteem my ſelf unworthy of any of your Favours, if in this Action I omit the leaſt point of my Duty, the iſſue whereof cannot be but Honourable: And by how much you add to this Glory, by your Valour and Courage, by ſo much I am more bound to remain during my life,

Your Lordſhip's humble and
moſt obedient Servant,
Toyrax.

Mr. Trumbal, *to the Secretary.*

Right Honourable,

WIth my former, dated the 11th of this Month, I ſent your Honour two Letters for his Majeſty, and promiſed, by my next, to write unto your Honour at large, about the matter they did contain.

In performance whereof, and for the diſcharge of my Duty, I will now deſire permiſſion hereby freely to deliver my Mind, for ſo much as is yet come to my knowledge, and I judge meet to be committed to Paper, concerning the ſame. And ſeeing this Pacquet is to be ſent by an expreſs Meſſenger, and a * Perſon of Truſt, I will, for your Honour's greater eaſe, abſtain from the uſe of a Cypher.

* Mr. *Carie.*

After I had been at *Lovain* and *Antwerp*, to take ſome Depoſitions, for the diſcovering of the Authors and Correctors of that moſt pernicious Libel, *Corona Regia* (as by a diſpatch to the late Mr. Secretary *Lake*, I did advertiſe his Majeſty) there came unto me a certain Perſon, living about this Town, going by the Name of *Nicholas de Laken*, and brought me the Pacquet which a good while ſince I ſent to your Honour. Amongſt other things, he told me, that heretofore, by accident, he fell into the Company of a Canon of *Lovain*, with whom he had ſome Speech about that deviliſh Book; and that, if I would ſend thither, he was very confident, he ſhould penetrate further by his private Induſtry, in the ſpace of a few days, into the Myſtery, than I had been able to do, in the compaſs of divers years, with my publick information.

Hereupon, to make a trial, and deſiring to employ *Le ſee & Le verd*, for the manifeſting of a Truth which I knew his Majeſty ſo much longed to underſtand; I furniſh'd him with Money, and ſome Inſtructions, and ſent him to *Lovain*. At the end of ſix or ſeven days, he return'd from thence, and, as his own Letters do teſtifie, and (he hath proteſted with many Oaths) he avouched to me, that he had diſcovered that ſecret to the very bottom. I enquir'd of him, by what means? He made anſwer, by the help of the ſaid Canon, and ſome young Scholars, his Country-man, Students in that Univerſity, who had brought him to the acquaintance of a certain *Italian* living there, that had ſerved the Author of the Book, both while he did compoſe it, and while it was in Printing. He averreth alſo, that *Puteanus*, and ſome others, had their Fingers in that unſavoury Pye. And he ſaith, that when I began to make ſearch for thoſe Perſons which had done his Majeſty that intolerable wrong, that the principal Author, and *Flavius* the Printer, were ſecretly warned to get them out of this Country, and had ſome means given them to maintain them abroad. He affirmeth likewiſe, that both of them, ever ſince that time, have remain'd, and are at this preſent remaining out of the Territories of the Arch-duke: That he hath often ſeen the ſaid Author in this City, and knoweth his Name, and Sirname, and his Perſon ſo well, as no change of his Apparel, nor diſguiſing of his Body, can cauſe him to miſtake or be deceived. By his report, that Party is no Clergy-man, though he be a good Scholar, and reputed to have an excellent *Latin* Pen: But thoſe commendable Qualities are drown'd by his greater Vices, he being very much addicted to lewd Women, and unſatiable Drinking. He is now (by this Man's information) reſident in a Town upon the Frontiers of *Germany*. And as for *Flavius*, he can (if he will) truly declare where he lurketh, and aſſureth me, that his Wife is at a place within ten Leagues of this Town. The Canon that did overſee the Preſs, and withdrew the Leaves of this Book, as they were printed, is called (as he heard) Mr. *Claud*, and dwelleth at *Noſtre Dame de Hales*, whither I purpoſe

poſe to ſend him this *Eaſter*-holy-days, to make further Enquiry. More than theſe, and ſome other particulars (which are ſo tranſcendent, as I dare neither beleive, nor ſet them down in writing) he will not impart unto me, until he be aſſured of his Majeſty's Protection, by a Letter under his Hand, and a competent Reward for his Labours. And the Reaſon he alledgeth therefore is, that if once it be known he did meddle in this Matter, there can be no more ſafety for him to continue in theſe *Provinces*. He doth further undertake, that in caſe his Majeſty will be further pleaſed to grant him his Demands, allow Money for the Expences of the Journey, and to give him two Perſons of Courage and Fidelity to accompany him, he will either loſe his Life, or put the ſaid Author into their Hands, who may carry him (as he thinketh) with little danger, either into the *Palatinate*, or the *United Provinces*. Hereupon I gueſs, that (if this Report be well grounded) that wicked Fellow muſt be in, or near about the Town of *Cologne*. I cannot, amongſt all thoſe of my Acquantance, and his Majeſty's Subjects here, call to mind any one ſo fit for this Enterprize, as the Gentleman whoſe Name is written in Cypher in my Letter to his Majeſty: For he is univerſally well ſpoken of for his Honeſty, and other good parts; and in ſundry Occaſions hath given good Teſtimony of his ardent deſire to do his Majeſty ſome remarkable and meritorious Service. and his Sufficiency being better known to his Majeſty than to my ſelf, I will not commend it any further. The want of Employment, and ſome diſguſts he received in *Holland*, while he ſerved there, compelled him by neceſſity to look for Preferment under the King of *Spain*. But hitherto, his Religion, the Reſpect he beareth to his Majeſty, and my Perſwaſions, have detain'd him from thoſe Courſes. By him I am told, that he hath heard out of the Mouths of one Captain *Carpentine*, and his Son-in-Law Captain *Hamilton*, Penſioners to the King of *Spain*, but Subjects to his Majeſty, that they being one day walking in a Street at *Antwerp*, call'd the Major *Brugg* (where they reſide) with four or five others in their Company; and there happning ſome Speech amongſt them, about a Book his Majeſty had then publiſh'd againſt the Pope, it fell out that one of them apprehending that Opportunity, ſaid, That he had Subject enough to furniſh a Book which ſhould more vex the King of *Great Britain*, than his Majeſty's Book could offend his Holineſs; and if he could meet with a Scholar that were able to put it in a Method, and good *Latin*, he would be ready to perform his Word. Another of the Troop made anſwer, That he would undertake the Work upon that Condition; and they both (for a great while after) were abſent at *Louain*, even about the ſame time that the Libel was forged. Perhaps ſome part of this may draw near to the Verity. But they both depending upon the King of *Spain* (as is before mention'd) and being averſe in Religion. I am much afraid I ſhall do little good upon them, by examining them before the Arch-Duke's Commiſſioners, ſeeing they may delude me and the Truth, with Equivocation and mental Reſervation. Although he conceiveth, that if they were call'd before a Judge, and ſummon'd upon their Oaths to ſpeak the Truth, they would not refuſe to diſcharge their Conſciences. I have ſeriouſly intreated him to beſtow his beſt Endeavour in attempting what he can further learn about this Relation, and he hath accepted to perform my Requeſt. The ſaid Gentleman from whom I had it, is not willing to be brought publickly upon the Stage for this Buſineſs, leaſt thereby he ſhould incur the note of an Informer, than which, nothing is, or can be more odious in theſe Parts. Nevertheleſs, he hath promiſed (if his Majeſty like to have it ſo, and will be pleaſed to give Commandment for it) to juſtifie what is before rehearſed to their Faces.

Whether both theſe Parties encounter upon one and the ſame Author, or underſtand them to be divers Men, I can neither judge nor foretel; yet it ſeemeth that one of them may hit on the right: And as I will not ſpare any Pains, Charges, nor Perils whatſoever, to bring the Parent of this Child of Darkneſs into the Light, ſo I hope his Majeſty (whoſe Cauſe it is) will not refuſe to hazard a little Money to give himſelf Satisfaction.

Theſe things having paſſed in this manner, I humbly beſeech your Honour, at a fit opportunity when the King is alone, to acquaint him with theſe particulars, and intreat his Majeſty to keep them ſecret; for I am of Opinion (being ſpoken under humble Correction, and without Offence) that had not his Majeſty, by communicating this Buſineſs at the firſt to *Monſieur Borſcot*, given him means to adverтiſe it to his Wife (who by tatling divulged it, and foil'd the way) he had never been put to half this trouble, but had taken *Flavius*, in the form, and by him diſcover'd the Author. My Intention is not, that his Majeſty ſhould be induc'd to put 2000 Piſtols (or the ſum that ſhall be allotted *Laken*) into his Hands, before the Service be done; but that his Majeſty would vouchſafe (if he approve the Project) to cauſe ſo much Money, as in his profound Wiſdom he ſhall think meet for this Occaſion to be forthwith remitted to me by Mr. *John More*, by the means of Mr. *Ducket* a Merchant, dwelling in *Milkſtreet* in *London*, to be repaid at *Antwerp* by Mr. *Lionel Wake* trading there, or by the Company of our *Engliſh* Merchants at *Middleborough* in *Zealand*, in the name of Reward for Service done, or to buy Tapeſtries or Linnen for his Majeſty. And I will either return it back again by exchange, if this Deſign cannot be effected, or defaulk the Remains thereof upon my Entertainment. All that I would venture in this Caſe, ſhould only be for thoſe Men's neceſſary Expences that are to be employed therein; and that alſo I would have not to exceed, but to be limited within the compaſs of 200 *l.* Sterling.

By apprehending theſe Men, the Arch-Dukes cannot take any juſt Occaſion of Offence againſt his Majeſty or his Miniſters, ſeeing one of them is not their Vaſſal, and both are out of their Dominions.

It may (for theſe Conſiderations) pleaſe your Honour to adviſe his Majeſty, whether it be fitter to proceed herein *Via facti*, or *Via juris*: To ſend *Laken* to ſeek out the Authors, and others to apprehend him or the Printer; or upon promiſe of a reaſonable Recompence for his pains, to deal with him effectually to declare their Names and Habitations, and afterwards leave it to his Majeſty's gracious and princely Pleaſure to proſecute or let fall his Action. In either of which kind, I will yield humble Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands, and your Honour's Directions, as things to my ſelf indifferent. But I am doubtful, that by continuing of the Courſe formerly holden in the Carriage of this Buſineſs, we ſhall never attain our deſired Ends. I am not ſo ſlight as to give Credit to all Reports, nor ſo prodigal as to part with Money for nothing.

My moſt humble and earneſt Suit is, That his Majeſty and your Honour, after mature deliberation upon the ſeveral points of this Letter, will vouchſafe to ſend me by my Servant *Marſham* (who is now at *London*) particular and diſtinct Anſwers for my better direction. I have been the more prolix upon this Subject, in hope that this I have written ſhall ſerve once for all.

In that matter concerning the Counteſs of *Argyle*, which it pleaſed your Honour to recommend unto my Care, I have done as much already as I can for the preſent. We muſt of neceſſity with a little patience expect the Succeſs, whereof your Honour ſhall in due time be punctually advertiſed. In the mean while, I do with all reverence deſire your Honour to excuſe the tediouſneſs of this Letter: And ſo take my leave,

Bruxel's, $\frac{21}{31}$ of March, $\frac{1618}{1619}$.

Your Honours very humble, and ready to be commanded,

W. Trumbal.

Mr. Trumbal, *to the Secretary.*

Right Honourable,

THoſe that are employed in ſuch places as I am, muſt admit all manner of Men into their Company. And the Oath I have taken to his Majeſty will not permit me to conceal any thing from his Knowledge that cometh to mine, and may in any ſort have relation to his Royal Service. For theſe Conſiderations I aſſume the Boldneſs ſo ſoon to renew your Honours Trouble, after the diſpatch of thoſe Volumns of Letters which I ſent you yeſterday by one of my Servants.

This Bearer *de la Forreſt* is better known to your Honours than to my ſelf, although I remember many years ago to have ſeen him in *England*. During his Stay in this Town, he brought unto me a certain *French* Gentleman, calling him the Viſcount of *L'Orme*, and Sir *De la Pommeraye*; who hath (by his own Relation) been a great Navigator, and been authorized by eighteen of the chief Pyrates in the *Levant*, to ſearch for their Pardon, and retreat into ſome Chriſtian Country, being ſorry for the Ill they have done, and deſirous to ſpend the reſt of their Days in peace. With this Commiſſion he came into *France*, and there travelled ſo far with the King and his Miniſters, as he obtained a general Abolition for the ſaid Pyrates, a ſafe Conduct to bring them into his Dominions, and a Procuration (which I have ſeen under the Great Seal of *France*) to treat and conclude with them, upon certain Conditions. But he being envied by ſome Grandees of that Kingdom, and by Misfortune happening to kill a Man, he was forced, as he pretendeth, for the Safety of his Life, to fly into theſe Countries, before he could bring that Work to perfection.

And being now diſinabled to return thither again, he deſireth to make tryal, whether his Majeſty will vouchſafe to lend his Ear to that Treaty, and grant unto the ſaid Pyrates a general Pardon. To which effect, he ſendeth over *La Ferreſt*, and hath intreated me to accompany him with my Letters to my Lord Admiral, your Honour, and Mr. Secretary *Calvert*. For retribution of this Grace, the ſaid Pyrates offer to give 54000 *l.* Sterling to be ſhared amongſt you three, or to be diſpoſed of as his Majeſty ſhall appoint. But your Honour may ſee the Conditions propoſed to the *French* King were more advantageous. For they were to give him their Ships, Artillery, and Munition, and to furniſh means to ſet out ſome Men of War for his Service.

And I ſee no reaſon (in caſe his Majeſty ſhould encline to ſuch capital Offenders, and common Enemies) why he ſhould not have as much, or more benefit than another Prince, the greateſt part of them being his Vaſſals.

Your Honour, if youpleaſe, may peruſe theſe adjoyned Papers, and impart the Contents of them to my Lord Admiral. They agree with their Originals; and if his Majeſty do not take this Overture, there

there is no more harm done (for any thing I can perceive) than the loſs of my Labor to peruſe and ſubſcribe them.

There remaineth only two Points, wherein I ſhould ſpeak to your Honor; the one is, that this Matter may be concealed from the French Ambaſſador *Monſieur le Count de Tilliers*, for fear of ruining *de L' Orme*. The other with gratifying *La Forreſt* with the Pay of a Pacquet (if your Honor ſhall think it meet) for the carrying of theſe Letters, who ſaith your Honor is his great Patron, and hath promiſed him a good Turn.

Monſieur de L' Orme hath given him Power to ſollicite this Buſineſs, and procure him an Anſwer; wherein I joyn my humble Prayer, that the poor Man may not here languiſh in Hopes, and ſpend his Money to no purpoſe.

When I ſhall know whether his Majeſty will reliſh this Overture or not, I will write thereof more largely (if there be cauſe) otherwiſe let it remain as it was before. In the mean while I humbly take my Leave; And reſt,

Bruxels, 23. *Octob.* 1618.

Your Honours, in all Humbleneſs, to be commanded,
W. Trumball.

Mr. Ch. Th. *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

My Lord,

IT is intimated to your Lordſhip, firſt, that you would procure his Majeſty to deſire the Lords to chooſe ſix (or ſo many as you ſhall think fit) of whom they have moſt Confidence to attend him to Morrow Morning; to whom his Majeſty may be pleaſed to declare, That he hath endeavored to divert the Charges againſt your Lordſhip, becauſe his Majeſty hath had ſound Knowledge and Experience of the Service and Fidelity (though in outward ſhew the contrary might juſtly appear) and becauſe alſo he ſaw it was urged with a great deal of private Spleen, and perhaps not without ſome papiſtical Device of troubling his Majeſty's Buſineſs; in Parliament, but ſeeing no Suit, or Perſwaſion, could prevail to appeaſe the diſtempered Courſe, his Majeſty is now forced, and ſo pleaſed to reveal ſome Secrets, and *Arcana* of State, which otherwiſe in the Wiſdom of Kings were unfit to be opened. Here his Majeſty may let them know, that the King his Father finding the *Palatinate* more than in danger to be loſt, and after his Majeſty being in *Spain*, and there deluded, and his Abode and Return both unſafe. It was a Neceſſity of State to ſweeten and content the *Spaniards* with a Hope of any thing that might ſatisfie and redeem thoſe Engagements, and therefore willed your Lordſhip to yield diſcreetly to what you ſhould find they moſt deſired, and this was chiefly the Point of Religion; ſo as in this and all of the like Kind, your Lordſhip (upon his Majeſty's Knowledge) was commanded, and but the Inſtrument truſted by your Maſter in this Exigent, or (if you will) Extremity. And this with other more potent Overtures (ſuch as your Lordſhip beſt underſtands) may cancel all thoſe Objections of that Nature. Upon the ſame Ground, though not in ſo high a Degree, the ſending of the Ships to *Rochel* may be excuſed (and this is not the leaſt Fault objected in the Opinion of the Wiſeſt.) Touching the vaſt Creation of Nobility his Majeſty may ask thoſe Lords (whereof perchance ſome of them may be concerned in this Article) whether they conceive any Reaſon of King *James* his doing herein; to which, I ſuppoſe, they will ſtand mute. Then his Majeſty may ſay, I will tell you, and therein diſcover a Truth, and a Secret of State. My Father, who was born a King, and had long Experience of that Regiment, eſpecially more traverſed in this Point than perhaps ever any King, found that this State inclined much to Popularity, a thing apparent univerſally in all the Courts, *viz.* in that of Star-Chamber, which was at firſt erected to reſtrain the Inſolence of great Men, in great Outrages; but now for every petty Offence, the meaneſt Tenant may be bold to call thither his Lord. A thing alſo appearing in the ſawcy Approaches of the Puritans upon the Biſhops, &c. and plainly in the Boldneſs of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Kings Patents and Edicts, which in all good Times (out of their Neceſſity) have been powerful. And eſpecially this Humor hath been comforted by the ſturdy Example of their Neighbor States of the Low-Countries, as in their Inſolencies in the *Eaſt-Indies*, &c. From this place an enticing Voice hath ſounded in our Ears of Liberty and Freedom, though indeed a feigned Voice, and (but in ſound) unſound. I ſay, when the King my Father had well beheld theſe things, he could not foreſee a Remedy more proper or eaſier, as being ſerviceable, and in his own Gripe, than to enlarge the Number of his Nobles, that theſe being diſperſed into ſeveral Countries, might, as Limbs of Sovereignty, in their own Degree, and at their own Charge, inure the People with Reſpect and Obedience to Greatneſs; and yet, not to amate and diſcourage them, he thought good to raiſe ſome near, or of their own Rank, whereby they might ſee themſelves in poſſibility of the like Honor, if either by Vertue, Wealth, or Honeſty, they make themſelves worthy. This, I proteſt, was a Child of my Fathers beſt Judgment, in this Point, and

the Duke but the Inſtrument thereof. And if you ſay, that there was Money many times given for theſe Honors; nay, if you ſay, that Money hath been given for Places of Clergy and Judicature, I pray take this of me, that this is ſo in all other Countreys, as in *France* and *Spain*. And thoſe Councils ſeem a little to ſmile at our Dulneſs, that we have ſo lately apprehended their ſoundneſs herein; for (ſo they) when Men pay well for ſuch Places, it is the beſt kind of Security for their Honeſties, eſpecially when failing in their Duty, they ſhall be ſure to be as much puniſhed as they were advanced. Howbeit, I am not ſatisfied in this Opinion. And if it be ſaid, that the King ſhould have had the Money which the Duke took to his own Uſe; I believe this laſt is more than any can prove; neither will I deliver what I know therein. Howſoever, it matters not much, being no popular Diſburſment. Only this I will ſay, that I know the Dukes particular Service and Affection to me, and that he and his will lay down themſelves and all they have, at my Feet. Neither is this bare Opinion, ſince the Duke alone hath diſburſed, and ſtands engaged more for my Affairs, and the States, than any Number of any Noble Men of *England* whatſoever; and therefore there is reaſon, that from a King he ſhould receive his own, and more.

And now (my Lords) ſince I have thus far opened a Kings Cabinet unto you, at leaſt by the Meaſure of this Foot of Anſwer, you may diſcover what may be ſaid concerning that great Body and Bulk of Accuſations of the higheſt kind made againſt the Duke. I deſire you would take it to heart, remembring, that it is your King that ſpeaketh this, who therefore expects your Service and Love herein, and who will requite the ſame aſſuredly; hoping you will believe me indeed, and do accordingly, and that you will alſo reſt aſſured, that my Spirit is not ſo young (though a young King) as that I would bring this Teſtimony in mine own Wrong, were not that I ſay true in my own Knowledge. And being ſo, you alſo will grant, that it is not for a King to uſe his Servant and Inſtrument as he doth his Horſes, which being by hard riding in his Service foundred and lamed, to turn them off to Graſs, or to the Cart. I muſt therefore, in Right of the King my Fathers Honour, and my own, protect a Man (though I have ſaid, juſtly, ſeeming guilty, yet) in mine own Knowledge innocent and free, as I have delivered it; will you then deny the King to favour whom he pleaſe, which the King hath never denied you that are his Subjects? will you now controul me your Head and Governor, in things wherein your ſelves have taken liberty uncontrouled? Would you that I ſhould require account of your Liberality? nay, of all your Failings, which are liable to my Authority? well, commend me to my Lords, and tell them, that if any thing had been formerly done amiſs by others, I have Power and Will to redreſs it, and to prevent the like. I ſpeak it in the Word of a King, neither Lords nor Commons can deſire of me any thing that is honeſt, which I am not ready to give them. Let not therefore the World, by theſe Miſtakings, make Table-talk any longer of your King and his Negotiations: nay, of his Secrets and Neceſſities; for, alas, what greater Wrong or Indignity can the Glory of the State receive, than that the private Grudges of Subjects (accuſing to the Ignorant, when in their Conſciences they could excuſe) ſhould be the Buſineſs of our Parliament, and that the King himſelf ſhould be forced to appear as a Party? No doubt, this is a Cocatrice Egg, that the crafty Heads of our Enemies ſeek to hatch, whilſt the weighty Affairs that at preſent concern the Honor and Welfare of the King and State, and the Peace of all Chriſtendom, are by us utterly neglected.

I end, hoping your Lordſhip (now privy to theſe things) will be tender of your Sovereigns Honor, and will ſo ſatisfie, and treat with the reſt, that thoſe particular Janglings may be, by ſome other Courſe, and in ſome other Place and Time, diſcuſſed and determined, that ſo our Minds and Time may be employed in the Care of better Things, which earneſtly invoke our Aid at this Inſtant.

Thus much ſpoken, or written, or the like (for I ſeek but to awaken your Lordſhips higher Spirit and Invention) I conceive it may get this Effect: That theſe ſix Lords, won by theſe Reaſons, and by other the Kings Invitations, may deliver to the Houſe; That, for their Parts, they have received unexpected ſatisfaction in thoſe greateſt Points of the Accuſation againſt your Lordſhip, and of ſuch ſecret Nature as are not fit to be publiſhed without further Deliberation: Wherefore ſince it pleaſed their Lordſhips to have made choice of them to be truſted in this Employment, they have faithfully ſerved accordingly; and do, upon their Honours, freely, and without any Engagement or Reſpect, proteſt the ſame; and therefore humbly deſire their Lordſhips, that they would intreat his Majeſty to be Preſident in Advice with their Lordſhips; What further were to be done in this private Contention betwixt your Lordſhip and the Lord *Digby*. Which obtained, ſomething may then follow for your Lordſhips Good, by yielding up that Cauſe into the Kings Hands. And his Majeſty hath great Reaſon to bend it that way, becauſe it is conceived, that the Lords will be loth to admit the King to be ſupream Judge and Accuſer, which Point will much touch his Majeſty: And his Majeſty were better give ſome Eaſe to the Lord *Digby*, than permit that Diſpute.

And now for my ſelf, I beſeech your Lordſhip to pardon my ſtrange Boldneſs; I know I am a meer Stranger to you; and if ever you have heard of me, it muſt be as of a Friend of ſuch you then

did

did not love. I know it shews me a Medler in Business, or an Insinuator, which are Suspitions that may distate you, and make you suspect my Pretences, though they were not altogether witless. I know this Disadvantage, and am, in my own Nature, offended for putting my self thus into your Notions: But yet I resolved to undergo all this: First, because you made my Brother a Captain in *Ireland*, who had otherwise perished: Next, for the Favor you did to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and the retiring of Dis-favor from my Lord of *Somerset*; and lastly, for your firm Hand, that advanced the now Lord Treasurer, to all which Lords I am familiarly known and bound; but (neareſt to you) your Lordship may hear of me from the Lord Treasurer.

I am confident of your Lordships noble Interpretation, since I seek no ends, no Acquaintance, no other Thanks, being one that have no Court-suits to your Lordship; but being one that loves not Ruins (which my Friends have tasted) nor that the Publick should wrestle with a private In-turn of Spleen: And I offer it but as a simplicity, yet with good Will enough; for, what can a Man, that is not Privy to the Elements of State, demonstrate any Conclusion thereof? yet I hear sometimes how the World goes, as other Men do.

I conceive, I have said something to your Lordship; and though, perhaps, short, yet enough to occasion and stir up your deeper Thoughts: I also may have deeper; but also I know, that little Pins of Wood do sustain the whole Building. More I could have said touching the other Points; but these greatest elided, the Fall of the others may be easily directed. What I have said against those Objections I touched, doth arise from Grounds of truth, and they must win and prevail, and my Conceit is fitted to the Kings part, and to the Occasions now on foot.

I humbly cease your Lordship further Trouble, and wish you all Good, desiring your Lordship also to pardon my tedious and hasty scribled Hand.

Your Lordships unknown Servant,

Ch. Th.

POST-SCRIPT.

Your Lordship shall be pleased to take off some part of my Boldness, and impute it to the Obligation and Service I owe this worthy Lady, the Bearer.

Pope Urban, *to* Lewis *the Thirteenth.*

To our dearest Son in Christ Jesus, Lewis, *the most Christian King of* France, Pope Urban *sendeth greeting.*

MOST dear Son in Christ, Health and Apostolical Benediction, The high Exploits of your Royal Valour, which have drawn upon them all the Eyes of Christendom, bring a great deal of Comfort to our Fatherly Care, as well in regard of the Glory of your Arms, as the Hope of your Triumphs. For, considering, as we do, with much Grief, the Impiety of Hereticks, living in some places without Fear or Danger, we now thank the Lord of Hosts, that hath, in so fit an Opportunity, made your Majesty to maintain with Arms the Dignity of the Catholick Religion. Oh fair Apprenticeship of Royal Warfare, and worthy of a most Christian King! What an admirable thing it is, that the Age which other Princes, out of a kind of Softness and Idleness, use to pass away in Sports and Delights, your Majesty should employ so generously, so fortunately, in appeasing Differences, conducting Armies, and besieging the strongest Places of Hereticks, and all not without the special Counsel of God, by which Kings reign! Is it almost credible, that the very first Steps of your Thoughts should carry you on in so high and troublesome an Enterprize; and that the Dangers and Difficulties which have stopped others in their Course, should only serve for a Spur to the Greatness of your Courage. Enjoy (dear Son) the Renown your Name hath got, and follow the God that fights for you, to the end, that as you are now held the Thunder-bolt and Buckler of War, so you may hereafter be esteemed the Praise of *Israel*, and the Glory of the World. From the heighth of our Apostolick Dignity, whereto it hath pleased God of his Goodness to raise us, unworthy of so great Grace, we assist your Arms with Heart and Affection, and by our frequent Prayers prepare the Divine Remedies. And though we doubt not but your own Vertue will make you constant in the Work you have begun; nevertheless, we have thought good to add Exhortations, that the World may see the Care we have of the Advancement of true Religion, and how willing we are to give way to your Glory. You have been hitherto infinitely bound to God for his Bounty towards you; and as we hope and wish, you shall hereafter a great deal more. For you having your Mind endued with Celestial Doctrine, and not with the bare Precepts of human Wisdom, do well know, that Kingdoms have their Foundation upon the Truth of Orthodox Faith: And unless God keep the City, what Principality can subsist with any Assurance? It may easily be judged with what Fidelity they are likely to defend

defend your Royal Throne, that have caſt the very Saints themſelves out of their Temples, and done as much as in them lay, to put them out of the Number of the Bleſſed, yea, out of Paradice it ſelf; that with impious Temerity condemn the Inſtitutions of our Fathers, the Cuſtom of Kings, the Decrees of Popes, and the Ceremonies of the Church: Theſe are the Diſturbers of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and the Reproaches of *France*, whom the great God hath reſerved to be exterminated, as it were, in the beginning of your Reign. Know then, that all *Europe* (which the Event of your Arms holds all this time in ſuſpence) hopes ſhortly it will hoiſe ſail upon the Ocean, under the Conduct of your Greatneſs and Power, and go to the Place which ſerves now for Sanctuary and Protection to the Hereticks and Rebels, and it will ſhortly ſerve for a Trophy of your Victories. We are confidently perſwaded, that neither Fear nor Inconſtancy ſhall ever be able to divert you from the Purſuit of your ſo glorious Enterprize, nor hinder you to ſubvert that unſanctified People. Only, by the way, we would have you remember, that the Saints in Heaven aſſiſt that Prince who takes upon him the Defence of Religion, and fight on his ſide like Fellow-Souldiers. The ſame God that hardned the Waters like dry Land, and turned the Waters of the Sea into Walls, to give ſafe Paſſage to his Childrens Army, will certainly, in this moſt pious Action be as favorable to you: and then we ſhall have good cauſe to hope, that having eſtabliſhed your own Kingdom, and cruſhed the Impiety that was and yet is there, you may one day, by the Progreſs of your victorious Arms, joyn the Orient to the Occident, imitating the Glories of your Anceſtors, who have ever born as much Reſpect to the Exhortations of Popes, as to the Commandment of God. Saint *Lewis*, whoſe name you bear, and whoſe Steps you follow, invites you to it; ſo did the firſt of your Race, who, in defending the Apoſtolick Authority, and propagating Chriſtian Religion, laid the beſt and ſureſt Foundation to your Royal Houſe. Follow (dear Son) them which are the Ornaments of the World, and the Commandments of Heaven: Pour out your Wrath and Indignation upon thoſe People that have not, nor will not know God, and our Apoſtolick Benignity; to the end the Divine Treaſure of Heaven may belong unto you by a juſt Acquiſition. In the mean time, we ſend you, moſt affectionately, our Apoſtolick Benediction.

Given at Rome, *at Great St.* Maries, *under the Seal of the Fiſher. the 4th. Day of* Auguſt, 1629. *being the ſeventh Year of our Pontificate.*

The Univerſity of Cambridge, *to the Duke.*

Illuſtriſſime Princeps,

QUam Paterno cum affectu, quam divina cum charitate veſtrâ hujus Academiæ ſalutem utilitatemque veſtra Celſitudo ſemper procuraverit, nec nos effari poſſumus, nec ætas ulla conticere.

Ingentia beneficia ſeculum preſens admiratione obruunt; nec alio queunt quam perennis famæ & immortalitatis præmio compenſari. Veſtræ Celſitudinis ſingulari patrocinio, & Typographis Londinenſibus triumphavimus. Hoſtium undequaque ferociam perſenſimus imminutam, auctamque Academiæ dignitatem: Nihil nos votis expetiſcere, nihil veſtra Celſitudo conferre potuit, quod à veſtra benignitate non accepimus. Et quid nos præter hanc ſterilem cultus noſtri meſſem rependimus? At beneficia veſtra, quam ſancte poſteritas alet, quibus præconiis, quam æternis laudibus veſtræ Celſitudinis memoriam nepotes noſtri celebrabunt, facile conjiciet is qui norit quantum Academia tranquille adminiſtrata, vindicata privilegia, immunitates conſervatæ, otium, libertas, ipſa vita Muſis donata, promereantur! Quot hoſtes Reipublicæ Literariæ infenſos veſtra Celſitudo profligavit, quot in nos munera contulerit, nec illi ſine gemitu agnoſcere, nec nos ſine ſtupore recitare valeamus. Dum te licet conſpici, dum tua genua prehendere, flocci faciamus mortalium iras, & in receſſibus noſtris abditi tuto literis indulgeamus.

Jam veſtra Celſitudo novam parat Militiam (quam veſtro nomini glorioſam, Religioni Chriſtianæ fauſtam, nobis omnibus fœlicem, omnipotens Deus faxit) quibus nos periculis exponimur? Alii flumen noſtrum ſiccare, eumque ablatum à quo forſan ipſi aquas olim ingrati hauſerunt: alii nobis Imprimendi facultatem rurſus adimere conabuntur. Illuſtriſſime Princeps, pauca ſunt noſtra bona, ſuppellex curta, anguſta Athenarum pomeria: nullæ tamen opes Croeſi *vel* Midæ *perditorum hominum inſidiis petuntur atrocius, quam inermis & nuda paupertas noſtra. Videt veſtra Celſitudo quam in ipſa fiduciam collocamus, qui, tempeſtas priuſquam ingruit, ad veſtras aras confugimus. Et quamvis haud ignari ſumus quanta moles veſtræ Celſitudinis humeros jam premat, audacter tamen tot curarum montibus noſtrum Parnaſſum ſuperaddimus. Perficiat veſtra Celſitudo hanc ſuam Academiam, ut incipit: florentem ornet, trepidantem excitet, depreſſam ſuſtentet, periclitantem expediat; quæ Deum perpetuo implorat, ut omnia tua glorioſa molimina veſtra Celſitudo conſequatur, & illa veſtræ Celſitudinis patrocinio fruatur in æternum.*

Celſitudinis veſtræ devinctiſſimi,
Procancellarius, reliquuſque Senatus
Academiæ veſtræ Cantabrigienſis.

Dat' è frequenti Senatu noſtro,
Nonas Julii, 1628.

The

The Duke's Answer.

Gentlemen,

SUch and so cordial have your Respects been unto me, that no other Pen than your own can express them, nor no other Heart than mine can apprehend them: And therefore I labour not any verbal Satisfaction, but shall desire you to believe, that what Service soever you please to think I have hitherto done for you, I cannot so much as call an Expression of that I would willingly do for you. And whereas, in your Letters, you seem to fear that my Absence may be an Advantage of Time, to make your Adversaries active and stirring against you, and your Affairs consequently meet with Partiality and Opposition; I have therefore most humbly recommended them to the Justice of my Royal Master, and to the Bosoms of some Friends, where they shall likewise meet with Mediation and Protection, to what part of the World soever my Master or the States Service shall call me. I can carry but one Chancellor of your University along with me, but, I hope, I shall leave you many behind me: And I shall presage likely of the Success of our Actions, since they are all so followed by your Wishes and Devotions; which I shall endeavour you may always continue unto

Chelsey, July 30th. 1628.

Your most affectionate Friend,
and humble Servant,
Buckingham.

Directed,
To my very worthy, and much respected Friends, The Vice-Chancellor and Senate of the University of Cambridge.

The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, *to the King, upon the Duke's Death.*

Dread Soveraign.

THE fatal Blow given your most Loyal Servant, whom your Majesty made our Patron and Chancellor, hath so stounded our University, as (like a Body without a Soul) she stirs not, till your Majesty's Directions breathe Life again, in the Choice of another. And although I am but one of many, and therefore (having to do with a Multitue) cannot absolutely assure the effecting of your Pleasure, yet I dare undertake for my self, with the rest of the Heads, and many others, truly and faithfully to labour in your Majesty's Desires, and now presume to send fair and strong Hopes to give them full Satisfaction; humbly entreating the continuance of your Majesty's Love and Care of your University, the only stay and Comfort of this her sad and mournful Estate, occasioned by such an unexpressible Disaster; cherishing her self with that blessed Word your Majesty hath used upon her last Election, That howsoever your Majesty's Appointment shadowed out another, yet your Self in Substance would be her Chancellor. This, as an indelible Character in her Memory, shall ever return, as all thankful Observance, so to God, Prayers full of cordial Zeal for your Majesty's long and happy Reign.

The University of Cambridge, *to the King.*

Serenissimo, & Magnificentissimo Principo, CAROLO, Dei Gratia Britanniæ Regi, &c.

Serenissime & Potentissime Monarcha *Carole*, Defensor Fidei, Pater Patriæ:

DUM ad Majestatis tuæ pedes discumbimus, veniam humillime deprecamur te meritatis nostræ, Quod Majestati tuæ in illud gloriæ fastidium evectæ, ad quod nulli Principes à multis retro seculis pervenere, Chartas has ineptas ausi sumus, & querimonias obtrudere; sed nullum jam in terris effulget Majestate tua aut illustrius, aut magis beneficum sidus, cujus cœlesti aspectu mortales afflicti ab adversis ad salutis portum perduci possint. Sensimus nos persæpe, læsi sensimus vivificam charitatis tuæ auram, divinam clementiam amplectimur, & benignitatem incredibilem sempiterna veneratione adoramus. Quæ enim per te nobis pax data sit, quæ privilegia indulta & confirmata, quæ gratia, candor, misericordia, beneficentia nobis impertita, nec nos effari possumus, nec ulla secula conticere. O nos fœliciſſimos sub tuo Sceptro, Carole! qui certe miſerrimi essimus, si Regio Majestatis tuæ Patrocinio ac favore destituerennr: irruunt in nos omne genus illiteratorum hominum, longum hærent in nostris malis, & sine magno numine non amoventur. Centum olim annos cum oppidanis nostris de summa privilegiorum decertavimus, quinquaginta cum Typographis Londinensibus, adeo crudelis est ac pertinax malitia, quæ literis bellum indicit; Typographis per tuam in nos pietatem nuper compositis, oppidani veterem odii

Camarinam

Camarinam incipiunt commovere. Ita ad Oppidanos ad Typographos, à Typographis ad Oppidanos, noſtra in gyrum calamitas circumacta volvitur, & infinitis controverſiarum nodis aſtringimur, & jugulamur. Deflexis genibus Excellentiſſimam Majeſtatem tuam imploramus, ut qua ſerenitate tuam Academiam ſemper aſpexeris, eadem digneris huic cauſæ ad dictum à te diem intereſſe. Et Deum Optim. Max. precabimur, ut te nobis quam diutiſſime conſervet clementiſſimum Principem, & Patrem indulgentiſſimum: In cujus ſalute totius Regni incolumitas, tranquillitas Literarum, publica ſeculi fœlicitas, & bonorum omnium vota abunde continentur.

Servi Majeſtati tuæ devoti
& fideles Subditi,
Procanc' & Senat'

The Univerſity of Cambridge, *to the Archbiſhop of* York.

Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, & ſummo Archi-præſuli, *Samueli*, Dei gratia Archiepiſcopo *Eboracenſi*, Patrono noſtro æternum colendo.

Reverendiſſime in Chriſto Pater, Archi-præſul ampliſſime,

NIſi perſpecta eſſet Paternitatis tuæ in Academiam gratia & favor ſupra quam meremur immenſius, vereremur, ſine mutuis ambagibus, ad tam illuſtre in Eccleſia caput accedere; verum ea ſemper fuit indulgentia tua, & ſtabile nobis patrocinium, ut in difficultatibus noſtris ultro fueris magis ad accurendum alacer, quam nos eſſe potuimus ad implorandum; temerarii incidimus in veterem controverſiæ lacunam cum noſtris Oppidanis. Novit ſat Paternitas tua ab experientia multiplici, quas illi erga nos mentes gerant, quam atra ſolligine & invidiæ ſucco ~~à teneris unguiculis poſiti fuerint~~; ~~neque jam incipiunt ferocire, nec unquam, credimus, deſinent homines inſulſi,~~ tam dignitatis noſtræ immemores, quam rationes ſuæ, nonnullis eorum commercium cum noſtris interdiximus dum procacius, quam par erat faſces noſtros videbantur contemnere; ſed grave eſt, & perdifficile quicquid cadit in præcipites animos, & ira impotentes. Illi tanquam fulmine perculſi ad publica judicum ſubſellia Lymphatice feſtinant, cum poſſent conſultius forſan in domibus ſuis ——— Nos autem veriti ne Majeſtas Reipub. Literariæ minueretur, in foro publico proſtituta Academia de privilegiis, & ſumma rerum trepidaret, Senatus Regis tribunali appellavimus. In quo cum jam auſpicatiſſime conſediſſe tuam Paternitatem intelligeret Alma Mater, & de honore tuo, & ſuæ fœlicitate eximie triumphabat, nunquam oblita virtutis tuæ, & magnanimitatis invictæ, qua ſolebas hic totius Vice-cancellarius ad immortalem nominis tui laudem iſtiuſmodi perduelles contundere, humillime rogamus Paternitatem tuam, pro ſua ſummo in nos affectu & pietate, ut quemadmodum ſemper Academiam ornare ſtuduit, ita nunc dignetur eidem periclitanti ſuccurrere.

Pat' tuæ devotiſſ.
Procanc' & Senat'

The Univerſity of Cambridge, *to the Earl of* Manchester.

Illuſtriſſimo, Nobiliſſimo, noſtroque Amantiſſimo Domini, Comiti *Mancheſtriæ*, Privati Sigilli Cuſtodi ~~Regiæ Majeſtati à Sanctioribus Conſiliis, Patrono noſtro plurimum colendo.~~

HOnoratiſſime noſterque amantiſſime Domine Montacute, *Neſcimus an ipſi nobis vana credulitate blandiamur, ſed cum ſingula tua pro nobis geſta perpendimus, fruimur hac opinione, vix quenquam vivere, qui noſtram ſalutem, literarum incrementum, tranquillitatem Academiæ magis ex animo velit quam nobiliſſimus* Montacutus; *tot indies apparent indubitata teſtimonia amoris tui erga nos integerrimi & profuſiſſimæ benevolentiæ. Quid dicemus de Typographis, quos tandem aliquando poſt varios caſus & tot diſcrimina ſubegibus, quamvis nodum controverſiæ Gordianum conſuerant non niſi* Alexandri *gladio explicabilem, & tanquam ſepia piſcis longa perplexæ litis caligine capita involverant ne caperentur. Ac hæc ultima ſententia veſtra momento beneficii, favoris magnitudine, celeritate conficiendi trajecit, quicquid ulla ſpes nobis dictare potuit, aut ſuggerere, ſententia celebris, ſancta memorabilis ad opprimendam in perpetuum moreſam oppidanorum inſolentiam; ſententia quam quo penitus contemplamur, eo magis ſub ſtupore bonitatis veſtræ, & admirationis onere laboramus.*

Noli (nec enim fas eſt) metire obſervantiæ noſtræ rationem, ex noſtro ſcribendi modulo. Majora de te ſentimus quam verba noſtra expedire valent, multo minus rependere. Illud noſtrum erga te tantum eſt & tam firmum, ut nulla novæ opportunitatis acceſſione augere queat, aut temporum injuria diminui,

Honori tuo æternum obligari, Procanc'
& Senatus reliquus Academiæ.

The

The Univerſity of Cambridge, *to Sir* Humphrey May.

Clariſſimo & ſpectatiſſimo Domino, *Humphredo May*, Equiti Aurato, & Regiæ Majeſtatis Procamerario, amico & fautori noſtro æternum obſervando.

ÆTernas agimus tibi gratias, Clariſſime Domine Procamerarie, quod favore tam ſubito, tam propenſa & inclinata benevolentia ad noſtram cauſam ultro acceſſeris: Subiit forſan & pupugit (clariſſime Domine) conditionis noſtræ pia commiſeratio cum videre Muſas litibus implicatas circa Tribunalia tremere, quas æquius erat inter lauros & virgulata pacifica in veritatis diſquiſitione occupari. Verum eſt, & in hæc ætate improba ſic vivimus, ut frequenter depoſita toga & calamo, pallia & Clientum ſocces induere cogamur? Maxime vero nos ad incommoda pellunt opidani noſtri, qui hoc à natura principium mordicus tenent, & nullo dimittunt fato, turbare ſemper pacem literarum, & bonis Academiæ quovis modo inſidiari. O quam magna merces eſt prudentia, & ſobria mens, æqua in utriuſque ſortis importunitate! ſunt quos ipſum fœlicitatis tædium fatigat ad mortem, & dira contentionis ambitio Fanatico quodam æſtro impellit ad ſuam perniciem. Poſt triginta annos ſimulatæ pacis & induciarum, oppidulani noſtri quietis impatientia, & invidiæ aculeis acti, nuper tentare voluerunt quantum poſſint calcibus contra ſpinas, aut contra Solem jaculis; at præter pœnitentiam ac ſuſpiria nihil domum reportarunt; Ita Muſas in æternum ſibi devinxit Senatus ille tremendus & glorioſus, in quo Majores dii gentis noſtræ ſedent. Tu in illa ſcena ſplendida Regiæ Majeſtati aſtare maluiſti, quam tuam inter divos reliquos claſſem retinere, ut noſtro momento inſervires, & illud pectus ſacrum proprius attingeres, in quo omnes gratiæ nidificant, & noſtra beatitudo reconditur. Magna ſunt hæc amoris tui teſtimonia, nolis vero meſſem ſementi parem à nobis expectare; Muſæ non ſunt pares ſolvendo. Et tamen, ſi preces, vota, laudes, encomia, pro nobis ſufficere poſſint, Nihil nos tuis meritis debituros confidenter promittimus.

Dignitati tuæ devinctiſſ. Procanc' & Senat'
vel Academ' Cantabrigienſ.

The Univerſity of Cambridge, *to the Lord Chief Juſtice* Richardſon.

Honoratiſſimo Domino, *Thomæ Richardſon*, Communium Placitorum Proto-Juſticiario, & Proedro amico Academiæ, & Patrono ſingulari.

AMpliſſime & honoratiſſime Domine, ſuperiori & Termino & Anno te noſtris literis & negotiis graviter defatigavimus, & nunc novas afferre moleſtias neutiquam dubitamus; ſed tu pro candore quo polles maxime hanc noſtram moroſitatem benigne interpretare, & da veniam impatienti noſtræ occaſioni ad Sacerdotium Hallingburii, *quod de cujuſdam papicolæ, lapſu in manus noſtras ex diplomate ſereniſſimi Regis* Jacobi *nobis indulto, & per Senatum Regni ſolennem confirmato venit. Hunc Magiſtrum* Love *Collegii divi* Petri *promovimus, virum fide, doctrina, integritate, ſanctimonia præclarum, qui Procuratoris Officium, magiſtratum apud nos ampliſſimum, inſigniter adminiſtravit, & non ſine magna laude faſces ante biennium depoſuit, unde liquido conſtet dominationi tuæ, quibus opulentiis abundat Alma mater, cum virum conſularem, & de republica noſtra tam bene meritum, tali ſacerdotiolo auctum & remuneratum dimittimus. Utinam tamen vel tantillum hoc quod eſt beneficii homini noſtro placide concederent mortales Dii, & ſe precibus ad æquanimitatem flecti paterentur. Enim vero neſcimus quo malo fato noſtro id comparatum ſit, ut inter ſacrum & ſaxum ſemper hæreamus, quemadmodum in proverbio eſt, inter ſacrum quod ambimus, & hominum præcordia ſaxo duriora, nihil nos ſine controverſia impetrare poſſumus; ſed cogimur virtute noſtra nos involvere, & probam pauperiem ſine dote quærere, cum* Poeta Horatio; *nam in tanta dominorum & captatorum turba, difficile eſt ad omnes articulos ſic excubare, ut qui modeſte prenſat in lutum non detrudatur; & certè uſque adeo præcluſus eſt induſtriæ noſtræ ad eadem honoris & emolumenti aditus, ut multi repudia literis in æternum renunciare mallent, quam poſt tot laboribus conſumptam juventutem & ſenectam ſtudiis immaturè acceleratam, vanæ ſpei caſſa nuce ludificari; cum non ſolum ſua nobis negare beneficia, ſed & noſtra abripere terrarum Domini flagitioſe contendant. Quid ad te hæ verba ſpectant, facile conjicias: Nos te Patronum appellamus, quem adverſarii noſtri Judicem; & per omnia patrocinia tua nobis ante hac gnaviter conceſſa, per omnia ſacra clementia tua & amoris in Academiam te obteſtamur, ut huic Alumno noſtro jus ſuum & Academiæ dignitatem, ſartam tectam, authoritate tua conſervare velis; & cum tua merita non alia re conſequi valeamus, quam debiti agnitione cui ſumus impares, memoriſque animi grata teſtificatione, utrumque tibi ſempiternum religioſè pollicemur.*

Dat' è frequenti Senatu noſtro, pridie Calend' Maij, 1630.

Honoris tui Clientes aſſidui, Procancel' & Senatus integer Academ' Cantabrig'

Sir Henry Wallop, *to the Queen.*

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

A Rumor hath been raiſed not long ſince at *Dublin* (I know not how, nor by what particular perſon, but ſtrongly confirm'd ſince the laſt paſſage out of *England*) neither doth your Service now in hand upon this Northern border ſuffer me to examine it, that your Majeſty conceiv'd ſome hard Opinion of me, from which your Highneſs is not yet remov'd; but what the Offence is, or how conceiv'd, is neither by the Reporters publiſh'd, nor ſecretly reveal'd unto me: And like as it is eaſie to judge what effects this may work in the Service of your Majeſty, or to a Man in publick Office, as I am, in ſuch a Government as this is, where the Obedience, for the moſt, is conſtrain'd, and all Reputation, the People either growing or diminiſhing as your Majeſty either graceth or diſgraceth your Officers; ſo how much this great burthen over-preſſeth my moſt devoted and dutiful Mind towards your Majeſty, I feel to my exceeding grief and diſcomfort. In examining my ſelf in what root this your Judgment ſhould ſpring, I confeſs, Madam, I have view'd in my ſelf many Imperfections, ſome in Nature, others, perhaps, for lack of Ability and Sufficiency to be a Co-operator, or an Aſſiſtant in ſo great and ſo tickliſh a Government and Charge; into which not Ambition in me, but your Majeſty's Will and Commandment, hath intruded me. But in all that my Memory can hitherto preſent unto me, I find my Loyalty in your Service, and my Sincerity in imploying your Majeſty's Treaſure according to your Intent, ſo unſpotted and direct, as I cannot but comfort my ſelf in oppoſing my Innocency to the Envy of the Informer, or to any other his hard Conſtruction whatſoever; yet ſince, in general conſideration, I cannot feel ſuch a particular Errour as might ſettle in your Majeſty's grave Judgment an Offence meriting your diſavour, I am moſt humbly to beſeech your Majeſty, that by knowing my Fault, I may either purge my ſelf by a juſt denial, or by confeſſing it, crave pardon of your Highneſs, and reform my ſelf. If therefore it ſhall ſtand with your Majeſty's good pleaſure to declare it to my honourable good Friend Mr. Secretary *Walſingham*, commanding him to charge me with it, I will thereupon ſimply anſwer, even as before the Lord God, without concealing any matter of truth in any wiſe, for mine own defence. This Grace the ſooner I ſhall obtain, the apter I ſhall be found for your other Services, from which I find my ſelf diſtracted, becauſe the end of my Travels is none other but to purchaſe that Grace and Favour which I may now fear to be alienated from me till my cauſe be better explain'd. And ſo I humbly end, praying the Lord to bleſs you with a long and proſperous Reign,

At your Town of Dundalk,
Aug. 11. 1583.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble
Subject and Servant,
Henry Wallop.

Sir Iſaac Wake, *to the Secretary.*

Right Honourable,

I Have ſafely receiv'd the Letter wherewith your Honour hath been pleaſed to favour me, dated at *Theobalds* the 19th of *July*, Stil. Ver. and have, to my ſingular comfort, underſtood, that you have been pleaſed not only to give favourable acceptance unto ſuch weak Diſpatches as I have made bold to addreſs unto you, but done me the Honour likewiſe to acquaint his Majeſty with the Contents of them, and to direct my Proceedings in this intricate Buſineſs, with Inſtructions dictated by his Majeſty's Wiſdom; this light will be ſufficient to direct my Steps in the midſt of an *Ægyptian* Darkneſs, which doth not only obſcure the *Horizon* of this Province where I reſide, but almoſt the whole face of *Europe*, by reaſon of the great Miſts which are caſt artificially in all Men's Eyes, to cover the Deſigns of thoſe who do preſume, that they have in all places *arbitrium Belli & Pacis.*

I moſt humbly crave pardon of your Honour, if you do not receive my Anſwer ſo ſoon as, perhaps, you might expect. For yours having ſtay'd upon the way a Month and a Day, did not come to my hands until the 20th of *Auguſt*, Stil. Vet. At which time it was brought unto me by Mr. *Rowlandſon*, whom I had diſpatch'd into *Germany*, to adverti ſe thoſe Princes of the motion made to the Duke of *Savoy*, for the paſſage of *Spaniſh* Forces through his State. My Lord of *Doncaſter*, under whoſe cover I receiv'd that Letter, did not think fit to ſend it to me by an expreſs Meſſenger for fear of encreaſing the ſuſpicion of ſome in thoſe parts, who are jealous that his Majeſty doth favour the Duke of *Savoy* more than they could wiſh. And I muſt confeſs, that the ſame reaſon induced me likewiſe to ſend that Gentleman of the Duke of *Savoy*'s into *Germany*, rather than any Servant of mine own, for fear leaſt Allies, and Vennes of Meſſengers betwixt my Lord of *Doncaſter* and me, in theſe doubtful times,

times, might so far injealous the contrary party, as might prejudice the Service of his Majesty in that Negotiation.

The Instructions that your Honour hath been pleased to give me from his Majesty, concerning my treating with 52. *c.* in favour of 93. *a.* Having reference unto the inclination of 95. *a.* to peace, or the probability of defence to be made by 93. *a.* I held it more safe for me to govern my self by such informations of the state of those Affairs as I have receiv'd from the favour of the 1. 32. 7. 5. 47. 48. 2. 10. 40. 45. of 51. *a* in 97. *a.* And for the better justification of my Proceedings, I send your Honour here inclosed the Copy of his Letter unto me, wherein you will see, that I have no reason as yet to spend the Name of 51. *a.* in favour of 93. *a.* nor to embarque 52. *c.* in a Business which may draw a great charge and envy upon himself, and not much advantage the 93. *a.* I must confess that the 50. *b.* in general, and particularly the 54. *b.* and the 41. 45. 23. 34. 9. 12. of 5. 22. 4. 30. 50 have represented the state of those Affairs at this present unto 52. *b.* in a manner not only different from the advertisements sent me, but almost contrary; and they do seem not only to be confident of the prevailing of 93. *a.* but likewise they continue to give hope that the 10. 51. 29. 15. of 48. 3. 59. 15. will concur with 51. *b.* and 52. *b.* in the 12. 30. 13. 9. 50. 27. 40. 35. of 99. *a*, But because I have reason to suspect that they make relation of those Affairs, rather as they wish they were, than as they be indeed, and that their intention to draw somewhat from 52. *c.* towards the Succours of 93. *a.* I will forbear to joyn with them therein, until I can have some better ground than their advertisements, which may be thought to savour of Partiality; and I have reason to be backward therein, because I know that 52. *c.* would presently take me *eu mot*, and put to the account of 51 *a.* that which he is most willing to do of himself. I do not affirm this out of Conjecture, but upon good ground; for besides that he did signifie so much unto me at my return out of *England*, I do know that within this fortnight he hath sent unto 56. *b.* 3000. 41. 24. 48. 49. 40. 30. 47. in part of 42. 2. 60. 32. 15. 35. 50. and in the Conveyance of this 33. 39. 34. 35. 61. there was extraordinary diligence used to conceal it from the knowledge of the 71. *c.* whereof no other construction can be made, but that 52 *c.* would fain be intreated by 71. *c.* to do that which he hath already a mind to do.

52. *c.* the Duke of *Savoy*. 93. *a.* the *Bohemians*. 95. *a.* the Emperor *Ferdinand*. 91. *a.* the King of *England*. 97. *a. Germany*. 99. the King of the *Romans*. 71. *c.* the Agent of *England*. 51. *b.* the Prince *Palatine*. 51. *b.* the Marques *Brandenburg*. 54. *b.* the Marques *Auspach*. 50. *b.* the Princes of the Union. 56. *b.* Count *Earnest Mansfelt*.

If upon more fresh Letters, which I expect from my Lord of *Doncaster*, I shall find that the Affairs there, have changed Face since the writing of his last unto me, I will govern my self accordingly as I shall receive warrant from him.

We are here at a stand, expecting with Devotion the issue of the Affairs of *Germany*. The Army in the Kingdom of *Naples* is still retain'd, and no order given either for the dismissing of those Troops, or the employing them in any Service. Prince *Philibert* is at *Messina* with the Gallies, and hath with him 10 or 12000 Men. The Ships and Galleons remain at *Naples*, and the *Walloons*, *Lombards* and *Neopolitans*, which should have come to *Vado*, are since their disembarquing again, quarter'd round the City of *Naples*. It is impossible to guess what they mean to do; but the most probable conjecture is, that under the colour of suspecting the Duke of *Ossuna*, the *Spaniards* will keep their potent Army on foot, and by that means keep all *Italy* in awe, and as it were *sub Ferula*, and delude the reiterated Promises and Oaths that have passed by them, to assure the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians*, that they would dismis those Forces. The season is now past for any enterprize by Sea, so that Prince *Philibert* must be forced to return without doing any thing. And many are of Opinion, that the Duke of *Ossuna* had secret Order to counterfeit Madness, and to cross the King's Commandment expresly to deprive Prince *Philibert* of the Honour which would have redounded unto him, if he had been possessed of the absolute Command of so potent an Army. The Duke of *Savoy* on the other side, would fain make you believe, that undoubtedly *Ossuna* hath entertained rebellious Thoughts, and that if *Don Octavio D' Arragona* do not bring a good Answer out of *Spain*, he will break out into open Contumacy. His Demands of the King of *Spain* are these:

First, That he may be continu'd in the Government four years longer.

Secondly, That he may be permitted to enter with his Fleet into the Gulf of *Venice*, and to dispute his Majesty's Title to that Sea by the force of Arms.

Lastly, That in case the King of *Spain* will not let him contest so far with the *Venetians*, that there may then be sent him so much Money out of *Spain*, as may license his Army, considering that the Kingdom of *Naples* is so far exhausted, as that they cannot contribute any longer, either to the maintaining, or to the dismissing of those Forces.

The *Venetians* did lately chase a small Gally of the *Vicocchi*, which was entred into the Gulph to rob and spoil, and follow'd her unto the shoars of *Apuglia*, where *Ferlitick*, the Captain of those Thieves, sav'd himself and the most part of his Fellows, by flight into the Mountains; but *Seignior Philippo Belegno* recovered the Gally, and carried her away as a Prize, having found two Banners

diſplay'd, the one with the Arms of *Spain*, the other with the Arms of *Oſſuna*: And not only a formal Patent and Commiſſion, to take any thing that he could from the *Venetians*, but ſome Letters likewiſe from ſome principal Miniſters of *Ferdinand*, wherein this *Capo di Banditi* is encouraged and requeſted to do the *Venetians* as much hurt and damage as he might be able. Now the Duke of *Oſſuna* is fallen into a great rage with the *Venetians*, *quod non totum telum corpore acceperunt*; and he doth threaten to be revenged upon them, for not ſuffering theſe *Vicocchi* to rob and ſpoil their Subjects.

The Duke of *Savoy* hath done me the Honour to intreat my Company with him into *Savoy*, whither he doth purpoſe very ſhortly to go, that he may receive at the Confines of his Eſtate the Prince of *Piedmont*, and Madam his Wife. And becauſe his Requeſt hath the power of a Command over me in *Licitis & Honeſtis*, I muſt be enforced to paſs the Mountains again at an unſeaſonable time, before I have ſufficiently refreſhed my ſelf after my laſt Voyage; and I know not whether I ſhall have the opportunity of writing unto your Honour again, before my going, which is uncertain, as depending upon the going of the Duke. So with my hearty Prayers unto Almighty God, for the preſervation of his Majeſty in Health, and the proſperity of his Eſtate, in all humility I take leave; and reſt

Turin, 27. *Septemb.* 22. *Aug.* 1619.

Your Honour's moſt Faithful, to Command,
Iſaac Wake.

Sir Iſaac Wake, *to Mr. Secretary.*

Right Honourable,

I Have receiv'd the Letter wherewith your Honour hath been pleaſed to favour me, dated at *White-Hall* the 27. of *February*, as having to my ſingular Comfort underſtood, that his Majeſty hath declared his gracious approbation of my Proceedings here, with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Venetians*. And I do, with all thankfulneſs, acknowledge to receive that favour from the Hand of your Honour, as my only *Gratum faciens* ——

I will not fail to govern my ſelf preciſely, by the Rule of thoſe Inſtructions which you have been pleaſed to give me. And as you have favour'd me with paſſing your Word for me, that I will not ſpend his Majeſty's Name without particular Warrant and Direction; ſo will I promiſe faithfully to perform as much as you have undertaken for me; and both in this, as in all things elſe, you may aſſure your ſelf, that his Majeſty's reveal'd will, and that only, ſhall be a Law unto me.

Your Honour will have underſtood, by my former Diſpatches, that the Duke of *Oſſuna* is reconfirmed in his Government of *Naples*: He hath not (as far as I can learn) any certain time prefixed, but is to remain there *durante Regis beneplacito*: And when his Patent was preſented unto him, he had likewiſe order (which was delivered by word of mouth) that the King his Maſter did require him immediately to diſmiſs all his Army, and to ſend the *Walloons* and *Neopolitans* into *Germany*, to the Succours of the Emperour. The ſame Party did likewiſe ſignifie unto him, that as the King of *Spain* had ſhew'd to have a care of the Honour of the Duke of *Oſſuna*, in eſtabliſhing him anew in that Regency, at this time when the World had made ſome doubt, that his late Actions had not been conformable to the Will and Pleaſure of his Maſter, ſo he did expect that he ſhould voluntarily, and of himſelf, ask leave to go into *Spain*, and offer to give an account of all his proceedings. Which courſe the King did recommend unto him as moſt Honourable, for the Juſtification of his own Innocency, and the Confuſion of his Enemies. This Meſſage the ſaid Duke hath wiſely ſuppreſſed, and hath publiſhed the Patent of his Confirmation, without taking notice of the private Articles which were annexed thereunto, and deliver'd verbally. He doth profeſs to underſtand very well, that in *Spain* they wiſh him ill, and that their deſign is under the fair Bait of this eſtabliſhing him in that Government, to make him ſwallow the Hook of diſmiſſing his Army, that ſo they may afterwards diſpoſe of him at their pleaſure, when he ſhall remain utterly diſarm'd. But his Heart did not ſerve him to throw away the Scabbard when he had drawn his Sword; and I am perſwaded, that as in *Spain* they will judge of his proceedings by the rule of *Tacitus*, *Qui deliberant deſciverant*; ſo he will repent of not having obſerved that other Maxim, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice*. His beſt hope is, that *Chi ha tempo ha vita*; and if he can make his peace at home upon any Conditions, he will not much care to turn honeſt, and change his dangerous Deſigns into faithful Service of his Maſter. To play *Le bon valett*, he hath now obeyed his Maſter's Commandment in ſending the *Wallons* and *Neopolitans* into *Lombardy*, and they are all ſo ſafely arrived at *Vado* upon nineteen Galleons, being in number ſix or ſeven thouſand.

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The landing of these Troops, and their passing along the skirt of this State, doth not only give a little jealousie to the Duke of *Savoy*, but put him likewise to some cost and trouble: For as he doth well know how dangerous it is to stand to the discretion of a reconciled Enemy, so doth he evidently see, that their ill Talent towards him, doth not only continue, but increase; and therefore to assure himself, and his State, he hath caused at this present a general muster to be made of all his Cavalry, and trained Infantry, which he doth send to the Confines of his State that way, which these newly landed Troops are to pass. And although their Order be to march towards *Switzerland*, and to pass that way into *Germany*, yet will this Prince stand upon his Guard, until they are quite gone out of *Lombardy*; and hath given order to the Count *Guido St. George* in his absence, not to let him lodge in *Montferrat* upon any terms whatsoever, nor to linger too long near the Confine of this Province. He hath this reason to conclude, that the *Spaniards* wish him ill, because he doth see that they do mistrust him. For whereas they had a fair promise of the passage for their Army through this State, by vertue of ancient Capitulations betwixt the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Savoy*, they have chosen rather to buy the passage at the hands of the *Swissers* at a very dear rate, than adventure to take it here *gratis*. Whereby it may appear unto all the World, how little Confidence they have in this Prince, and how much they mistrust him for being partially affected to the Prince *Palatine*, and all that Party. Howsoever your Honour doth conceive, that the season of the Year is too far passed for the transportation of this Army of the *Spaniards* into *Germany*, yet you will see that Necessity doth make Men strive with many Inconveniences, for they must pass whatsoever Weather happen; and indeed the *Alps* are passable enough until the Months of *January* and *February*, if the Souldiers be well cloathed; for there is no danger but of Cold, until the Deluges of Snow, which fall late, do shut up the passages.

Perhaps they will not find the passages of *Switzerland* so favourable as they do conceive, and as is figured unto them, for they have bought it only of the little Popish *Cantons*, without asking leave of the *Seigniory* of *Zurich* and *Bern*; and it is to be supposed, that the State of *Bern* will take a hot Allarum, considering that their Controversie with *Fryburg* is not accommodated, and that the Governour of *Millain* hath made offer unto those of *Friburg*, and the little *Cantons*, of all this Army for the defence of the Catholick Religion in the *Bailiage* of *Eschalens*, whereof I have given notice to our *Seigniory* of *Bern*, by an expres Courier, that they may have time to save themselves from a surprize.

The voice doth run current over all *Italy*, that the Duke of *Parma* is to undertake a Voyage shortly for the Service of the King of *Spain*, but whither he is to go they cannot tell; for some send him into *Germany*, others into *Flanders*, and the most Men into *Spain*. For all which discourse I know no other ground, but that his Brother, the Cardinal *Farnese*, hath asked leave of the Pope to retire himself for a time to *Parma*; and I do imagine that the *Speculativi* have concluded thereupon, that he is to govern the State in the absence of his Brother.

Prince *Philibert* having failed of the enterprize of *Susa* did intend, in his second setting out from *Sicily*, to meet with the Turkish Fleet and fight with them. The first part of his design succeeded happily, for he had the good fortune to encounter the whole Fleet between *Zant* and *Cephalonia*; but finding them more strong than he was aware, and well resolved to give him battle, he was counselled to retire to *Messina*, where he is at this present, without having effected any thing. The two Armies of *Venice*, and the Turk, did likewise meet on those Seas, not far from *Corfu*; but as soon as they did know each the other, the two Generals, and all the principal Officers, did interchangeably present one the other with Wine, and *Rinfres Camenti*; and so much kindness passed betwixt them, that the *Vizier Bassa* did offer to joyn his Fleet with the *Venetian*, and to set upon the *Spanish Armado*; which charitable offer the *Venetian* General had so much Christianity as to refuse with modest Thanks.

Seignior Antonio Donato hath sent a Servant of his hither, who had the Fortune to arrive in an ill Conjuncture. For the Duke of *Savoy* having lately called upon the *Venetians* for that Money which is wanting in *Seignior Donato*'s Account, they did excuse themselves upon his Pleading not Guilty, and did send unto the Duke a Copy of his Letter written to the Senate, when he was yet Embassador, and not convicted. This Letter arrived here from *Venice* the very day before *Seignior Donato*'s Servant; and if your Honor will be pleased to cast an Eye upon the Copy which I send here inclosed, you will not blame the Duke of *Savoy* for refusing to give him Audience, or to receive his Masters Letters; for he doth give the Duke the Lie three several times in that Letter, which is strange Language to be used of a Prince; and I do much wonder, that the *Venetians* would upon any Occasion whatsoever, publish such a Petulancy, committed by one that was their Embassador at that time.

He brought me a Letter from his Master, of meer Ceremony and Complement, and had his principal Address unto the Pope's Nuntion in this Court, whereat I did wonder somewhat formerly at the first, as conceiving that in Congruity he ought to have interrupted his Correspondence with the Popes Ministers, as long as he doth live under the Protection of his Majesty; but when I understood that the

the Duke had lodged him in a Priſon, with an intent to ſend him to *Venice*, I was glad that I had ſo little to do with him, and the Nuntio ſo much.

The Duke of *Savoy* doth aſſure himſelf, that when his Majeſty ſhall have peruſed this Letter of Seignior *Donato*'s, he will withdraw his Countenance and Protection from him, and account him unworthy of any Favour, for having wronged, in ſo high a Degree, a Prince that is ſo much a Servant of his Majeſty.

I may not likewiſe conceal from his Majeſty's Knowledge, that *Seignior Donato* hath not been wanting to ruin (as far as he could) *Padre Paolo*, and *Fulgentio* in *Venice*, two Perſons that have done his Majeſty very long and faithful Service, as by an incloſed Paper, your Honor may ſee, which is an Abſtract of a Letter written from *Fulgentio*.

The Prince of *Piedmont* having made a poſting Voyage hither to receive his Fathers Bleſſing, before he bring his Lady into the Country, I did preſent unto him his Majeſty's Letters of Congratulation, whereunto he hath returned Anſwer, which I ſend here incloſed. So with my hearty Prayers unto Almighty God for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon in all Happineſs and Proſperity, in all Humility I take Leave, and reſt

Turin $\frac{8}{18}$ *of October*, 1619.

Your Honours
Moſt faithfully to command,
Iſaac Wake.

Sir Iſaac Wake, *to the Duke.*

Right Honorable, and my very ſingular good Lord,

IN theſe Parts we have nothing of moment worthy the relating, the Storms which do vex our Neighbors round about us, keeping us here in Calm and Quiet, as it were *per anteperiſtaſin*. Howſoever I am of Opinion, that we ſhall enter into the Dance either actively or paſſively, before the next Summer paſs over. All over *Italy* there doth reign a great Dearth, which did lately cauſe in *Naples* a dangerous Cullevation of the People againſt the Cardinal *Zappata* Vice-roy, who had ſomewhat to do to ſave himſelf from the Fury of the *Popolazo*.

In the State of *Millain* likewiſe ſome Inſurrections were beginning to be made in *Novarra*, *Alleſſandria* and *Cremona*, both for want of Bread, and for the Inſolency of the Garriſon Souldiers, who having had no Pay for many Months, did commit many violent Exceſſes upon the People, which did drive them into Deſpair; but thoſe Commotions were appeaſed betimes, and no great matter of Conſideration hath enſued, although there are ſome Neighbour Princes who did ſtand *aux Eſcoutes*, and would be ready to have acted a troubleſome part, if the Scene had been ready.

The Duke of *Parma* hath impriſoned his natural Son *Don Octavio*, the Myſtery whereof is not well known, but it muſt needs be for ſome great matter, becauſe he did make ſhew to love him paſſionately. The Infanta *Iſabella* of *Modena* hath been in danger of her Life, by being ſurprized with a violent Fever, near the time of her Child-Birth: from hence the Duke of *Savoy* ſent his Phyſitians to help her, and we hear now that ſhe hath eſcaped that Danger, and is ſafely delivered of a Daughter.

Count *Manſfelt* is grown formidable, and doth daily increaſe in Strength and Reputation. Although he hath hitherto intitled his Arms unto the Service of the King of *Bohemia*, yet I believe he will neither diſarm, nor ſuſpend his Arms; when he ſhall be commanded ſo do by that King. For being now entertained by the State of *Venice*, with an honorable Proviſion of 12000 Crowns *per annum*, in Peace during his Life, and the Pay of 10000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe in the time of War, he will try what he can do for the franchiſing of the *Griſons*, when the Affairs of the *Palatinate* ſhall be accommodated. And if the *Auſtriaci* do not bend all their Forces againſt him very ſpeedily, and break his Army before it grow more ſtrong, he is like to give them a greater Blow than they have had theſe many years. That which he hath gotten already in *Alſatia* is much more worth than the lower *Palatinate*; and although he hath hitherto made thoſe People to ſwear Allegiance unto the King of *Bohemia*, yet when the ſaid King ſhall make his Peace with the Emperor, it may be doubted whether Count *Manſfelt* will reſign up what he hath conquered; and it is thought, that he will either keep it for himſelf, or intitle ſome other Prince thereunto. The *Auſtriaci* were never ſo marched as with Count *Manſfelt*, for he is a perpetual Motion, and doth not ſtand upon the Defenſive (as others have done hitherto, and loſt by the Bargain) but he is always ſetting upon them, and doth make War at their Coſt; let them take heed how they proceed with him; for he who hath nothing to loſe, is ready to hazard the Pacquet upon all Occaſions; and if he do chance to overthrow them once in Battel, they will run Danger to loſe all that they have in *Germany*. Let me in all Humility beſeech your Lordſhip to continue me in the Honor of your good Opinion, and to favour me with your honorable Protection,

tection, especially with a good Word to my Lord Treasurer, for the sending me some Relief, without which I cannot possibly subsist, having, for want of my Pay consumed all that I had in the World. God Almighty increase upon your Lordship all Happiness and Prosperity, as is unfeignedly wished unto you by him that is

Turin $\frac{13}{23}$ of *Febr.* 1621.

Your Lordships most humbly obliged Creature, and Servant,
Isaac Wake.

Sir Isaac Wake's *Proposition for the King of* Denmark.

IT seemeth that the Glory of this State, which at all times was great, doth shine brighter now a-days, since that besides so many Neighbouring Kings and Princes, whereof some are in a made League with us, and some do keep a good Correspondence, and all a good Intelligence with us. Now the Friendship of your Highness is sought by the mighty King of *Denmark*, a Monarch of those Nations that in time past have left the Remembrance of their *Prowess* in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and in whole *Europe* behind them. This great King of the North, who like a second *Atlas* holds up the *Artick-pole*, rich in Treasure, numerous in Men, dreadful for his invincible Generosity and Courage, doth here offer himself unto your Highness. And acquainting you of his Actions, doth confidently promise you to stand firm and stout in the Defence of the common Cause, if so be that he receive that Assistance as he hath reason to expect from those that are interested in the same Cause. His Majesty of *Denmark* hath had from the King my Master as much as can be given; and it is no small Matter, that his Majesty of Great *Britain* doth still continue the same Assistance, having withal still those great Expences that are required for the Surety of his Realms, and for the Offence of the common Enemy.

His Majesty of *France* hath also contributed to this good Work somewhat, and there is great hope that he will bring forth in a short time some fit Remedy against this Evil. The Lords States do as much as they are able. And the Princes of *Low Saxony* do not want in their Duties. There remaineth now, that your Highness put also your powerful Hand to this Work, and with a Vigorous Succour worthy of your great Heart, do encourage all the rest to continue their Empress. The two Kings are not ignorant of the great Sincerity wherewith this most excellent State doth observe the Capitulations made with Allies of the League; and that rather than to be wanting in things agreed upon, you have surpassed in necessary Provisions for the Advancement of the Designs, and that you have not been Partakers, nor Agreers of the Treaty made at *Moncon*. But that you do continue to keep some Forces in your Dominions, and likewise some Troops in the *Valtoline*, for the effecting (as much as is in you) of what was first thought fit, and of the Agreement of the League.

And as that generous Resolution and Constancy of this State is never enough praised, so there is great hope that you will not bring this same in the Reckoning of the two Kings, who never will miss to praise the Wisdom and Generosity of this State, though not obliged for their particular for any thing whatsoever done till now, either by the League in general, or by whomsoever of the United in particular, because that the League was made two years and more before his Majesty of *Great Britain* broke with *Spain*, or that the King of *Denmark* had declared himself. Since the time that these two Kings are come to the dance, your Highness hath not levied one Man, and the Forces which you do yet keep, as they were not levied, so are they not maintained in Contemplation of the two Kings, but only for the first Reasons of the League.

The only thing here sought for, is to go with a common Pace, that those that are now too heavily laden may be supported by their Friends, either by way of Diversion, or by way of Assistance. And therefore your Highness and other Princes are now requested to help, seeing there is small Appearance of Diversion. And set the case, that the Peace between *Spain* and *France* should be firm, would it not turn against the common Cause, *Italiæ incendium ruina Germaniæ extinguere?* To quench a little Fire in *Italy* by the Ruin of whole *Germany*? In Chronical Diseases Physitians do not so much respect the Symptoms and Accidents, as they do the Causes of the Evil.

The *Valtoline*, *Palatinate*, *Hussia*, *Marchisat* of *Baden*, Dukedom of *Brunswick*, and so many other Countries attempted, and oppressed by the *Spanish* and *Austrian* Usurpation, are grievous and dangerous Symptoms and Accidents: but the Cause and Fewel of the evil Remains yet in the Ambitious Bowels of the *Spaniards*, who now with spread Sails goeth on towards the universal Monarchy; unless there be applied betimes some fit Remedies, all topick Remedies will do but little Good.

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The King of *Denmark* doth offer himſelf ready to apply ſuch an Iſſue whereby he may be brought back to Terms of Modeſty; and with the Aſſiſtance de doth expect from your Highneſs and other intereſſed Princes, he hopeth to bring his good Intent to paſs. And being prodigal of his great Soul, there is no doubt he will never go back, unleſs he be forſaken.

Thus there remains the Common Liberty almoſt in your Hands; and if this moſt excellent Senate reſolves to give Aid unto that King, that Liberty will be preſerved. If you do forſake him, that will alſo be indangered, yea, loſt. I therefore beſeech your Highneſs to ponder well this Matter, and to grant ſuch an Aſſiſtance as is requeſted by the King of *Denmark*'s Ambaſſador.

Sir Henry Wootton, *to the Duke.*

My moſt Noble Lord,

I Will be bold by this Opportunity, to give his Majeſty, through your Lordſhip's Hands, an Account of a Command which I had from him at *Theobalds*, about ſounding how the *Venetian* Ambaſſador ſtood ſatisfied with the late Determination touching his Predeceſſor *Donato*.

I did viſit the ſaid Ambaſſador immediately at my return from the King, and ſaluted him as by expreſs Commandment, interjecting ſome Words of mine own Gladneſs, that he had received Contentment in this tender point, which would ſignalize his Beginnings. This I ſaid, becauſe in truth I had found him always before the more paſſionate in it by ſome reflection upon himſelf. His Anſwer (after due Thanks for his Majeſty's gracious Remembrance of him from abroad) was, That for his own part, he was *Contentiſſimo*, and had repreſented things home in the beſt manner. He hoped likewiſe it would be well taſted there alſo, though with ſome doubt, becauſe the State, out of their own Devotion towards his Majeſty, might form a Confidence of expecting more. I replyed, that the King, upon the Matter (if we conſider Diſgrace) had done more than themſelves: for he was but once baniſhed at *Venice*, and twice here, *viz.* once from the Verge of the Court; and ſecondly, from *London*, which was as much as could be done with Preſervation of National Immunities, and more than would have been done at the Suit of any other Ambaſſador here reſident, or perhaps of any of their own hereafter, if the like Caſe ſhall occur. For (as I told him) it was the Kings expreſs Will, that his particular Reſpect to the Republick, and to him in this Buſineſs, ſhould not be drawn into Examples. With this point he was not a little pleaſed for his own Glory, and ſaid, that indeed Mr. Secretary *Nanton* had told him ſo. This was the Sum of what paſſed between us, omitting Impertinencies. Let me end (my dear Lord) as I am bound in all the uſe, either of my Pen, or of my Voice, with an humble and hearty Acknowledgment of my great Obligations towards your Lordſhip, which make me reſolve, and in good faith unhappy, till I can ſome way ſhew my ſelf,

January the 25*th.*
1619.

Your Lordſhips moſt thankful,
and faithful Servant,
Henry Wootton.

Sir Henry Wootton, *to the Duke.*

My moſt honoured Lord, and Patron,

THeſe poor Lines will be preſented unto your Lordſhip by my Nephew (one of your obliged Servants) and withal ſome Deſcription (as I have prayed him) of my long Infirmities, which have caſt me behind in many private, and often interrupted even my publick Duties; with which yet I do rather ſeek to excuſe ſome other Defects of Service than my Silence towards your Lordſhip.

For to importune your Lordſhip ſeldom with my Pen, is a Choice in me, and not a Diſeaſe, having reſolved to live at what diſtance ſoever from your ſight, like one who had well ſtudied before I came hither, how ſecure they are to whom you once vouchſafe any part of your Love. And indeed I am well confirmed therein by your own gracious Lines: for thereby I ſee that your Lordſhip had me in your Meditation, when I ſcarce remembred my ſelf.

In anſwer of which Letter, after ſome reſpite from mine own Evils, I have deputed my ſaid Nephew to re-deliver my Fortune into your Noble Hands, and to aſſure your Lordſhip, that as it ſhould be chearfully ſpent at your Command, if it were preſent and actual (from whoſe Mediation I have derived it) ſo much more am I bound to yield up unto your Lordſhip an abſolute Diſpoſition of my Hopes: But if it ſhould pleaſe you therein to grant me any part of mine own Humor, than I would rather wiſh ſome other Satisfaction, than change of Office; yet even in this Point likewiſe I ſhall depend

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on your Will, which your Lordſhip may indeed challenge from me, not only by an humble Gratitude and Reverence due to your moſt worthy Perſon, but even by that natural Charity and Diſcretion which I owe my ſelf: For what do I more therein, than only remit to your own Arbitrement the Valuation of your own Goodneſs? I have likewiſe committed to my foreſaid Nephew ſome Memorials touching your Lordſhips familiar Service (as I may term it) in Matter of Art and Delight.

But though I have laid theſe Offices upon another, yet I joy with mine own Pen to give your Lordſhip an account of a Gentleman, worthier of your Love, than I was of the Honor to receive him from you.

We are now, after his well-ſpent Travels in the Towns of purer Language, married again till a ſecond Divorce, for which I ſhall be ſorry, whenſoever it ſhall happen. For in truth (my good Lord) his Converſation is both delightful and fruitful; and I dare pronounce, that he will return to his Friends as well fraught, with the beſt Obſervations as any that hath ever ſifted this Country, which indeed doth need ſifting; for there is both Flour and Bran in it.

He hath divided his Abode between *Sienna* and *Rome*: The reſt of his Time was for the moſt part ſpent in Motion. I think his Purpoſe is to take the *French* Tongue in his way Homewards; but I am perſwading with him to make *Bruxels* his Seat, both becauſe the *French* and *Spaniſh* Languages are familiar there, whereof the one will be, after *Italian*, a Sport unto him, ſo as he may make the other a Labour: And for that the ſaid Town is now the Scene of an important Treaty, which I fear will laſt till he come thither; but far be from me all ominous Conceit.

I will end with chearful Thoughts and Wiſhes; beſeeching the Almighty God to preſerve your Lordſhip in Health, and to cure the publick Diſeaſes. And ſo I ever remain

Venice, the 29*th.* of *July*, 1622.

Your Lordſhips moſt devoted, obliged Servant,
Henry Wootton.

Sir Henry Wootton, *to the Duke.*

My moſt honoured, and dear Lord,

TO give your Lordſhip occaſion to exerciſe your Noble Nature, is withal one of the beſt Exerciſes of mine own Duty; and therefore I am confident to paſs a very charitable Motion through your Lordſhips Hands, and Mediation to his Majeſty.

There hath long lain in the Priſon of Inquiſition, a conſtant worthy Gentleman, *viz.* Mr. *Mole*, in whom his Majeſty hath not only a Right as his Subject, but likewiſe a particular Intereſt in the Cauſe of his firſt Impriſonment. For having communicated his Majeſty's immortal Work touching the Allegiance unto Sovereign Princes with a *Florentine* of his familiar Acquaintance, this Man took ſuch impreſſion at ſome paſſages, as troubling his Conſcience, he took occaſion at next Shrift to confer certain Doubts with his Confeſſor, who out of malicious Curioſity, inquiring into all Circumſtances, gave afterwards Notice thereof to *Rome*, whither the ſaid *Mole* was gone with my Lord *Roſſe*, who in this Story is not without Blame; but I will not diſquiet his Grave.

Now having lately heard, that his Majeſty, at the Suit of I know not what Ambaſſadors (but the *Florentine* amongſt them is voiced for one) was pleaſed to yield ſome Releaſment to certain reſtrained Perſons of the Roman Faith: I have taken a Conceit upon it, that in exchange of his Clemency therein, the great Duke would be eaſily moved by the Kings gracious Requeſt, to intercede with the Pope for Mr. *Mole*'s Delivery. To which purpoſe, if it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty to grant his Royal Letters, I will ſee the Buſineſs duly purſued. And ſo needing no Arguments to commend this Propoſition to his Majeſty's Goodneſs, but his Goodneſs it ſelf, I leave it (as I began) in your Noble Hand.

Now touching your Lordſhips familiar Service (as I may term it) I have ſent the Complement of your Bargain upon the beſt provided and beſt manned Ship that hath been here in a long time, called the *Phœnix*; and indeed the Cauſe of their long ſtay here hath been for ſome ſuch ſure Veſſel as I might truſt. About which, ſince I wrote laſt to your Lordſhip, I reſolved to fall back to my firſt Choice. So as now the one Piece is the Work of *Titian*, wherein the leaſt Figure (*viz.* the Child in the Virgins Lap playing with a Bird) is alone worth the Prrice of your Expence for all four, being ſo round, that I know not whether I ſhall call it a Piece of Sculpture or Picture, and ſo lively, that a Man would be tempted to doubt, whether Nature or Art had made it. The other is of *Palma*, and this I call the ſpeaking Piece, as your Lordſhip will ſay it may well be termed: for except the Damoſel brought to *David*, whom a ſilent Modeſty did beſt become, all the other Figures are in Dicourſe and Action. They come both diſtended in their Frames, for I durſt not hazard them in Rowls, the youngeſt being 25 years old, and therefore no longer ſupple and pliant. With them I have been bold to ſend a Diſh of Grapes to your Noble Siſter, the Counteſs of *Denbigh*, preſenting them firſt to your Lordſhips View, that you may be pleaſed to paſs your Cenſure, whether *Italians* can make Fruits as well as *Flemings*, which is the common Glory of their Pencils. By this Gentleman, I have ſent the

choiceſt Melon-ſeeds of all kinds, which his Majeſty doth expect, as I had order both from my Lord of *Holderneſs*, and from Mr. Secretary *Calvert*. And although in my Letter to his Majeſty (which I hope, by your Lordſhips Favor, himſelf ſhall have the Honour to deliver, together with the ſaid Seeds) I have done him right in his due Attributes; yet let me ſay of him farther, as *Architects* uſe to ſpeak of a well-choſen Foundation, that your Lordſhip may boldly build what Fortune you pleaſe upon him, for ſurely he will bear it vertuouſly. I have committed to him, for the laſt place, a private Memorial touching my ſelf, wherein I ſhall humbly beg your Lordſhips Interceſſion upon a neceſſary Motive. And ſo with my heartieſt Prayers to Heaven for your continual Health and Happineſs, I moſt humbly reſt

Your Lordſhips ever obliged, devoted Servant,
Henry Wootton.

Venice $\frac{2}{12}$ *December*, 1622.

POST-SCRIPT.

My Noble Lord, it is one of my Duties to tell your Lordſhip, that I have ſent a Servant of mine (by profeſſion a Painter) to make a Search in the beſt Towns through *Italy* for ſome principal Pieces, which I hope may produce ſomewhat for your Lordſhips Contentment and Service.

Sir Henry Wootton, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

HAving ſome days by Sickneſs been deprived of the Comfort of your ſight, who did me ſo much Honour at my laſt Acceſs, I am bold to make theſe poor Lines happier than my ſelf, and withal, to repreſent unto your Grace (whoſe noble Patronage is my Refuge, when I find any occaſion to bewail mine own Fortune) a thing which ſeemeth ſtrange unto me. I am told (I know not how truly) that his Majeſty hath already diſpoſed the *Venetian* Embaſſage to Sir *Iſaac Wake*; from whoſe Sufficiency, if I ſhould detract, it would be but an Argument of my own Weakneſs.

But that which herein doth touch me (I am loath to ſay in point of Reputation, ſurely much in my Livelihood, as Lawyers ſpeak) is, that thereby after 17 years of foreign continual Imployment, either ordinary or extraordinary, I am left utterly deſtitute of all poſſibility to ſubſiſt at Home, much like thoſe Seal-Fiſhes, which ſometimes (as they ſay) over-ſleeping themſelves in an ebbing Water, feel nothing about them but a dry Shoar when they awake; which Compariſon I am fain to ſeek among thoſe Creatures, not knowing, among Men that have ſo long ſerved ſo gracious a Maſter, any one to whom I may reſemble my unfortunate Bareneſs. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchſafed me ſome part of your Love, ſo make me worthy in this, of ſome part of your Compaſſion. So I humbly reſt

Your Grace's, &c.
Henry Wootton.

Sir Henry Wootton, *to the Duke.*

My moſt Noble Lord,

WHen, like that impotent Man in the Goſpel, I had lain long by the Pools Side, while many were healed, and none would throw me in, it pleaſed your Lordſhip, firſt of all, to pity my Infirmities, and to put me into ſome hope of ſubſiſting hereafter; therefore I moſt humbly and juſtly acknowledge all my Ability and Reputation from your Favor. You have given me Encouragement, you have valued my poor Endeavors with the King, you have redeemed me from Ridiculouſneſs, who had ſerved ſo long without any Mark of Favor. By which Arguments, being already, and ever bound to be yours, till either Life or Honeſty ſhall leave me, I am the bolder to beſeech your Lordſhip to perfect your own Work; and to draw his Majeſty to ſome ſetling of thoſe things that depend betwen Sir *Julius Cæſar* and me, in that reaſonable Form, which I humbly preſent unto your Lordſhip by this my Nephew, likewiſe your obliged Servant, being my ſelf by a late Indiſpoſition confined to my Chamber, but in all Eſtates ſuch as I am,

Your Lordſhips,
Henry Wootton.

Sir Henry Wootton, *to the Earl of* Portland, *Lord Treaſurer.*

My moſt honoured Lord,

I Moſt humbly preſent (though by ſome Infirmities a little too late) a ſtraying New-years-Gift unto your Lordſhip, which I will preſume to term the cheapeſt of all that you have received, and yet of the richeſt Materials.

In

In ſhort, it is only an Image of your ſelf drawn by Memory from ſuch Diſcourſe as I have taken up here and there of your Lordſhip among the moſt intelligent, and unmalignant Men. Which to portraict before you, I thought no ſervile Office, but ingenuous and real. And I could wiſh, that it had come at that day, that ſo your Lordſhip might have begun the new Year ſomewhat like *Plato*'s Definition of Felicity, with the Contemplation of your own *Idea*. They ſay, that in your foreign imployments under King *James*, your Lordſhip won the Opinion of a very able and ſearching Judgment, having been the firſt Diſcoverer of the Intentions againſt the *Palatinate*, which were then in brewing, and maſqued with much Art, and that Sir *Edward Conway* got the ſtart of you, both in Title and Employment, becauſe the late Duke of *Buckingham* wanted then, for his own ends, a Martial Secretary.

They ſay, That, under our preſent Sovereign, you were choſen to the higheſt Charge, at the loweſt of the State, when ſome Inſtrument was requiſite of indubitable Integrity, and provident Moderation; which Attributes I have heard none deny you.

They diſcourſe thus of your Actions ſince, That though great Exhauſtations cannot be cured without ſudden Remedies, no more in a Kingdom than in a natural Body: yet your Lordſhip hath well allay'd thoſe bluſtering Clamors, wherewith, at your beginning, your Houſe was, in a manner, daily beſieg'd.

They note, That there hath been made Changes, but that none hath brought to the Place a Judgment ſo cultivated and illuminated with various Erudition, as your Lordſhip, ſince the Lord *Burleigh*, under Queen *Elizabeth*, whom they make your Parallel in the Ornament of Knowledge.

They obſerve in your Lordſhip divers remarkable Combinations of Virtues and Abilities rarely ſociable. In the Character of your Aſpect, a Mixture of Authority and Modeſty; in the Faculties of your Mind, quick Apprehenſion and Solidity together; in the Stile of your Port and Train, as much Dignity, and as great Dependency as was ever in any of your Place, and with little Noiſe, and outward Form.

That your Table is very abundant, free and noble, without Luxury; that you are by Nature no Flatterer, and yet of greateſt Power in Court: That you love Magnificence and Frugality both together; that you entertain your Gueſts and Viſitors with noble Courteſie, and void of Complement: Laſtly, That you maintain a due Regard to your Perſon and Place, and yet an Enemy to frothy Formalities.

Now in the Diſcharge of your Function, they ſpeak of two things that have done you much Honor, *viz.* That you had always a ſpecial Care to the Supply of the Navy, and likewiſe a more worthy and tender Reſpect towards the Kings only Siſter, for the continual Support from hence, than ſhe hath found before:

They obſerve your Greatneſs as firmly eſtabliſhed as ever was any, of the Love, and (which is more) in the Eſtimation of a King, who hath ſo ſignalized his Conſtancy, beſides your Additions of Strength (or at leaſt of Luſtre) by the nobleſt Alliances of the Land.

Amongſt theſe Notes, it is no wonder, if ſome obſerve, that between a good Willingneſs in your Affections to ſatisfie all, and impoſſibility in the Matter, and yet an Importunity in the Perſons, there doth now and then, I know not how, ariſe a little Impatience, which muſt needs fall on your Lordſhip, unleſs you had been cut out of a Rock of Diamonds, eſpecially having been long before ſo converſant with liberal Studies, and with the Freedom of your own Mind.

Now after this ſhort Collection, touching your moſt honoured Perſon, I beſeech you, give me leave to add likewiſe a little what Men ſay of the Writer.

They ſay, I want not your gracious good Will towards me, according to the degrees of my poor Talent and Travels; but they ſay, I am wanting to my ſelf. And, in good faith (my Lord) in ſaying ſo, they ſay the Truth: For I am condemned, I know not how, by Nature, to a kind of unfortunate Baſhfulneſs in mine own Buſineſs; and it is now too late to put me in a new Furnace.

Therefore it muſt be your Lordſhips proper Work, and not only your noble, but even your charitable Goodneſs, that muſt, in ſome bleſſed hour, remember me. God give your Lordſhip many healthful and joyful Years, and the Bleſſing of the Text, *Beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum.* And ſo I remain, with all humble and willing Heart,

At your Lordſhips Command,
Henry Wootton.

Sir Richard Weſton, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

I Fear I have taken too much of that Liberty of not writing you were pleaſed to allow me by Sir *George Goring*; but I hope your Lordſhip will meaſure my Devotion to ſerve you, by no other Rule than your own Intereſt and Deſert: For, as I underſtand by Sir *George Goring*, how often I come into your Thoughts, and how great a part I have in your Cares; ſo is there no Man to whom I would more willingly give daily account of my ſelf, then to your Lordſhip, to whoſe Grace and Favour I owe ſo much.

I forbear to trouble your Lordſhip with any Relation of Buſineſs, becauſe, I preſume, your Lordſhip is acquainted with all my Diſpatch; and it is not long ſince I intreated my Lord Treaſurer to tell your Lordſhip what I thought of things then: I have yet little Reaſon to change my Opinion.

And if your Lordſhip pleaſe to know the State of things now, I have ſent this Gentleman, the Bearer hereof, eſpecially, to do your Lordſhip Reverence in my Name, and to give you full Information. For my Return or Stay, I humbly ſubmit it to his Majeſty's Pleaſure.

Though this Negotiation be like to ſpin it ſelf out into much length, I weigh not my own Intereſt: I ſhall willingly be there where I ſhall be thought moſt able to do his Majeſty Service. And ſo intreating that I may be continued in that good Opinion and Grace, wherein your Lordſhips own Affection, not any Merit of mine, hath placed me, I humbly kiſs your Hands, and remain,

Your Lordſhips faithful and devoted Servant,

Bruxels, 26. *June* 1622. Richard Weſton.

Sir Richard Weſton, *to the Duke.*

My very good Lord,

I Have underſtood by my Lord Treaſurer, the way you have made with his Majeſty for my calling Home, for which this preſent doth give your Lordſhip moſt humble Thanks, though I have forborn to preſs or ſollicit it, becauſe I would approve my Obedience to his Majeſty, and take away from them all occaſion, who otherwiſe might have accuſed my Departure, and imputed the Want of Succeſs here to my want of Patience to expect an Anſwer.

I have, almoſt in all my Diſpatches, ſince we entred into this Treaty, ſignified what Opinion I had of their Proceedings here; and my chief Comfort was, that whatſoever the Succeſs were, that the Clearneſs of his Majeſty's Intentions would appear to the whole World, and that the failing is not of his ſide, which, I think, is manifeſt enough: for notwithſtanding that his Majeſty hath followed them in all their Deſires, and the Prince Elector hath conformed himſelf to what was demanded; that the Count *Mansfelt*, and Duke of *Brunſwick*, the pretended Obſtacles of the Treaty, are now, with all their Forces, removed; no Face of an Enemy in the *Palatinate*, but his Majeſty's Power in the Garriſons; all other Places repoſſeſſed which *Manſfelt* had taken; no cauſe of continuing any War now, nor any cauſe of Jealouſie or Fear for the future, conſidering his Majeſty's fair and honorable Offers: yet are they ſo far from a Ceſſation, that they are fallen upon *Heidlebergh*, and either want the Will or Power to remove the Siege. And all I can get, is, two Letters of Intreaty from her Highneſs to the Chiefs of the Emperor, to proceed no further: and after ſome eighteen days ſince I made my Propoſition for the Ceſſation, I have yet no Anſwer; ſo that being able to raiſe no more Doubts, they make uſe of Delays. I have ſaid, and done, and uſed all Diligences within my Power to bring forth better Effects, and can go no further; and therefore, I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip, that I may have leave to return, when I ſhall hear that they will not remove the Siege at *Heidlebergh*. For their pretending to reſtore all, when all is taken, is a poor Comfort to me, and as little Honour to his Majeſty: And how far they are to be believed in that, is to be examined, more exactly than by writing, by weighing how the weak Hopes given me here agree with the ſtrong Aſſurances given by my Lord *Digby* out of *Spain*.

I hope, therefore, his Majeſty will be pleaſed to think it reaſonable to ſpeak with me; and as your Lordſhip hath ever been a happy and gentle Star to me, ſo have I now more need of your favorable Aſpect than ever, that his Majeſty may receive my Obedience as a Sacrifice, and interpret well of my Endeavors, what Succeſs ſoever I bring home with me. Wherein humbly intreating your Lordſhips wonted Grace and Favor, I humby kiſs your Hands, and vow unto you the faithful obſervance of

Your Lordſhips moſt humble and devoted Servant,

Bruxels, Septem. 3. 1622. Richard Weſton.

Sir Richard Weſton, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

YOur Grace ſhall add much to the infinite Favours I have received from you, to read a few Lines from me, much more to vouchſafe them an Anſwer; which I am the more bold to beg, and the more hopeful to obtain, becauſe I underſtand by Sir *George Goring*, that howſoever I have had many ill Offices done me, your Grace will not eaſily depart from that Opinion you have hitherto conceived of me; for which I humbly thank your Grace, and intreat the Continuance of it no longer than I ſhall be able to make good the Integrity of my Heart unto you. But that which with all Humility and Importunity I ſue for at your Grace's Hands, is, to let me know my Accuſer; and if your Grace think it unſeaſonable now, that I may have a Promiſe to know him at your Return. Whatſoever, or how great ſoever he be (though Reſpect and Reverence of thoſe Eyes which ſhall read theſe Lines

Lines make me forbear ill Language now) I ſhall dare to tell him whatſoever becomes a wronged Innocence to ſay. In the mean time, I deſpiſe him, if there be any ſuch that hath accuſed me, ſince your Grace's Departure, to have done, or ſaid, or given way to the hearing of any thing that may be wreſted to the Impeachment of my Faith and ſincere Profeſſions towards your Grace: And yet, till it come to the Tryal, I rely (as I wrote to Sir *George Goring*) no leſs upon your Grace's Wiſdom and Goodneſs, than my own Innocency, that ſuch Calumnies ſhall not leſſen the Eſtimation I had with you; wherein being moſt confident, praying for the Continuance and Increaſe of your Grace's Honour and Happineſs, I remain,

Your Grace's moſt humble and devoted Servant,
Richard Weſton.

July 17. 1623.

Sir Richard Weſton, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Humbly thank your Grace for the Meſſage I received from you yeſterday by Mr. *Packer*: And withal, I humbly beſeech your Grace to believe, that no Man ſhould condemn me more then I would my ſelf, if I had omitted any poſſible diligence, either to intereſt, or acquaint your Grace with the Commiſſion of the Treaſury. Wherein I appeal to Mr. Secretary *Conway*, who firſt declared His Majeſty's pleaſure unto me; which I could not aſcribe more to any cauſe, then your Grace's Favour, and good Opinion of me: And at my laſt being with your Grace, I began to ſpeak with you of it; but finding your Grace to grow into ſome indiſpoſition, I forbore, thinking it not only Incivility, but a Violence, to have ſpoken any thing of my ſelf to your Grace at that time. This I intreated Sir *George Goring* to relate unto your Grace, and withal, to renew the profeſſions of my love and reverence to your Grace's Perſon; which I had rather make good by real performances, then by words, and therefore I will trouble your Grace no longer upon this ſubject.

I am now extreamly importuned by the Earl of *Middleſex*, to ſollicite His Majeſty for the Firſt Teſtimony of his gracious diſpoſition towards him: And your Grace remembers, that in the Beginning of his Lordſhip's troubles, His Majeſty commanded me to deliver unto His Majeſty whatſoever his Lordſhip ſhould petition of him.

Now I humbly beſeech your Grace, to direct me what to do: His Lordſhip ſues for his enlargement, and, I know, deſires to derive that favour from His Majeſty by your Grace's mediation. And I am careful to perform all Duties, my Obedience to His Majeſty, my reſpect to your Grace, and my care of him (that relieth upon me) being in affliction. And therefore, I humbly beſeech your Grace, to vouchſafe me an Anſwer to this particular, becauſe His Majeſty goeth from hence to Morrow, and the Earl of *Middleſex* will languiſh with expectation, till he receive ſome comfort from him. And ſo continually praying for the increaſe of you Grace's health, I remain

Your Grace's moſt humble Servant,
Richard Weſton.

May 29. 1624.

Sir Richard Weſton, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Have, according to His Majeſty's Command ſignified to me by Mr. Secretary *Conway*, delivered to the Earl of *Middleſex* His Majeſty's pleaſure concerning his Fine: The news of it did extreamly diſmay him, as being far contrary to his expectation. He uſed not many words; but thereof I having given Mr. Secretary a Particular Account, in Anſwer of the Charge I received from his Majeſty, I will not trouble your Grace with the Repetition of them.

The chief cauſe of this unto your Grace, is, to acquaint your Grace with a Short Dialogue that paſſed between Mr. *Brett* and me, touching his Penſion.

He ſent his Man to me this Week, to demand it; to whom I made this anſwer, That the Charge of the Progreſs being ſetled, I would conſider of the payment of his Maſters Penſion, amongſt others; before which time I could not, in that caſe, give ſatisfaction to any. He went away with this anſwer; and immediately after (within leſs then a Quarter of an Hour) Mr. *Brett* himſelf came to me, and asked me at the firſt word, Whether I had any Command to ſtay his Penſion? I replied, No other command than the want of Money. He told me, That the reſt of his fellows were paid. I ſaid, It was true, I was to have care of them that immediately followed his Majeſty, when I was forced to intreat others to have patience till more Moneys came in. He asked me again, Whether I had any Command to ſtay his? I anſwered as before; wherewith he parted from me, as it ſeemed, not pleaſed.

This,

This, peradventure, is not worth troubling your Grace withal; but that, becauſe his Majeſty was pleaſed to acquaint me with his juſt Indignation againſt him at *Wanſteed*, I would be glad to receive ſome direction, what anſwer I ſhall make, upon his next importunity. And ſo humbly intreating your Grace ever to number me amongſt thoſe that do moſt honour and pray for you, I remain,

Your Grace's moſt humble and faithful Servant,
Richard Weſton.

Chelſey, July 23. 1624.

Sir Richard Weſton, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Did ſcarce eſteem my Letter worthy your Grace's reading, much leſs worthy your pains to anſwer it: It is my duty, upon all occaſions, great and ſmall, to pay unto your Grace thoſe Obſervances I owe you; and when your Grace vouchſafes to take knowledge of them, it is your favour; and therefore I humbly thank your Grace for vouchſaving an anſwer.

I have, according to his Majeſty's Commandment, ſignified by your Grace unto me, taken the beſt Order I can about the Wardſhip of the Lady *Craven's* Son. The moſt of the Officers of the Court of Wards being out of the Town, I have ſpoken with Sir *Benjamin Ruddiard*, who aſſured me, that there is nothing yet done, nor can be, till there be a Maſter, or that the Officers meet together; and that he will take care that nothing ſhall be done to the prejudice of his Majeſty.

And for the more caution, I have commanded the Clerk of the Court, if any Man Petition, or Sue about the Wardſhip, that there be no proceeding till he acquaint me with it. This is all can be done for the preſent; and thereof I think fit to give your Grace account, in anſwer of the Charge I have received from his Majeſty. And ſo humbly craving leave to kiſs your Grace's hands, I wiſh your Grace continual increaſe of Honour and Happineſs, and remain

Your Grace's humble and faithful Servant,
Richard Weſton.

Chelſey, Aug. 12. 1624.

The Lord Wimbledon, *to the Duke.*

My gracious Lord,

IT hath not a little troubled your faithful Servant, at my laſt being with your Excellency in *White-Hall* Garden, to underſtand (after I had attended ſo long) that I had ill offices done me to his Majeſty, and yet the World is of opinion, that I have your Excellency's Favour. I preſently went home, and ever ſince I have muſed and conſidered, and can find no Reaſon or Policy for my being kept from his Majeſty's preſence, which maketh me and my near Friends aſtoniſhed. For hitherto I have received no Favour, but rather the moſt ſtricteſt Proceeding that ever was uſed (and without Example) to any Man that had ſuch a Charge.

And whereas, there is no Commiſſion of any Force, or Validity, without the Aſſiſtance of the State, and Prince he ſerveth; for he that commandeth is but one Man, and the reſt are many Thouſands, which are great odds, yet I have been publickly heard before the whole body of the Council (my Adverſaries ſtanding by) ſo curiouſly, as nó Inquiſition could have done more.

For firſt, I was examined upon mine Inſtructions, then upon my Acts of Council, then upon my Journal, then upon a Journal compounded of Ten ſundry Perſons, which were under my Command both Land-men and Sea-men, which was never heard of before; and I did not only anſwer in particular to all Points that were demanded, but by Writing, which is extant: yet cannot I get any Judgment or Report made to his Majeſty, but rather time is given to my Enemies (as I hear) to make an ill Report of me and my Actions to the King. But when I was to be accuſed, there was no time delayed nor deferred, and ſuch Men as I have proved guilty, and failed in the principal Point of the Service, to have fired and deſtroyed the Shipping, are neither examined, nor any thing ſaid againſt them, which is ſtrange, eſpecially Sir *Michael Geere*. So that I know not how my Lord of *Eſſex* can take any thing ill from your Excellency, unleſs it be to have you do Injuſtice, or againſt all Reaſon. He may rather give your Excellency many Thanks, that his Lordſhip is not called into Queſtion for letting paſs the King of *Spain's* Ships, that offered him Fight, which would have been the Chief Service, having Inſtructions not to let any flye, or break out, without fighting with them.

Now

Now (my Lord) I humbly beſeech your Excellency to conſider my Caſe, that hath been ſo ſeverely examined, and no body elſe, and that after my examination I have lingred ſo long in my Wrongs and Diſgraces, and by the ill Offices your Grace doth ſee are done me to his Majeſty, which will rather encreaſe than diminiſh, ſo long as I ſhall be kept from the preſence of his Majeſty, that is, I know, of himſelf the juſteſt Prince in the World, and yet to be in your Excellency's Favour.

And I hold my ſelf clear of all Imputations, in deſpight of all Malice and Practice, that hath been againſt me, to obſcure all my Endeavours which my Adverſaries in their Conſciences can beſt witneſs, that when they ſlept, I waked; when they made good chear, I faſted; and when they reſted, I toiled. And beſides, when they went about to hinder the Journey at *Plimouth*, by railing on the beggarlineſs of it, and diſcrediting of it, I was content to take it upon me, though againſt my Judgment, as I did ſecretly deliver both to his Majeſty and your Grace, before I departed from the Coaſt: Nominating, in my Letter to his Majeſty, all the Inconveniences that did after happen unto the Fleet: for had it not been in my Obedience to his Majeſty, and my good Affection to your Excellency, (that I did ſee ſo much affect it, and was ſo far engaged) I would rather have been torn in pieces, than to have gone with ſo many ignorant and malicious People, that did ſhew ſo little Affection or Courage to his Majeſty's Service, or any Affection at all to your Excellency. Yet for all this, all hath been laid upon me, having had rather hard Courſes taken againſt me, than any way maintained in my Commiſſion which was given me, which no State, that I ever heard of, did before. I pray God his Majeſty's future Service do not ſuffer for it; for where his Majeſty's Officers are not obeyed, he can never be ſerved.

Wherefore my ſuit is, that if I have any ill Offices done me to his Majeſty, that I may clear my ſelf before him by your favour, which I have ſo long attended after; or by way of Petition, which the meaneſt Subject is not to be hindred in; for as I continue now, I have not only wrong done to me, but I ſuffer as much puniſhment (without any Fault) as if I had been condemned.

And that your Excellency will do me the favour to deal plainly with me, to let me know why I am deferred from his Majeſty's preſence, which is not denied to any, having receiv'd much wrong.

If my ſuffering be to add any Service to your Affairs in theſe troubleſome times, let but this honeſt Friend of mine know ſo much, and I will ſuffer any inconvenience, as I have, Miſery, Danger, and decay of my Fortunes, for your Excellency's ſake. And ſo I reſt,

28. April, 1622.

Your Excellency's moſt devoted, and faithful, and thankful Servant and Creature,
Wimbledon.

The Lord Wimbledon, *to the Duke.*

My gracious Lord,

I Underſtand, that it pleaſed the Lords to grant the Colonels leave to accuſe me anew; and they have taken to them the moſt diſcontented Sea-men they could get, to help their Malice forward. I had thought, that before my coming they ſhould have had time and advantage ſufficiently to have ſhewn all their Envy: And I was perſwaded, that they could not have deſired more, than to have been preſent when I ſhould be examin'd, and my Journal read. At the reading whereof, they took all the exception that might be, and I did anſwer them all in your Excellency's preſence, as I thought, fully; whereupon they ſeemed to be ſo content, as they had no more to ſay; neither did they, at that time, deſire to make a Journal, or to ſay any more.

Then the Lords Reſolutions were only to hear the Sea-men ſpeak, upon whom all the Buſineſs did lie. If they may be ſuffer'd, upon new Combinations, to bring new Slanders upon me, I cannot tell what to think of it. But this I can ſay, that if this courſe be taken, his Majeſty will never be without a mutinous Army (which all States, in policy, do ſhun.) For when the common Souldiers ſhall ſee their Chiefs give them ſuch Examples, they will ſoon follow; being that all Armies are ſubject to it, eſpecially a new Army. I had thought that one tryal had been ſufficient, being it was before ſuch an Aſſembly. But if I ſhould be accuſed, I ſhould deſire to have new Accuſers, and not the ſame that have already accuſed me (for ſo there would be no end) and that, upon their Petition, I might have been heard what I could juſtly ſay, why they ſhould not have leave to make a Journal, and not to give them leave before I were heard. I am afraid, there was never any ſuch Preſident before; and what Inconveniencies may come of it, Time will ſhew.

I have ſought to none of the Lords, as I fear my Enemies have done (I know not whether I ſhall ſuffer for it, or no) but my Truſt hath only been in your Excellency, and the juſtneſs of my Cauſe. I have been your Excellency's Officer in as difficult and as miſerable an Action as ever any one hath undertaken, and with as little aſſiſtance as ever any one had: For many of thoſe that ſhould have aſſiſted me, were more careful in betraying me, than in forwarding his Majeſty's Service: And if this

courſe

courſe be held to encourage them, there is no Man ſhall ſuffer more than his Majeſty's Service will. For it will be folly for any Man to look to his Majeſty's Service, or to take any pains to prevent or hinder that which may be committed againſt it, but to let every Man do what he will; ſo all will be pleaſed; and he that Commands, ſhall have no Man to ſlander him, which is the way to live in quiet.

Thus much, I thought, was fit for me to let your Excellency underſtand; and withal, that I held it a great unhappineſs for me (that have taken ſuch toil and pains, and ſuffered ſo many ſlanders) to be kept back by my Enemies from that Honour that never any one of my Rank and Place was hindred in, which is, from kiſſing the Hand of my Sovereign Lord the King. All Power is in your Lordſhip's Hands, whether you will uphold me in my juſt Cauſe, or no, or let me be ruinated for want of it: So that I can ſay no more, but that if I ſuffer, I ſhall be your Excellency's Martyr; if not, I ſhall all my Life reſt

Your Excellency's moſt humble, and
moſt thankful Servant and Creature,
Wimbledon.

Sir Francis Walſingham, *Secretary, to Monſieur* Critoy, *Secretary of* France.

SIR,

WHereas you deſire to be advertiſed touching the proceedings here in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, becauſe you ſeem to note in them ſome inconſtancy and variation, as if we ſometimes inclined to one ſide, ſometimes to another; and as if that Clemency and Lenity were not uſed of late that was uſed in the beginning: All which you impute to your own ſuperficial Underſtaning of the Affairs of this State; having, notwithſtanding, her Majeſty's doing in ſingular reverence as the real Pledges which ſhe hath given unto the World of her ſincerity in Religion, and of her Wiſdom in Government, well meriteth. I am glad of this occaſion to impart that little I know in that matter to you, both for your own ſatisfaction, and to the end you may make uſe thereof towards any that ſhall not be ſo modeſtly and ſo reaſonably minded as you are. I find therefore her Majeſty's Proceedings to have been grounded upon two Principles.

1. The one, That Conſciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced, by the force of Truth, with the aid of Time, and the uſe of all good Means of Inſtruction and Perſwaſion.

2. The other, That the Cauſes of Conſcience wherein they exceed their Bounds, and grow to be matter of Faction, loſe their Nature; and that Sovereign Princes ought diſtinctly to puniſh the practice in contempt, though coloured with the Pretence of Conſcience and Religion.

According to theſe Principles, her Majeſty at her coming to the Crown, utterly diſliking the tyrany of *Rome*, which had uſed by terror and rigor to ſettle Commandments of Men's Faiths and Conſciences, though as a Prince of great Wiſdom and Magnanimity ſhe ſuffered but the exerciſe of one Religion, yet her proceedings towards the Papiſts was with great Lenity, expecting the good effects which time might work in them: And therefore her Majeſty revived not the Laws made in the 28 and 35 year of her Father's Reign, whereby the Oath of Supremacy might have been offered at the King's pleaſure to any Subject, though he kept his Conſcience never ſo modeſtly to himſelf; and the refuſal to take the ſame Oath without further circumſtance was made Treaſon. But contrariwiſe, her Majeſty not liking to make Windows into Men's Hearts and ſecret Thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and expreſs Acts or Affirmations, tempered her Laws ſo, as it reſtraineth every manifeſt diſobedience, in impugning and impeaching adviſedly and maliciouſly her Majeſty's Supream Power, maintaining and extolling a foreign Juriſdiction. And as for the Oath, it was altered by her Majeſty into a more grateful form, the hardneſs of the Name and Appellation of Supream Head was removed, and the Penalty of the Refuſal thereof, turn'd only into diſablement to take any promotion, or to exerciſe any Charge, and yet with liberty of being re-inveſted therein, if any Man ſhould accept thereof during his Life. But after, when *Pius Quintus* had excommunicated her Majeſty, and the Bulls of Excommunication were publiſhed in *London*, whereby her Majeſty was in a ſort proſcribed; and that thereupon, as upon a principal Motive or Preparative, followed the Rebellion in the North; yet becauſe the ill Humors of the Realm were by that Rebellion partly purged and that ſhe feared at that time no foreign invaſion, and much leſs the attempt of any within the Realm not back'd by ſome potent Succor from without, ſhe contented her ſelf to make a Law againſt that ſpecial caſe of bringing and publiſhing of any Bulls or the like Inſtruments; whereunto was added a prohibition upon pain not of Treaſon, but of an inferior degree of puniſhment, againſt the bringing in of *Agnus Dei*, hallowed Bread, and ſuch other merchandiſe of *Rome*, as are well known not to be any eſſential part of the *Romiſh* Religion, but only to be uſed in practice as Love-Tokens, to enchant the Peoples Affections from their Allegiance to their natural Sovereign. In all other points her Majeſty continued her former Lenity: But when, about the 20th year of her Reign, ſhe had diſcover'd in the

King

King of *Spain* an intention to invade her Dominions, and that a principal point of the Plot was to prepare a Party within the Realm that might adhere to the Foreigner; and that the Seminaries began to bloſſom and to ſend forth daily Prieſts and profeſſed Men, who ſhould by Vow taken at Shrift, reconcile her Subjects from their Obedience, yea and bind many of them to attempt againſt her Majeſty's ſacred Perſon; and that by the Poyſon which they ſpread the Humors of moſt Papiſts were altered, and that they were no more Papiſts in Conſcience and of ſoftneſs, but Papiſts in Faction, then were there new Laws made for the puniſhment of ſuch as ſhould ſubmit themſelves to ſuch Reconcilements or Renunciations of Obedience. And becauſe it was Treaſon carried in the Clouds, and in wonderful ſecrecy, and came ſeldom to light; and that there was no pre-ſuſpicion thereof ſo great as the Recuſants to come to Divine Service, becauſe it was ſet down by their Decrees, that to come to Church before reconcilement, was abſolutely heretical and damnable: Therefore there were added Laws containing puniſhment pecuniary againſt ſuch Recuſants, not to enforce Conſcience, but to enfeeble and impoveriſh the means of thoſe of whom it reſteth indifferent and ambiguous, whether they were reconciled or no. And when notwithſtanding all this proviſion, this Poyſon was diſperſed ſo ſecretly, as that there was no means to ſtay it, but by reſtraining the Merchants that brought it in; then laſtly there was added another Law, whereby ſuch ſeditious Prieſts of new erection were exiled, and thoſe that were at that time within the Land ſhipp'd over, and ſo commanded to keep hence upon pain of Treaſon.

This hath been the proceeding, though intermingled not only with ſundry Examples of her Majeſty's Grace towards ſuch as in her Wiſdom ſhe knew to be Papiſts in Conſcience, and not in Faction and Singularity, but alſo with an ordinary mitigation towards the Offenders in the higheſt degree committed by Law, if they would but proteſt that in caſe this Realm ſhould be invaded with a foreign Army by the Pope's Authority for the Catholick Cauſe, as they term it, they would take Party with her Majeſty, and not adhere to her Enemies. For the other part which have been offenſive to this State, though in other degree, which named themſelves Reformers, and we commonly call Puritans, this hath been the proceeding towards them a great while: When they inveigh'd againſt ſuch Abuſes in the Church, as Pluralities, Non-reſidence, and the like; their Zeal was not condemned, only their violence was ſometimes cenſured: When they refuſed the uſe of ſome Ceremonies and Rites as ſuperſtitious, they were tolerated with much connivance and gentleneſs; yea, when they called in queſtion the Superiority of Biſhops, and pretended to bring a Democracy into the Church, yet their Propoſitions were heard, conſidered, and by contrary Writings debated and diſcuſſed. Yet all this while it was perceived that their courſe was dangerous and very popular: As becauſe Papiſtry was odious, therefore it was ever in their mouths, that they ſought to purge the Church from thy Relicks of Popery, a thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run from one Extream to another. Becauſe multitudes of Rogues and Poverty, were an eye-ſore and diſlike to every Man; therefore they put it into the People's head, That if Diſcipline wer plaintive, there ſhould be no Beggars nor Vagabonds; a thing very plauſible. And in like manner they promiſe the People many other impoſſible Wonders of their Diſcipline; beſides, they opened the People a way to Government by their Conſiſtory and Presbytery, a thing though in conſequence no leſs prejudicial to the Liberties of private Men, than to the Sovereignty of Princes, yet in the firſt ſhew very popular. Nevertheleſs this (except it were in ſome few that entred into extream contempt) was born with, becauſe they pretended but in dutiful manner to make Propoſitions, and to leave it to the Providence of God, and the Authority of the Magiſtrate; but now of late years, when there iſſued from them a Colony of thoſe that affirmed the Conſent of the Magiſtrate was not to be attended; when under pretence of a Confeſſion to avoid Slanders and Imputations, they combined themſelves by Claſſes and Subſcriptions; when they deſcended into that vile and baſe means of defacing the Government of the Church by ridiculous Paſquils; when they began to make any Subjects in doubt to take an Oath, which is one of the fundamental points of Juſtice in this Land and in all places; when they began both to vaunt of their ſtrength and number of their Partizans and Followers, and to uſe the Communications that their Cauſe would prevail, though with uprore and violence; then it appeared to be no more Zeal, no more Conſcience, but meer Faction and Diviſion: And therefore though the State were compelled to hold ſomewhat a harder hand to reſtrain them than before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church and State could permit. And therefore, to conclude, conſider uprightly of theſe matters, and you ſhall ſee her Majeſty is no Temporizer in Religion. It is not the ſucceſs abroad, nor the change of Servants here at home, can alter her; only as the things themſelves alter ſo ſhe applied her religious Wiſdom to correſpond unto them, ſtill retaining the two Rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with Conſciences, and yet in diſcovering Faction from Conſcience. Fatewel,

Your loving Friend,
Francis Walſingham.

Dr. Williams, *to the Duke.*

My moſt Noble Lord,

IT hath pleaſed God to call for the Biſhop of *London*. I am ſo conſcious of mine own Weakneſs and Undeſervings, that, as I never was, ſo now I dare not be a Suitor for ſo great a Charge. But if his Majeſty, by your Honours Mediation, ſhall reſolve to call me to perform him the beſt Service I can in that place, I humbly beſeech your Honour to admit me a Suitor in theſe three Circumſtances.

Firſt, That whereas my Lord of *London* hath ſurvived our Lady-day, and received all the Profits that ſhould maintain a Biſhop until *Michaelmas*, I may by his Majeſty's Favor retain all my own Means untill the next Day after *Michaelmas* Day; this is a Petition which I ſhall be neceſſitated to make unto his Majeſty (if his Majeſty by your Favour ſhall advance me to this place) and injureth no Man elſe in the World.

Secondly, That whereas the Commiſſioners challenge from the Biſhops Revenues a Matter of 200 *l. per annum* (this Biſhoprick being already very meanly endowed in regard of the continual Charge and Exhauſtments of the place) it would pleaſe his Majeſty to leave in my Hands (by way of *Commendam*) one Benefice of mine, which falls into his Majeſty's Diſpoſe upon my Remove, until it be determined by the ſaid Commiſſioners, whether any part of the Biſhops Means be due unto the Fabrick. My humble Suit is for *Walgrave*, a Benefice with Cure in *Northamptonſhire*, where I have laid out all my Eſtate in temporal Lands.

Laſtly, That if it be found, that the Biſhop is to joyn with the Reſidentiaries of *Pauls* in the Repair of the Church, his Majeſty would qualifie me by a *Commendam*, to hold one of my own Prebends, when it ſhall fall to be a Reſidentiary alſo; that if I be charged with the Burthen of Reſidentiary, I might enjoy the Profits of a Reſidentiary.

Theſe three Requeſts do (I confeſs) add unto me, but do not prejudice any one elſe whatſoever. I ſubmit them and my ſelf to your Honours Wiſdom, *&c.*

The Names of ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Promotions as I now retain, and will fall to be diſpoſed of by the King, if I ſhould be removed.

1. Deanry of *Weſtminſter*.
2. Rectory of *Dinam*.
3. Rectory of *Walgrave*.
4. Rectory of *Grafton*.
5. Rectory of *Peterborough*.
6. Chaunter of *Lincoln*.
7. Prebendary of *Asgarbie*.
8. Prebendary of *Nonnington*.
9. Reſidentiaries Place of *Lincoln*.

The Marqueſs Ynioſa, *to the Lord* Conway.

I Anſwered not long ſince to both your Letters, and now I will add this, that only the ſport and Pleaſure that *Don Carlos*, and I, conſider his Majeſty hath in his Progreſs, may make tolerable the deferring (by reaſon of that) and not hearing the News we expect to hear of his Majeſty's good Health. For by that Means we might not only ſatisfie more often our Deſire in this Point (having his Majeſty nearer) but alſo our Deſire to bring theſe Buſineſſes to an end, which are ordinarily more delayed, and leſs well executed, when they are to paſs through the Hands of Miniſters (though they be very zealous, and well affected to it) as theſe Lords are with whom we treat here; who are deſirous that the King ſhould be known for juſt, though unneceſſarily, when nothing is pretended contrary to that which is agreed upon. This Knowledge, whereupon I ground my Reaſons, may perhaps make me (*Sin Embargo*) incur the Cenſure of an impatient Man: But I am perſwaded, that if that which hath been done here had been ſetled there by your Honour, and the Lord *Count* of *Carliſle* (whoſe good Diſpoſition and Proceeding is as much to be eſteemed as it is praiſed by *Don Carlos*, and my ſelf) we would have made an end, and thoſe things which I have ſeen and obſerved here, had not happened unto us. For in the Conference, in which my Lord Keeper did aſſiſt, it was agreed (as we thought) that his Majeſty ſhould give Order to the Judges and Juſtices of Peace, Arch-biſhops and Biſhops ſigned with his Royal Hand under the little Seal within three Months, or at the Princeſs her Arrival. He hath perſiſted afterwards, as alſo Sir *George Calvert*, in that (though it was plain) that his Majeſty would give the ſaid Warrant, afterwards, there being no Term or Day appointed. Nevertheleſs, at laſt we have condeſcended, that it ſhould be within ſix Months, or at her Highneſs Arrival, if ſhe comes afore that time, that we may ſhew how happy we think our ſelves in being Servants to his Majeſty, whom God ſave.

The Diſpatches that we are to have are contained in the Relation here encloſed. I pray you to take Order, that thoſe that are to be ſent back to that Effect may be ſubſcribed and ſealed; for I have deferred the Diſpatching of a Currier (with an evident Danger that he will now arrive too late, and put in hazard a Buſineſs of mine of Conſideration, which obligeth me to diſpatch him) that he may not go without

without them: And that it may not be an Occaſion to doubt of the Aſſurance we have given of his Majeſty's good Will and Intention; whoſe Royal Hands, I and *Don Carlos*, do intreat your Honour to kiſs, in our Name, and to continue us in his Majeſty's good Favour, and your Honour likewiſe in yours; for we deſerve it with a particular Affection, and equal Deſire to ſerve you. God ſave your Honour, as I deſire,

Your Honour's Servant,

Septemb. 5. 1623. *The Marqueſs* Ynioſa.

Sir Henry Yelverton, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

MY humble heart and Affection hath wrote many Lines, and preſented many Petitions to your Grace before this time, though none legible but one ſent by my Lord *Rochford*, within five days after your moſt welcomed Arrival from *Spain*.

I have learned the plain Phraſe of honeſt Speech. My Lord, I have honoured your Name long, and your own Vertue much. I never found Mis-fortune greater than this, that ſtill ſailing after you in all humble Deſires of Duty, I was ſtill caſt behind you. I excuſe nothing, wherein your Grace may judge me faulty, but will be glad to expiate my Errors at any Price.

Your noble Heart (I hope) harbors no Memory of what did then diſtaſt you. Your own Merits which have ſo much enobled you, will be the more compleat, if I may but merit your Forgetfulneſs of Wrongs paſt. If I ſeek your Grace before I deſerve it, enable me, I beſeech you, to Deſerve, that I may ſeek. If any, on whom you have caſt your Eye moſt, endear himſelf more to your Service than I ſhall, let me not follow the Vintage at all. 'Till this Day I feared the Reliſh of ſowre Grapes, though I have ſought you with many broken Sleeps. But this noble Earl, whoſe Honor for this Work ſhall ever with me be ſecond to yours, hath revived me, with the Aſſurance of your gracious Pardon, and liberty to hope, I may be deemed your Servant.

I proteſt to God, it is not the Affluence of your Honor makes me joy in it, nor the Power of your Grace, that trains me on to ſeek it; but let the tryal of your Fortunes ſpeak thus much for me, that I will follow you, not as *Cyrus* his Captains and Souldiers followed him, the one for Spoil, the other for Place; but if with Safety to your Grace, though with Peril to my ſelf, I may ſerve you, let me die if I do it not, rather than want any longer what my humble Love ever led me to, and I ſtill affect the Honour

To be yours,

March 15. 1623. Henry Yelverton.

Sir Henry Yelverton's *Submiſſion in the* Star-Chamber.

My Lords,

I Humbly beſeech you to think that I ſtand not here either to out-face the Court, or to defend this Cauſe otherwiſe than juſtly I may; only I deſire in mine own Perſon to ſecond the Submiſſion which hath been opened by my Councel; for hitherto hath nothing been opened unto you, but that which hath paſſed under the adviſed Pen of others, and hitherto hath appeared from my ſelf neither open nor inward Acknowledgment.

My Lords, it may ſeem ſtrange to the Hearers, that againſt a Bill ſo ſharpned, I ſhould abruptly fall upon a Submiſſion or Confeſſion, whereby I may ſeem to bow down my Neck to the Stroke. But, my Lords, in this I weighed not my ſelf, but I did it to amplifie the Honour and Mercy of his Majeſty, from whom I may ſay Clemency ſprings as the Blood that runs in his own Veins. For, my Lords, when this Charter was ſometime queſtioned, and divers of my Lords here preſent, had out of their great Wiſdoms diſcovered that Shame in it (which I muſt here confeſs I did not then ſee) and had related the ſame to his Majeſty, it pleaſed his Majeſty, out of his great Favour to me, his unworthy Servant, to ſend me this Meſſage by two great honorable Perſons here preſent; and therefore, under your Lordſhips Favour, I think not fit to hide ſo great a Favour of his Majeſty from the Eyes of the People, who offered to my Choice either to ſubmit to himſelf in private, or defend here openly; and when I ſaw I fell into ſuch faithful Hands, I remember my Anſwer then was, That the Offer was gracious, and the Choice was eaſie, and his Mercy free. After, came this Information againſt me: I took it but as tryal whether I would make his Majeſty King of my Confidence, or not: And though there was offered unto me and my Councel ſuch a way of Defence as I might have eſcaped, yet I proteſt I did reject it, becauſe I would not diſtruſt his Majeſty's Mercy to let go the Anchorhold I had thereof; and whatſoever becomes of me, I proteſt I ſhall ſtill honour the King, though I go lame to my Grave. I humbly confeſs the manifold Errors of this Charter to your Lordſhips, wherein I have

miſcarried; and I beſeech his Majeſty and your Lordſhips to think they are rather crept in unawares, than uſher'd in by Conſent. The Errors are of divers Natures; ſome of Negligence, ſome of Ignorance, ſome of Miſpriſion; I miſtook many things, I was improvident in ſome things, too credulous in all things. But I who was choſen when I had ſo much provoked his Majeſty by my unexperienced Years, and having ſince found ſo many Favours from his Majeſty's Hands, and this day having ſerved him full ſeven years, who this day hath tranſlated me from a low Eſtate, unto a Place whereof I enjoy now only the Name, and now ſince hath ſo much quickned and enlightned me by his gracious Countenance, and aſſured me by his daily Favours to make me to depend upon him; and that I ſhould deliberately and determinately take any Flowers from his Crown, to place them on the Heads of others, or to betray his Majeſty's Intereſt into the Hands of others, I hope his Majeſty will vouchſafe me ſo much Favour not to value me at ſo low a Rate, as to think theſe things came in *de induſtria*: For if I had felt any ſuch Eccho ariſe in my Breaſt, I proteſt I would have laid Hands on my ſelf, and judged my ſelf unworthy of any Society.

My Lords, the Corruption of my Hands is far inferior to the Corruption of the Heart; and the Hand that runs wilfully into Error, works meerly from the Corruption of the Heart, and that makes it the more inexcuſable; as the Bleeding of a Wound inwardly ever becomes mortal; and were I conſcious to my ſelf, I would not have any Colour of Excuſe. I thank his Majeſty's Council, that howſoever theſe Hands were at firſt miſtruſted, yet ſince they are not at all miſdoubted, nor the leaſt Corruption laid to my Charge. But this doth moſt grieve me, that that my faithfulneſs to his Majeſty ſhould be ſuſpected: And I humbly deſire upon my Knees that, his Clemency, in this caſe, may ſtop the Iſſue of his Juſtice; that though a long time his Face hath been hid, yet now at length his Mercy will break through the Clouds, to ſupport me that am now fallen. I lay my ſelf at his Majeſty's Feet, to do with me as it pleaſeth him, and humbly deſire his Majeſty would take me to his own Sentence. I never thought of my ſelf otherwiſe than Clay in his Majeſty's Hands, to mould me to Honour or Diſhonour. When I look and behold this Solemnity and Spectacle about me, I make no other account of it than *Pompa mortis*; and ſuch a Prince as he is, knows that Life and Reputation are equal, if the laſt be not the greateſt: I know your Lordſhips have ſuch Power, and his Majeſty takes ſuch Pleaſure in you, you are ſo dear in his Eyes, that he can deny you nothing, and therefore I would deſire you that you would be Suitors in my Behalf, that his Favor might once again ſhine upon me. I know his Grace and Clemency ſleepeth, if I be not unworthy to partake, and the rather, becauſe the River that did run another way, is now turned into the Sea again, and the Charter given up, ſurrendred and cancelled. I know much Life might be added to the Sinews of my Happineſs by your Lordſhips Interceſſions for me; in vouchſafing whereof I ſhall pledge a perpetual Aſſurance of better Service for the time to come, and ſhall be bound and engaged to every one of your Lordſhips: ſo that my Deſire is, that his Majeſty might firſt be acquainted with this Submiſſion, before you proceed into the Merits of the Cauſe, remaining ſtill a Priſoner to his Juſtice, knowing his Majeſty may, if he pleaſe, turn me to Vanity.

An APPENDIX *Of ſuch Letters as by accident were omitted, and not placed in their due Order; yet are referred to, in the Table.*

King James, *to Pope* Gregory *the* 15*th.*

James, *by the Grace of God, King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith,* &c. *To the moſt Holy Father, Pope* Gregory *the* 15th. *Greeting, and all manner of Felicity.*

Moſt Holy Father,

YOUR Holineſs will perhaps marvel, that we differing from you in point of Religion, ſhould now firſt ſalute you with our Letters: Howbeit, ſuch is the Trouble of our Mind for theſe Calamitous Diſcords and Bloodſheds, which for theſe late Years by-paſt have ſo miſerably rent the Chriſtian World, and ſo great is our Care, and daily Sollicitude to ſtop the Courſe of theſe growing Evils betimes, ſo much as in us lies, as we could no longer abſtain, conſidering that we all worſhip the ſame moſt bleſſed Trinity, nor hope for Salvation by any other Means, than by the Blood and Merits of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus; but breaking this Silence to move your Holineſs by theſe our Letters, friendly and ſeriouſly, that you would be pleaſed, together with us, to put your Hand to ſo pious a Work, and ſo worthy of a Chriſtian Prince.

It

It is, truly, to be wiſhed, and by all means to be endeavoured, that this Miſchief creep on no farther, but that theſe Storms at the laſt ceaſing, and the Rancor being removed, by which they were at the firſt raiſed, the Hearts of thoſe Princes, whom it any way concerns, may be re-united in a firm and unchangeable Friendſhip, and, as much as may be, knit together in ſtricter Obligations than before, one unto another.

This we have always had in our Deſires, and, to bring it to paſs, have not hitherto ſpared any Labour or Pains, not doubting but your Holineſs, out of your ſingular Piety, and for the Credit and Authority that you have with the Parties, both may and will further this Work in an extraordinary Manner. No way can any Man better merit of the ſtate of Chriſtendom, which if it ſhall take the deſired Effect in your Days, and by your Aſſiſtance, your Holineſs ſhall worthily reap the Glory and the Reward due to ſo excellent a Work.

That which remains for us further to ſay concerning this Matter, this Gentleman, our Subject, *George Gage* will deliver unto you more at large. Praying your Holineſs, that you will give him in all things full Credence and Belief, beſeeching Almighty God from our Heart to preſerve you in Safety, and to grant you all other Happineſs.

From our Palace at Hampton-Court, *the laſt of* September, 1622.

Sir John Eliot, *to the Duke.*

Right Honourable,

WIth what Affection I have ſerved your Grace, I deſire rather it ſhould be read in my Actions, then my Words, which made me ſparing in my laſt Relation to touch thoſe Difficulties wherewith my Letters have been checkt, that they might the more fully ſpeak themſelves. I ſhall not ſeek to gloſs them now, but, as they have been, leave them to your Grace's Acceptance, which I preſume ſo noble, that Scandal or Detraction cannot decline it. It were an Injury of your Worth, which I dare not attempt, to inſinuate the Opinion of any Merit by falſe Colours or Pretences, or with hard Circumſtances to endear my Labours, and might beget Suſpition, ſooner than Aſſurance in your Credit, which I may not hazard. My Innocence, I hope, needs not theſe; nor wou'd I ſhadow the leaſt Errour under your Protection. But where my Services have been faithful, and not altogether vain, directed truly to the Honour and Benefit of your Place, only ſuffering upon the Diſadvantage of your Abſence, I muſt importune your Grace to ſupport my Weakneſs, that it may cauſe no prejudice of your Rights and Liberties, which I have ſtudied to preſerve, though with the loſs of mine own. My Inſiſtance therein hath expoſed me to a long Impriſonment, and great Charge, which ſtill increaſeth, and threatens the Ruine of my poor Fortunes, if they be not ſpeedily prevented. For which, as my Endeavours have been wholly yours, I moſt humbly crave your Grace's Favour both to my ſelf, and them; in which I am devoted

Your Grace's thrice humble Servant,

Novemb. 8. 1623. J. Eliot.

The Lord Cromwell, *to the Duke.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Am now returned from mine own Home, and am here at *Fulham* near Mr. *Burlemachi*, making my ſelf ready to attend your Command in the beſt manner my poor Fortunes will give me leave, and with what Speed I may. Some things I have ſent to *Plymouth*, and ſome Gentlemen, ſo as when I come there, I hope to find that your Lordſhip hath appointed me a good ſailing Ship, and one that ſhall be able to play her part with the beſt and proudeſt Enemy that dare look Danger in the Face.

Though your Grace hath placed a Noble Gentleman in the Regiment was intended to my Lord of *Eſſex*, yet I will not deſpair of your Favor, or that you will not give me ſome Taſte of it, as well as to any other. I will ſtudy to be a deſerving Creature; and whether you will pleaſe to look on me with an affectionate Eye or no, I will love, honour and ſerve you with no leſs Truth and Faith than thoſe you have moſt obliged. What concerns me, I will not here ſpeak of, for fear I offend. My Prayers ſhall ever attend you, and my Curſes thoſe that wiſh you worſe than their own Souls. Divers I do meet, that ſay your Grace hath parted with your Place of the Maſterſhip of the Horſe, which makes the World ſuſpect, that ſome Diſfavour your Lordſhip is growing into: And that this prime Feather of yours being loſt, or parted with (be it as it will) it will not be long ere the reſt follow.

They offer to lay Wagers, the Fleet goes not this Year, and that of neceſſity ſhortly a Parliament muſt be; which when it comes, ſure it will much diſcontent you. It is wondred at, that ſince the King did give ſuch great Gifts to the Dutcheſs of *Cheverux*, and thoſe that then went, how now a ſmall Sum in the Parliament ſhould be called for at ſuch an unſeaſonable time: And let the Parliament ſit

when

when it will, begin they will where they ended. They ſay, the beſt Lords of the Council knew nothing of Count *Mansfelt*'s Journey, or this Fleet, which diſcontents even the beſt ſort, if not all; They ſay, it is a very great Burthen your Grace takes upon you, ſince none knows any thing but you. It is conceived, that not letting others bear part of the Burthen you now bear, it may ruine you (which Heaven forbid.) Much Diſcourſe there is of your Lordſhip here and there; as I paſſed home and back, and nothing is more wondred at, than that one grave Man is not known to have your Ear, except my good and noble Lord *Conway*. All Men ſay, if you go not with the Fleet, you will ſuffer in it, becauſe, if it proſper, it will be thought no act of yours; and if it ſucceed ill, they ſay, it might have been better, had not you guided the King. They ſay, your Undertakings in the Kingdom, and your Engagements for the Kingdom, will much prejudice your Grace.

And if God bleſs you not with Goodneſs, as to accept kindly what in Duty and Love I here offer; queſtionleſs my Freedom in letting you know the Diſcourſe of the World may much prejudice me. But if I muſt loſe your Favour, I had rather loſe it for ſtriving to do you good, in letting you know the Talk of the wicked World, than for any thing elſe; ſo much I heartily deſire your Proſperity, and to ſee you trample the ignorant Multitude under foot.

All I have ſaid is the Diſcourſe of the World; and when I am able to judge of your Actions, I will freely tell your Lordſhip my Mind; hich when it ſhall not be always really inclined to ſerve you, may all noble Thoughts forſake me. Becauſe I ſeldom am honoured with your Ear, I thus make bold with your all-diſcerning Eye, which I pray God may be enabled with Power and Strength, daily to ſee into them that deſire your Ruine; which if it once be, I will never believe, but ſo good a King will conſtantly enable you daily with Power to confound them.

Many Men would not be thus bold and ſaucy. If I find you diſtaſte me for my Reſpect to you, I will reſpect my poor ſelf (who ever hath honoured you) ſo much, as hereafter to be ſilent. So I kiſs the noble Hands of your Grace.

Septemb. 8. 1625.

Your Lordſhip's Servant, during Life,
Tho. Cromwell.

The Lord Conway, *to the Earl of* Briſtol.

My Lord,

I Received a Letter from your Lordſhip, dated the 4*th.* of this Month, written in Anſwer to a former, which I directed to your Lordſhip by his Majeſty's Commandment: This laſt Letter (according to my Duty) I have ſhewed unto his Majeſty; who hath peruſed it, and hath commanded me to write back this unto you again. That he finds himſelf nothing ſatisfied therewith; the queſtion propounded to your Lordſhip from his Majeſty was plain and clear, Whether you did rather chooſe to ſit ſtill without being queſtion'd for any Errors paſt in your Negotiation in *Spain*, and enjoy the Benefit of the late gracious Pardon granted in Parliament, whereof you may have the Benefit; or whether, for the clearing of your Innocency (whereof your ſelf, your Friends, and your Followers are ſo confident) you will be contented to wave the Advantage of that Pardon, and put your ſelf into a legal way of Examination, for the tryal thereof? His Majeſty's purpoſe hereby is not to prevent you of any Favours the Law hath given you; but if your Aſſurance be ſuch as your Words and Letter import, he conceiveth it ſtands not with that publick and reſolute Profeſſion of your Integrity, to decline your Tryal. His Majeſty leaves the Choice to your ſelf, and requires from you a direct Anſwer, without Circumlocution; or bargaining with him for future Favors before-hand.

But if you have a Deſire to make uſe of that Pardon, which cannot be denyed to you, nor is it any way deſired to be taken from you; his Majeſty expects, that you ſhould at leaſt forbear to magnifie your Service, and out of the Opinion of your own Innocency, caſt an Aſperſion upon his Majeſty's Juſtice, in not affording you that preſent Fulneſs of Liberty and Favour, which cannot be drawn from him, but in his own good time, and according to his own good Pleaſure. Thus much I have in command to write unto your Lordſhip, and to require your Anſwer clearly and plainly, by this Meſſenger ſent on purpoſe for it. And ſo, *&c.*

March 24. 1625.

To King James, ab ignoto.

Most wise, and Glorious Prince,

BEcause the Departure of your Majesty doth not permit me to hope for the Honour of seeing you, and that the Advertisements and Orders which I have to communicate unto you, do merit your speedy Review and magnanimous Resolution, I have presumed to trust them unto this Paper, which I do humbly desire may rest in the Hands of your Majesty alone.

The Treaty of restoring all that had been taken by Sea (which by a Motion from *Spain* was put into the Hands of some Ministers in *Rome*) is accompanied with so little hope of obtaining the end that was pretended, that by reason of their continuing at *Naples* to dissipate and waste such Goods as they had taken in our Ships, and the Cardinal *Borgias*'s reservedness to promise any thing, that Negotiation may be held as vain, and as an insidious Invention to gain time. Nevertheless, my Masters marching still with a constant Desire of purchasing the publick Tranquility have been content to render all such Vessels as they had taken within their Gulph, in hope that having gotten the Advantage of the Cause by this honest Proceeding, they might prevail in the Address which they had made at *Naples*, for the Restitution of the Galliasses, and of the Ship called *Rosse*.

But the Actions and Operations of the *Spaniards* do not answer unto what is desired and hoped. For in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Calabria*, they do muster new Souldiers, and they make great Preparations for a War by the Sea. The Subjects of those Kingdoms are taxed with extraordinary Contributions of Money, and in daily Counsels held by the Duke of *Ossuna*, the Marques *Santa Croce*, and other Ministers, they do consult of the Means of making War, and doing hurt. But that which is most important, is, that in the Conjuncture, there is likewise in divers parts of *Spain* a terrible Concourse of great Provisions; for they have put in a readiness Armor for 30000 Men, they have ingrossed all the Ammunition that could be purchased, and have put in good Equipage 60 tall Ships, which being added unto those they have already in the Streights, make 80, at *Naples* they have 20 Ships more, besides all their own Gallies, and an Order they have obtained for the Gallies of *Malta*, *Florence*, and the Pope to joyn with them.

All the *Italian* Souldiers are quartered along the Coast of *Apulia*, which is opposite to our Gulph, and they have 14000 Foot, of *Walloons*, *French* and *Spaniards*, lodged within the Kingdom of *Naples*. In *Flanders*, at this present, they make a new Levy of 6000 Foot and 1000 Horse. And in the State of *Millan*, they do retain still 3000 Horse Supernumeraries. All which Forces and Provisions, as they do deserve for their Greatness to be regarded, and looked upon with a jealous Eye of every one; so those, who do suffer at the present many Injuries and Acts of Hostility at the Hands of the *Spaniard*, and in particular, the State of *Venice*, which is betrayed by their fraudulent Treaties, cannot chuse but fear and doubt, more than any other. Neither can any Pretences of Enterprises or Designs against the Turk, secure those who see the Sword bended against their Breasts, and the Fire kindled in their own Houses.

Whereupon your Majesty is humbly desired, that you will be pleased to consider seriously of what hath been remonstrated, and to take such a resolution as may best befit your Wisdom and Greatness, and the Safety and Indemnity of a State so observant of your Majesty, as ours is, and of a Member so important of the liberty of *Italy*, and of *Europe*. There is not at this day (invincible Sir) any Prince in the whole World, upon whom the Conservation of the publick Tranquility doth more rely, than upon your Majesty: For there being none that doth equal your Majesty in Wisdom and Experience, possessing your Kingdoms in perfect peace, quietness and plenty, to the infinit praise of your Name; and being free from the molestation of all Storms and Tempests, it seemeth that the Eyes of all Men are turn'd towards your Majesty, as towards a Sun that ought to clear the Sky, and that they expect deliverance only from your Hand. These Resolutions (O most wise King) will be the strongest Walls upon which your Eternity can be reared: These will be the Jewels and the Crown, which will adorn you on Earth and in Heaven: These will be the immortal Glory of your powerful Name.

The Resolutions in cases of such weight and danger, ought to be magnanimous, quick and powerful. The very noise of your putting in order your Royal Navy, the sending a person of Quality to the place from whence the danger is feared, and the declaring your self in favour of those whom you shall find to have the right on their side, may perhaps prove sufficient to procure a peace. If Words will not prevail, Deeds must follow; and such a Resolution will prove the true Antidote to all their poysons. For the better effecting whereof, the World doth attend with great Devotion to see a good Correspondency renewed betwixt your Majesty and the *French* King; and for the disposing your Majesty's Heart thereunto, the State of *Venice* doth joyn her humble Prayers unto the earnest Intreaty of many others.

In the mean time, I am to request your Majesty, that you would be pleased to forbid the exportation of Artillery, Ships and Mariners, out of your Kingdoms for the Service of the *Spaniards*, it being neither

neither juſt nor agreeable to your Majeſty's piety, that your Arms ſhould be ſtained with the Blood of a State and Prince, that hath no equal in love to your Royal Crown, and that will ever teſtifie to all the World, by effects of their obſervance, the pure and ſincere Devotion that they have to your glorious Name. For my own particular, I humbly crave leave to kiſs your Royal Hands.

The King of Spain, *to Pope* Urban.

Moſt Holy Father,

I Condeſcended that my Forces ſhould be employ'd in the execution of *Montferrat*, to divert the introduction of Strangers into *Italy*, with ſo evident danger of Religion: I ſuffered the Siege of *Caſſalle* to run on ſo ſlowly, to give time, that by way of Negotiation thoſe Differences might be compoſed with the reciprocal ſatisfaction of the parties intereſſed; and to ſhew in effect, what little reaſon all *Italy* had to be jealous of the Arms of my Crown, for having poſſeſſed many places of importance; ſome I have freely given away, and others, after I had defended them in a time the Owners had need, I preſently reſtored with much liberality. Upon this moderation the Duke of *Nevers*, being hardned againſt the Emperor my Uncle, and he perhaps and other Princes calling thither the moſt Chriſtian King, who not contenting himſelf to have attained that which he publickly profeſſed to deſire; and having left a Garriſon in *Montferrat*, and in *Suſa*, and (as I am told) having fortified ſome places, hath thereby given occaſion to the Emperor my Uncle, to give order his Army ſhould paſs into *Italy*, to maintain the Authority, Juriſdiction and Preheminence of the Empire, with whom I can do no leſs than concur, and give him aſſiſtance, in reſpect of the great and ſtrict Obligation by Blood, of Honour, and of Conveniency which I hold with his Imperial Majeſty, and for the——which I do acknowledge from the ſacred Empire; declaring now, as I have done heretofore, and as my Embaſſadors have told your Holineſs, that in this Buſineſs, I do neither directly nor indirectly aim at any other end of my own particular Intereſt. But, beholding the numerous Armies of the Emperor in *Italy*, and with extream grief foreſeeing the Harms, Inconveniences and Dangers that *Italy* muſt thereby ſuffer in matter of Religion, being that which moſt importeth; I do not only reſent it, in reſpect of that portion which God hath given me in Chriſtendom, but eſpecially as a King and Prince of *Italy*, the peace of thoſe Provinces being diſturbed, which my Progenitors with ſo much Judgment and Providence, and with ſo much Authority and Benefit of the Natives had ſo many years preſerved. Wherefore, I thought it my Duty to preſent unto your Beatitude, that Experience hath demonſtrated that to oppoſe and ſtraigthen the Juriſdiction of the Emperour, and to reſiſt his Commandments, hath brought matters to theſe difficult terms, and this way being ſtill perſiſted in, there muſt needs follow thoſe miſchiefs which we deſire to ſhun. Now the moſt convenient manner how to compoſe theſe Buſineſſes, is that your Holineſs do effectually perſwade the Duke of *Nevers*, to accommodate himſelf to the Juſtice and Obedience of the Emperor, and the King of *France* to re-call his Armies out of *Italy*, and the Princes that do aid *Nevers*, no more to intereſt themſelves in the Buſineſs, even as from the beginning my Miniſters have propounded to your Beautitude; becauſe, this difference being ended juridically, all the Perſons intereſſed ſhall come off with Honour and Reputation, and ſo all of them ſhall have a ground to beſeech the Emperor, that out of his wonted Clemency, he will take off that impreſſion which he juſtly might have conceived againſt the Duke of *Nevers*, whereupon things inclining to this iſſue, I ſhall with a very good will employ my beſt Offices, to the end that ſpeedy and exact Juſtice may be adminiſtred, and alſo that his *Cæſarean* Majeſty may give experimental Effects of his Magnanimity and Stability, deſiring with a moſt ſincere Affection, that ſo much Chriſtian Blood may be ſpared as would be ſpilt in this War, and that thoſe Forces might be employed in the Service, and not to the prejudice of Chriſtendom. Thus have I clearly and ſincerely delivered my meaning unto your Holineſs, to the end that knowing my Intention, you may do thoſe Offices which your manifold Wiſdom ſhall find proper for the place whereto God hath advanced you; and if God for our Sins have decreed to chaſtize Chriſtendom, by continuing the War; let this Diſpatch be a teſtimony of my good Will, and real Intention towards peace; for the proſecuting whereof, I on my part will always embrace any reaſonable and proportionable means. Our Lord God preſerve your Beautitude a thouſand years.

Septemb. 21. 1629.

FINIS.

A TABLE

OF THE

Principal Matters Contained in this *CABALA.*

A.

ANN Bullen Queen of *England*, ſues to King *Henry* for an open Trial, alleadging many cogent Reaſons, and that her Enemies may not be her Accuſers and Judges, proteſts her innocency, declares the cauſe of the King's Change, begs the lives of her Brother, and the other Gentlemen with paſſionate expreſſions. *pag.* 1, 2

Aſhley Sir *Anthony* ſecretly gives Intelligence to the Duke of *Buckingham* of deſigns againſt him, and upon what Grounds. 2

Aſton Sir *Walter*, adviſeth the Duke of *Buckingham* of the arrival of the Diſpenſation. 2, 3

Delivers a Memorial to the King of *Spain*, preſſing a Reſtitution of the Palatinate, by command from the King his Maſter. 3

Congratulates the Duke of *Buckingham* for his Favours in Court, and acquaints him with important paſſages touching the intended Marriage. 3, 4

Informs Secretary *Conway* of the report there of a Treaty of Marriage with *France*, and *Olivarez* of the revocation of my Lord of *Briſtol*, who offers him a Blank ſigned by the King of *Spain*, bids him chooſe what was in his Power, but he ſtoutly refuſeth it: Preparations in *Spain* for War: Jewels left with the King of *Spain*, by the Prince, for the Infanta. 4, 5

My Lord of *Briſtol*'s Return, *Don Carlos* made Vice-Roy of *Portugal*. 6

Differences touching Merchants and Trade. 7

Violence offered to the Aſſiſtant of *Sevil*; and three Scotiſh Maſters of Ships condemned to the Gallies, but an Appeal admitted. 8

Great Diſcontents and Preparations in *Spain*, a *French* Man burnt for Contempt to the Sacrament: A Proceſſion ſolemnly performed for Expiation. *ibid.*

Sir *Walter Aſton* proſecutes the Marqueſs of *Inoioſa* in defence of the Honour of *England*; but he is delivered from exemplary puniſhment by the power of *Olivarez*: He ſues to return home. 9

To the Duke, how he was provoked to be an Enemy to the Match, but withall tells him, that he hath been a principal means for the compoſing of it. 12

The Duke's favour raiſed him many Enemies, but he relies upon his own ſincerity, and the Duke's goodneſs. 13

A Memorial delivered by him to the King of *Spain*, touching a diſcovery made by his Embaſſadours, of a Conſpiracy againſt the King, and the matter of it, but they refuſe to diſcover their Conſpirators; ſome of the Council of State examined about it, and found innocent; but the puniſhment and the reparation thereof left to the King of *Spain*. 13

Don Carlos Entry into *Madrid*, and the State and manner of it: Sir *Walter* refuſes to ſee him, and the Reaſon: The Duke of *Brandenburgh* aſſents to transfer the Electoral Dignity upon the Duke of *Bavaria*. 10

Two Matches propounded with the Infanta *Dona Maria*. 11

Jealouſie touching the Invaſion of *Ireland*, by reaſon of the Troops delivered to Count *Mansfelt*: The Match with the Prince of *Spain*, and Madam *Chriſtiene* the King of *France* his Siſter: *Conde de Gondomar* commanded to return for *England*. 15

Anderſon Edmond, craves the Duke of *Buckingham* his favour for his Aſſiſtance in ſome diſcontents. *ibid.*

B.

BAcon Sir *Francis*, after Lord *Verulam*, and Viſcount Saint *Alban*, to the Lord Treaſurer, touching the Sollicitor's Place, Apologizeth with him about his Speech in Parliament, concerning the Subſidy: That Variety is allowed in Council, as a Diſcord in Muſick to better it: Excuſes his want of Experience by ſome Examples, and courts him to aſſiſtance. 16

Not as a Man born under *Sol*, that loves Honour, nor under *Jupiter*, that loveth Buſineſs: Place of any reaſonable Countenance commands more Wits than a Man's own. *ibid.*

Aſſures him that his endeavour ſhall not be in fault, if diligence can entitle him unto it, wiſhes to ſhare his Service with as good proof, as he can ſay it in good Faith. 17

Bacon Anthony, with many excellent Reaſons, diſſuades the Earl of *Eſſex* (then in diſfavour) from deſpair: The Earl's quaint Anſwer. 18

Bacon Sir *Francis*, ſues to the Earl of *Salisbury* to obtain the Sollicitor's Place. 20

Perſuades the Earl of *Eſſex* to take upon him the management of *Iriſh* Affairs. *ibid.*

To him touching a Treaty with *Tyrone*. 21

Gives him excellent advice before his going into *Ireland*, touching the Deputyſhip. 22

Aſſures his Lordſhip of all true Effects and Offices of his Affection. 23
Careſſes the Earl of *Northumberland*. *ibid.*
The Entrance of King *James* as a fair Morning before the Sun riſing: This State performed the part of good Attorneys, in delivering the King quiet Poſſeſſion. 24
To Sir *Robert Cecill*, touching a way of reducing *Ireland* to civility, and the reaſons for it. *ibid.*
Excuſes himſelf for his Speech in Parliament, touching a Subſidy. 25
No reaſon the World ſhould reject Truth in Philoſophy, although the Author diſſents in Religion. 26
Advice to the King touching his Revenue. *ibid.*
The King's Attorney's Place, and the value of it honeſtly: The Chancellor's Place uſually conferred upon the King's Council, and not upon a Judge. Reaſons againſt the Lords *Coke* and *Hubbart*, and the Archbiſhop. 26, 27
The Body of Parliament Men is *Cardo rerum*: part of the Chancellor's Place is *Regnum Judiciale*, and ſince his Fathers time too much inlarged. *ibid.*
A Narration in ſeveral Letters of the differences between the Chancery and King's-Bench, and the grounds thereof ſtated to the King. 27, 28, 29, 30
The Proceedings againſt *Somerſet* and divers private Tranſactions touching that Buſineſs. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34
His Advice to Sir *George Villiers* concerning *Ireland*, wherein Three Propoſitions are acutely ſcanned. The firſt is touching the Recuſant Magiſtrates of Towns there. 2. About reducing the number of the Council, from 50 to 20. 3. That a means may be found to reinforce the Army by 500 or 1000 Men, without increaſe of Charge. 35, 36
From him to the Duke, when he firſt became a Favourite, with ſome directions for his demeanour in that Eminent Place, ranked into eight material Heads with an ample and quaint Gloſs upon each of them, moſt elegantly penned. 37, *&c.*
Sir *Francis Bacon's* Conſiderations touching the Queen's Service in *Ireland*, divided into 4 Points. 1. The extinguiſhing of the Reliques of War. 2. The recovery of the Hearts of the People. 3. The removing of the root and occaſions of new Troubles. 4. Plantations and Buildings, with an excellent amplification of all thoſe particulars. 48, *&c.*
To the Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the coming in of King *James*, together with ſome Character of him. 50
A Diſcourſe touching helps for the intellectual Powers, in the Mind and Spirit, and there again, not onely in his Appetite and Affection, but in his Powers of Wit and Reaſon; an exquiſite Philoſophical Diſcourſe. 51, 52
To the King when he was in a lapſed Condition, ſomething in excuſe of his Faults, and imploring the King's Mercy. 53, 54
Sir *Francis Bacon*, the King's Attorney, ſends his Reaſons to the King what ſort of Proceeding is moſt neceſſary, provided *Somerſet* confeſs; if he do not, what then is adviſable: The King returns the Letter with Poſtils of his own Hand. 55
Again to him upon ſending his Patent for Viſcount *Villiers*, with ſeveral Adviſoes, and incidently a Cenſure of the *Cecills*, the Father and the Son. 57
Sends the King a Certificate from the Lord *Coke*. 58
He is ſorry for Mr. *Matthews* being ſeduced, adviſes him to continue within the Bounds of Loyalty, and Piety to his Country, and tells him, that Superſtition is far worſe than Atheiſm. *ibid.*
The Sollicitor's Place not the thing it hath been, Time having wrought an Alteration therein, and in the Profeſſion. *ibid.*
Explains his meaning to the King touching the Duke of *Buckingham*. 59
Perſuades the King to rectifie and ſettle his Eſtate and Means. *ibid.*
Being under a Cloud of Troubles, Characterizeth himſelf to the King plainly and humbly, and denies the taking of Bribes, to pervert Juſtice. 60
Sends to the King an Eſſay of Hiſtory of his Majeſty's time. *ibid.*
Deſires the Hiſtory of *Britain* may be written for three Obſervations. 61
Sixty four Years old in age, and three Years and five Months in Miſery, deſires neither Means, Place, nor Employment; but a total Remiſſion of the Sentence of the Upper-Houſe, by the Example of Sir *John Bennet*. 62
To the King touching the Plantation of *Ireland*, as formerly of the Union, as being Brother thereunto. *ibid.*
To the Earl of *Salisbury*, touching his Book of Advancement of Learning, ſaying, he is but like a Bell-ringer, to awake better Spirits. *ibid.*
To the Lords, ingeniouſly confeſſing, and declining all Juſtification of himſelf, he ſaith there are *vitia temporis*, as well as *vitia hominis*. 63
My Lord of *Suffolk* and his Lady fined at 30000 *li.* with impriſonment, and *Bingely* at 2000 *l.* 64
Several Letters to great Perſonages, in ſending unto them his Book of Advancement of Learning, and the preſenting of it to the King. *ibid.*
To Doctor *Plafer* touching the Tranſlation of it into Latine, with many excellent Reaſons to that inducement. 65
To Sir *Thomas Bodley* in ſending the ſame Book, and a long and elaborate Anſwer from Sir *Thomas* upon that new Philoſophy. 66
To divers Friends upon ſending unto them ſome other of his Books. 68, 69
To Mr. *Savill* touching the Education of Youth, and the improving of the Intellectual powers. 70

To

To the King, wherein he ſues to His Majeſty for the Sollicitour's Place, and afterwards for the Attorney's. 71
A factious Book, ſtiling the Queen *Miſera fœmina*, the Addition of the Pope's Bull. 72
The Buſineſs of the *Commendams*, and the carriage of the Judges therein related to the King. *ibid.*
Three Examples of great Calamity, *Demoſthenes*, *Cicero*, and *Seneca*: A Diſcourſe concerning his own Books. 73, 74
A Learned and ample Diſcourſe touching a Digeſt to be made of the Laws of *England*. 75, 76
To the Earl of *Devonſhire*, a Letter Apologetical touching a common Fame, as if he had been falſe or ingrateful to the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſome thing long, but exquiſitely penn'd. 77, *&c.*
The Majeſty of the King's Perſon is not incloſed for a few, nor appropriate to the great. 85
To the Earl of *Northumberland*, concerning the Expediency of a Proclamation before the King's Entry. 86
To Sir *Edward Coke* Expoſtulatory. *ibid.*
To him in diſgrace, bitter, but wholſome. 86, *&c.*
To Sir *Vincent Skinner*, Expoſtulatory. 89
Importunate for Preferment. 90
Briſtoll Earl to King *James*, touching the buſineſs of the Match, and the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*. The Pope's demands about Religion, impoſſible to be agreed unto. The *Spaniard* ignorant thereof, diſclaims the Siege of *Heidelbergh*. If the *Palatine* will not conform, King *James* will declare againſt him, and for the Emperour. The King of *Spain* promiſes aſſiſtance to regain *Heidelbergh*; they promiſe the King ſatisfaction in the Match; which if not intended, they are falſer than all the Devils in Hell. 91, 92
Proteſts his Zeal for the Match, but the Treaty being ended, deſires one of the King's Ships may be ſent to waft him over, having a great charge of the Prince's with him. 92, 93
Sues for Reconciliation to the Duke, ill uſed by him, and therefore pitied by the *Spaniards*; a ſcandalous thing for Miniſters of a Prince to differ in a ſtrange Court. The Prince's return. Variance between the King of *Spain* his Miniſters, and the Duke; they will rather put the *Infanta* headlong into a Well, than into his Hands. 93
Two Millions the Portion, and how payable. 94
The Prince greatly beloved in *Spain*; the Duke but little. 94, 95
The Capitulations of the Marriage. 95, 96
Denied the King's Preſence, deſires to be heard, and to juſtifie himſelf. 96
Removed from his Offices, and denied to ſit in Parliament as a Peer, accepts the Pardon of 21 *Jacobi*. 97.
A Match propounded with the ſecond Daughter of *Spain*, to ſtay the Treaty with *France*; and for other Reaſons, difference in Religion the main obſtacle. 98, *&c.*
Where a Woman betroathed, *& poſt Matrimonium ratum*, may before conſummation become Religious; held by the King and the Prince the fitteſt Match in the World, for her Birth, Portion, Vertue, and her Affection; promotes the Match out of Zeal onely to the Prince's Service. 101
Archbiſhop *Abbot* encourages a War in *Germany*. 102
The Archbiſhop to the Biſhops, with King *James* his Letter touching Directions for Preachers, and the Directions themſelves, with their limitations, and cautions at large. 103, 104
The Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Oxford*, and St. *Davids*, to the Duke, touching Mr. *Mountague*, and in vindication of his Book. The King and the Biſhops only Judges in a National Synod, for five Reaſons; and a ſharp glance at the Synod of *Dort*. Mr. *Mountague*'s great learning. 105
The Biſhop of *Winton* to his Arch-Deacon, in purſuance of the King's Directions for Preachers above mentioned. 106
The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Lord Keeper, to the Biſhop of *London*, touching the abuſe of Preaching then uſed, preferring Catechizing, with the reaſons which induced the King to preſcribe thoſe Directions: The Doctrine is contained in the Articles of Religion, the two Books of Homilies, and the Catechiſms. 106, 107
The Biſhop of *Exeter*, to the Houſe of Commons, a Letter of moderate Advice. 107
The Archbiſhop of *York* to King *James*, touching a Toleration of Religion, with free and ſtrong reaſons againſt it, ſomething paſſionate. 108
The Biſhop of *Lincoln* (then in diſpleaſure) to the King. *ibid.*
The Biſhop of St. *Davids* to the Duke, deſiring his Name may be inſerted in the high Commiſſion, and the Reaſons. 109
The Biſhop of *Landaff* to the Duke, complaining of Injuries, and ſuing to be removed to *Hereford*. 109, 110
The Biſhop of St. *Davids* to the Duke, upon his Return, congratulating him with Joy for the birth of a Son. 110
Doctor *Mountague* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, to the Duke, touching his queſtioning in the Houſe of Commons, undertakes to Anſwer what can be objected out of his Books; his three Challenges to the Papiſts, with much Confidence. *ibid.*
A Jolly and merry Conceited Letter from the Biſhop of *Landaff* to the Duke, for a Remove, either to *Eli*, or *Bath* and *Wells*. 111
From Mounſieur *Bevoyr*, Chancellour of *France* diſcharged to the *French* King, moſt Elegantly penn'd, but with much tartneſs and plainneſs. 112
Balſac to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, Satyrical, deriding moſt Princes and States. 113
The ſame to King *Lewis* in praiſe of his Father, and of himſelf. 114

The Lord *Brooks* to the Duke, touching the marriage of the *Paſſegrave's* eldeſt Son with the Emperour's youngeſt Daughter; a ſolid and Political Diſcourſe. 115
To his Wife Expoſtulatory. 116
Mr. *George Brook* to a Lady in Court, concerning her Suit to Her Majeſty on his behalf; he deſpairs not, but gives his Reaſons for hopes of Succeſs, and begs her to continue her Suit. *ibid.*
Doctor *Balcanquel* to Secretary *Nanton*, giving an account of Paſſages at the Synod of *Dort*. 117
Monſieur *de Luines* Advance by the Death of Marſhall *d' Anchre*, applies himſelf wholly to the King's Perſon. 118
Complements between the D. of *Buckingham*, Chancellour of *Cambridge*, and the Univerſity. 119
The Duke chides Sir *Walter Aſton* for concurring with the Earl of *Briſtol*, for prefixing a day for the Depoſorios, without Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, the Portion, and Temporal Articles. 120, 121
The Duke by the Proteſtants divulged a Papiſt; by the Papiſts avowed to be their greateſt enemy: ſince his being at *Madrid*, better beloved of all; the King very reſerved in the buſineſs of *Spain*, adviſes the Prince, and the Duke to return, adviſes him, that the Lord of *Briſtol* had a great Party in Court. 121, 122

C.

SIR *Robert Cecill* to his Father, meets with the Preſident of *Rohan*, commends him much: The Marriage of *Tremoville* with Count *Maurice* his Siſter: Sir *Thomas Wylkes* ſick of a Lethargy. 123
Sir *William Cecill* to Sir *Henry Norris*, Ambaſſadour in *France*, about his Entertainment there being extraordinary, and what the Reaſon ſhould be. *Shan Oneal* ſues to be received into the Queens Favour. 124
Taxes Monſieur *de Foix* for breach of promiſe, in not delivering *Leſtrille*. The news of the Death of the King of *Scots*, and the manner of it: Earl *Bothwell* ſuſpected. 125
Calice demanded to be reſtored to the Queen, according to the treaty of *Cambray*. More of the Murther of the King of *Scots*; words which touched that Queen, but fit to be ſuppreſſed. 126
If *Calice* be not delivered, 50000 *l.* is to be forfeited. Matters in *Flanders* go hard againſt the Proteſtants. *ibid.*
Thoſe of the Order of *France* (if Life or Honour be touched) to be tried by the King, and others of the ſame Order. 127
Marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to *Bothwell*; the prime Nobility againſt it. *ibid.*
The *French* King's Letter touching *Calice* ill reſented by the Queen. The Queen of *Scots* married the 15th of *May*. 128
Bothwell proſecuted for the Murther, defended by the Queen and the *Hamiltons*; the Queen under reſtraint. *Shan Oneal* ſlain in *Ireland*, by certain *Scots*. *ibid.*
Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* ſent into *Scotland*, to negotiate a Pacification; the two Factions of the *Hamiltons*, and *Lenox's*. 129
The Prince of *Scotland* crown'd at *Sterling*, the 29th of *July*. *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* offended at the *Scotch* Lords: *Murray* like to be made Regent. Advice to Sir *Henry Norris*, touching his Expences. *ibid.*
Murray made Regent. My Lord of *Suſſex* with the Emperour. All Judges, Officers, *&c.* at *Antwerp*, compelled to atteſt the Catholick Faith. 130
Bothwell reported to be taken at Sea. 131
Dumbar rendred to the Regent, the Keeper adjudged to a new Puniſhment. *ibid.*
Expectation of Marriage between the Queen and the Archduke *Charles*. 132
Troubles in *France* between the Prince of *Conde* and the King. *ibid.*
The Queen of *Scots* noted by the Parliament there to be privy to the Murther of her Huſband. 133
The Earl of *Deſmond* and his Brother in the Tower. 134
Fiſhermen of *Diepe* taken at *Rye* with unlawfull Nets. *ibid.*
The Pope's Miniſters prefer the State of their corrupt Church before the weal of any Kingdom. 135
The Earl of *Suſſex* his return; the Prince of *Orange* his Son to be ſent into *Spain*, and doubted *Edmond* and *Horn* muſt follow. *ibid.*
Emanuel Tremelius ſent into *England* by the Elector *Palatine*; the Prince of *Orange* refuſeth to be judged by the Duke of *Alva*: the *Hamiltons* continue their Faction: The Death of Sir *Ambroſe Cave*. 136
Sir *William Cecill* to Sir *Henry Norris*, concerning ſome ſecrets; intreats him to write oftener, and tells him of great Attempts towards *Flanders*. 137
Beaton ſent from *Scotland* into *France* for 1000 Harquebuſiers, Money, and Ordnance. *ibid.*
Deviliſh practice againſt the Queen: The Queen of *Scots* removed to *Bolton* Caſtle; her demands of the Queen denyed. 138
The Queen of *Scots* ſubmits her Cauſe to be heard and determined in *England*. 139
Honourably uſed by the Queen. *ibid.*
The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Suſſex*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Commiſſioners touching the Treaty betwixt the Queen of *Scots* and her Subjects. 140
The Queen of *Scots* makes *Argyle* and *Huntley* Lieutenants, and the Duke of *Chaſtilherault* over all; they raiſe Forces againſt the Regent, but are routed. 141
A Couragious Anſwer from Queen *Elizabeth* to the *French* Ambaſſadour, and the Audience put off. *ibid.*

She ſends a Ring to Marſhal *Montmorancie's* Wife. 142

The Biſhop of *Rhemes*, Ambaſſadour from *France*, is offended, that the Doctrine of *Rome* is ſaid to be contrary to Chriſt's, deducing, conſequently, that his Maſter ſhould be reputed no Chriſtian; and how that Speech was ſalved. *ibid.*

The Cardinal *Chaſtillon's* Wife comes over. 143

The Reaſon of the Cardinal's coming into *England*: Ships ſent by the Queen to preſerve the *Burdeaux* Fleet; the Queen of *Scots* caſe not defenſible, and the conſequence thereof. *ibid.*

Matters about the Queen of *Scots*. *Chaſtillon* highly commended. *ibid.*

The Cauſe of the Queen of *Scots* to be heard here. 144

Paſſages touching the differences between the King and the Prince of *Conde*. 145

Matters againſt the Queen of *Scots* very bad. *ibid.*

Sir *Henry Norris* claims the Lord *Dacres* Lands. 146

Three manner of ways propoſed for ending the *Scotiſh* differences. 146

Spaniſh Treaſure ſtayed. *ibid.*

Reaſons why it is ſtaid, and why an Ambaſſadour could not be ſent to give the Spaniſh King an account thereof; which he is to declare to that King's Ambaſſador there. 147

The Parliament of *Scotland* declared the Queen of *Scots* privy to the Murther of her Husband. *ibid.*

D'Aſſonleville comes over without commiſſion, and deſired conference with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, but denied. *ibid.*

Hawkins his return to *Mounts bay*, from the *Indies*, with Treaſure: the Queen of *Scots* at *Tetbury*, under the Charge of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. 148

The *French* Ambaſſador's Courrier ſearched, and the reaſon of it. *ibid.*

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador complains of two diſcourteſies offered unto him: the Queen refuſeth to give Monſieur *D' Aſſonleville* audience, but permits him conference with the Council, and denies him reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Money. 148, 149

The *French* Ambaſſador diſperſeth news of *Montgomery's* overthrow, and the reſt of that party. 149

The Prince of *Conde* ſlain; the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador evilly entreated; the 13*th*. of *March* had two great effects. 150

The Differences in *Scotland* accorded, but not obſerved. *ibid.*

The Vidame of *Charles* and his Wife, not being liked of among the Nobility, are come to *Plimouth*. The Duke of *Chaſtilherault* goeth back from his Agreement, whereupon both he and ſeveral others are committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. He ſends him ſeveral Matters of State. 151

Sir *William Cecil* laments the misfortune of *France*: means made to accord with the *Low Countryes*: *Scotiſh* Nobility reconciled. *ibid.*

Original Letters intercepted by Perſons of Credit in the *French* Court, of Advertiſement, concerning the Queen of *Scots* and Duke of *Anjou*. 152

That the ſaid Queen ſhould transfer her Title on the ſaid Duke; to learn more truth hereof, and advertiſe with ſpeed: The Queens Ships far excel others. *ibid.*

The Queen of *Scots* excuſeth her Tranſaction with the Duke of *Anjou*. *ibid.*

She offers to doe any reaſonable thing to ſatisfie her Majeſty of her poſſeſſing the Crown, as ſhe now doeth, to her ſelf and Poſterity; but is rejected upon her tranſacting with the Duke of *Anjou*. 153

A Rebellion in the Weſt part of *Ireland*, and the *Spaniards* aid feared. *ibid.*

My Lord of *Shrewsbury* ſtricken with a Palſie, and Phrenſie. *ibid.*

The *Pariſians* execute two Merchants whom the King had pardoned: The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador taxed for dealing with the King's Rebels. 154

The Earl of *Deſmond's* great Rebellion in *Ireland*, but diſperſed. 155

An *Italian* ſent hither upon a deviliſh attempt: an Inſurrection in *Suffolk*, Queen *Elizabeth* deſires to be rid of the Queen of *Scots*. *ibid.*

The Queen offended with the Duke of *Norfolk* about his Marriage, Sir *William Cecill* his good Friend therein, my Lords of *Arundel* and *Pembroke* confin'd to their Lodgings about it, and ſo is my Lord *Lumley*; my Lord of *Huntington* joyned with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* in the cuſtody of the *Scots* Queen. 156, 157

The Duke of *Norfolk*, *Arundel*, and *Lumley*, in cuſtody, the Duke takes all in good Part. 157

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CABALA,

Sive *SCRINIA SACRA:*

Mysteries of State

AND

GOVERNMENT,

IN

LETTERS

OF

Illustrious Persons, and Great Ministers of State,

The Second Part.

Consisting of a Choice Collection of ORIGINAL LETTERS and NEGOTIATIONS, never before Published.

With two Exact TABLES, the One of LETTERS, the Other of the most Remarkable OCCURRENCES.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Sawbridge* at the Three *Flower-de-luces*, in *Little-Britain*, and *Matthew Gillyflower* at the *Spread-Eagle* in *Westminster-Hall*, MDCXCI.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY YELVERTON,

LORD *de* GRAY of RUTHYN,

Viſcount de Longueville, *&c.*

THIS

SECOND PART

OF THE

CABALA,

OR,

Letters of STATE,

(as of RIGHT it belongs,)

Is Moſt Humbly DEDICATED by,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Devoted Servants,

T. Sawbridge,

M. Gillyflower.

THE INTRODUCTION.

IN the Year 1585. *the Eſtates of the* Netherlands *being in great Diſtreſs by reaſon of a long continued War with the* Spaniard, *Conſulted amongſt themſelves whether they ſhould fly to the* French *King, or the* Queen *of* England, *for* Succour *and* Protection; *for they were both at Enmity with the* Spaniard, *but Jealous one of the other: Neither could the* French *endure to think that the* Engliſh, *nor the* Engliſh *that the* French, (*their Antient Enemies,*) *ſhould be ſtrengthened and made more Powerfull by the Addition of the* Netherlands. Pruney, *the French Ambaſſadour to the Eſtates, to divert them from applying to the* Engliſh, *alledged,* That the *Engliſh* were ſo Remote and Separated by the Ocean betwixt them, that they could not aſſiſt them upon every Occaſion: That their way of Government was Harſh, and not to be endured: That they were now in danger of loſing *Ireland*: That the Succeſſion was doubtfull, *&c.* But as for the *French*, their Neighbourhood was Convenient, their Government Mild and Gentle, and the Succeſſion certain in the King of *Navarre.*

Upon which the Eſtates by an Honourable Embaſſy craved Aid and Protection of the French *King, by whom they were received with a kind of timorous Silence, and as well out of Jealouſie to the* Engliſh, *as Hatred againſt the* Spaniard, *a long time put off with Delays; ſo as at length they returned home without Speeding: And the Eſtates having ſome Hopes, upon the account of the former kindneſs of the Queen of* England *towards them, reſolved to flie unto her for Protection.*

Hereupon a Conſultation *was holden in* England, *whether they were to be received into* Protection *or not; ſome were of Opinion that they were forthwith to be received into* Protection, *and aſſiſted, leſt the* Spaniard, *having ſubdued them, ſhould from thence endanger* England. *There were ſome alſo who thought they were to be eſteemed as* Rebels, *and unworthy of Helps, as having ſhaken off their Allegiance to their* Prince.

But whilſt many *and* various *Opinions are bandied up and down, the* Eſtates Deputies *arrive in* England; *who, as ſoon as they had Acceſs to the* Queen, *earneſtly beſought her that ſhe would accept of the* Government *of the Confederate Provinces of the* Netherlands, *and receive the People thereof, who were moſt* unjuſtly *and* unworthily *Oppreſſed, into her* Protection *and* perpetual Vaſſalage. *The* Queen *heard them Graciouſly, but refuſed both their* Government *and* Protection.

But after the yielding up of Antwerp, *the* Queen *having more ſeriouſly and carefully for ſome time conſidered of things, and had throughly*

weighed the Barbarous Cruelty of the Spaniards *towards her Neighbours the* Netherlands, *and their hatred againſt* England, *and the Religion ſhe embraced; ſhe* Reſolved *that it was both Chriſtian* Piety *to Relieve the Afflicted* Netherlanders, *and good Wiſdom alſo to provide for the Safety of the People committed to her Charge, by preventing the Pernicious* Deſigns *of her Enemies, and that not out of any deſire of* Glory, *but out of mere* Neceſſity, *for* Preſervation *of her own and her Peoples* Security. *Hereupon ſhe openly undertook the* Protection *of the* Netherlanders, *whilſt all the* Princes *of Chriſtendom admired at ſuch a Manly Fortitude in a Woman, which durſt, as it were, Declare War againſt ſo Puiſſant a Monarch; inſomuch as the King of* Swedes *ſaid,* That Queen *Elizabeth* had now taken the Diadem from her Head, and adventured it upon the doubtfull Chance of War.

Betwixt Her *and the* Confederate Eſtates *theſe Conditions were agreed upon.*

The Queen ſhall ſend the Confederate Provinces an Auxilliary *Force of* 5000 *Foot and* 1000 *Horſe, under a Governour General, an* Honourable *Perſon, and ſhall find them* Pay *during the War, which the Eſtates ſhall pay when Peace ſhall be Concluded; namely, in the firſt Year of the Peace the* Expences *disburſed in the firſt Year of the* War, *and the reſt in four Years next following.*

In the mean time Fluſhing, *and the Caſtle of* Rammekins *in* Walcheren, *and the Iſle of* Briell, *with the City and two Forts, ſhall be delivered into the* Queens *Hands for Caution.*

The Governours of theſe Places ſhall Exerciſe no Authority over the Inhabitants, but onely over the Gariſon Soldiers, who ſhall pay Exciſe and Impoſitions as well as the Inhabitants: The ſaid Places, after the Money is repayed, ſhall be Reſtored again to the Eſtates, and not delivered to the Spaniard, *or to any other Enemy whatſoever.*

The Governour General and two Engliſh *Men whom the* Queen *ſhall name, ſhall be admitted into the Council of* Eſtates; *the* Eſtates *ſhall make no League with any, without the Advice and Conſent of the* Queen, *neither ſhall the* Queen, *without the Advice of the* Eſtates.

Ships for the common Defence ſhall be rigged and ſet forth in equal Number by both Parties, *and at the common Charges to be Commanded by the Admiral of* England. *The Havens and Ports ſhall be open, and free to both Sides,* &c.

In Memory whereof the Zealanders *Coined Money with the Armes of* Zealand *on one ſide, Namely, a Lion riſing out of the Waves, and this Inſcription,* Luctor & Emergo; *and on the other ſide, with the Arms of the Citys of* Zealand, *and this Motto,* Authore Deo, Favente Regina.

Upon

Upon the Ratification of theſe Articles, the Earl of Leiceſter *is ſent into* Holland, *with the Title of* General of the Queen of *England's* Auxiliary Forces; *his Retinue was very Splendid, conſiſting of ſeveral Lords and Knights, and a Select Troop of* 500 *Gentlemen. At his Departure the Queen gave him a Charge, amongſt other things,* That he ſhould not ſo much as think of any thing which would not ſtand with Her Honour, and the Quality of the Place he bore.

Being arrived at Fluſhing, *he was entertained by Sir* Phil. Sidney, *his Nephew, and Governour of the Place; and being come to the* Hague, *in* January, 1586. *Abſolute Authority over the Confederate Provinces was given him in Writing by the Eſtates General, under the Title of* Governour *and* Captain General *of* Holland, Zealand, *the* United *and* Confederate Provinces. *And now being attended with a* Noble Guard, *Saluted by the Title of* Excellency *and ſoothed up with* Flatteries, *as ſeated in the moſt* Illuſtrious *Degree of Honour, he began to take upon him as if he were a Perfect* King.

But the Queen *highly reſenting the Large Honour conferred on him by the* States, *and that he had accepted it, nipped the* Man *at unawares in his Swelling Pride, by this one ſhort Letter.* Vide Cambden p. 327.

HOw contemptuouſly you have carried your ſelf towards Us, you ſhall underſtand by this Meſſenger, whom We ſend to you for that purpoſe. We little thought, that *One* whom We had raiſed out of the Duſt, and proſecuted with ſuch ſingular Favour above all others, would with ſo great *Contempt* have ſlighted and broken Our *Commands*, in a matter of ſo great *Conſequence*, and ſo highly concerning Us and Our Honour: Whereof though you have but ſmall *Regard*, contrary to what you ought by your *Allegeance*, yet think not that We are ſo *careleſs* of repairing thereof, that We can bury ſo great an *Injury* in *Silence* or *Oblivion:* We therefore command you, that all *Excuſe* ſet apart, you do forthwith, upon your *Allegeance*, which you owe unto Us, doe whatſoever *Heneage* Our Vice-chamberlain ſhall make known to you in Our Name, upon pain of farther *Peril.*

In another Letter to the Eſtates General She thus Expoſtulateth.

THat they had to her *Diſgrace*, and without her *Knowledge*, conferred the *Abſolute Government* of the Confederate Provinces upon *Leiceſter*, her Subject, whenas ſhe had Abſolutely refuſed it her ſelf, and by a publick *Manifeſto* had declared to the whole World, that ſhe intended onely to relieve and ſuccour her Neighbours in their Diſtreſs, and no ways to take upon her the *Sovereignty* over them. *She Admoniſheth them therefore* to turn *Leiceſter* out of that Abſolute Authority,

ty, whoſe *Commiſſion* ſhe had limitted; not that ſhe thought their *Cauſe* unworthy to be favoured and aſſiſteſt, but to provide for and ſecure her own *Honour*, which ſhe eſteemed more dear to her than her *Life* it ſelf.

The Eſtates wrote back to her.

That they were very ſorry they had incurred her Diſpleaſure, by granting Abſolute Authority to *Leiceſter* without her *Knowledge*. They intreat her to be pacified, conſidering the *Neceſſity* thereof; foraſmuch as ſuch an *Authority* was neceſſarily to be granted to one or other, to avoid *Troubles* and *Diſſenſions*. Neither indeed was the Authority ſo great as the Word *Abſolute* might ſeem to import, conſidering that the *Principality* it ſelf, and the ſupreme *Rule* and *Dignity* of *Dominion*, remained wholly in the *Peoples* Hands. And to revoke the Authority already granted, were nothing elſe but to plunge the State of the *Netherlands* into extream *Dangers*.

By theſe Letters of the Eſtate, and the ſorrowfull Lines of Leiceſter, *who knew well enough how with* Tears, *and a pretended* Trouble *for what had paſt, to reconcile the favour of his mild* Princeſs *to himſelf, her Diſpleaſure by little and little vaniſhed away and was forgotten.*

But this Calm *continued not long with* Leiceſter, *for by his receiving all the Contribution of the* Provinces, *Making* Military Laws, *and going about to impoſe* New Payments *upon all* Traffick *and* Merchandize, *he procureth himſelf great* Hatred *of the* People, *and accordingly upon his Return to the* Hague, *was received with theſe Expoſtulatory Complaints.* ‘*That the Money was ill Managed; That he* ‘*Liſtened to* corrupted *and* deſtructive *Counſels; That* Foreign Soldiers *had been* ‘*Levied without conſent of the* Eſtates; *That* Military Diſcipline *was neglected;* ‘Waggons *and* Pioniers *were taken up by Force; the* Privileges *of the* Provinces ‘*diſregarded and ſlighted, and new kinds of* Contributions *invented. Theſe things they pray he will prudently remedy in time. He being now minded to go over into* England, *putteth them in Hopes of Redreſs, and giveth them fair Words; but when the day came, that he was to Depart, he intruſted the Government of the Provinces to the* Council *of* State, *and the ſame Day privately made another* Act *of* Reſtriction, *reſerving to himſelf all the* Authority *over the Governours of* Provinces, Cities, *and* Forts; *alſo he took from the Council of* State *and the Preſidents of* Provinces, *their wonted Juriſdictions, and ſo Sails for* England *the third of* December, 1586.

But the Eſtates *in a long Letter to the* Queen *accuſe* Leiceſter *of ill Governing the Common-wealth in matter of* Money, War, *and* Trade. *The* Queen *for the Examining and Compounding of the matter, and to ſound their Inclinations touching a Peace which the* Spaniard, *ſent* Thomas Sackvill, *Lord* Buckehurſt, (*lately one of the Privy Council in* Leiceſter's *abſence*) Sir. John Norris *and others who faithfully managed theſe* Affairs, *all which are the Subject Matter of this* Collection *of* Original Letters *and* Papers *of* State, *as they have been carefully preſerved in the choice Study of the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount* De Longueville, *at* Eaſton Maudit *in* Northamptonſhire. CABALA.

A TABLE

Of the Principal Matters contained in this *Second Part.*

B.

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The Lord *Buckehurſt* refers the Earl of *Leiceſter* to Secretary *Walſyngham*'s Letter, for particulars; but tells him, as his Abſence was the Cauſe of the Alteration of Affairs, ſo his Preſence will reſtore them. The Soldiers are ready to mutiny for want of Pay; an extreme Dearth: He preſſes for more Money. 7

He condoles the Death of the Earl's Nephew; but comforts him with this, That he both lived and dyed in great Repute; he acquaints him with her Majeſty's Reſoluteneſs to call him home, and refers him to the Meſſenger. *ibid.*

He informs the Queen, that Count *Hollock*'s Abſence hindred him from ſending the ſaid *Count*'s Anſwer touching the Slander of his Excellency ſooner; and therefore now he ſends the Depoſitions of Mr. Doctor *Clerke*, Mr. *Wylkes*, *Villiers*, *Junius*, and Monſieur *Treſlong*; all recited at large. Count *Hollock* vindicates himſelf, and profeſſes all Faith and Duty to her Majeſty. 8

He informs the Earl of *Leiceſter*, that he would be a wellcome Man to the People; that he hath reconciled all to him, and intreats him to be ſo to Sir *John Norris*, and urges his ſpeedy coming. Sir *William Stanely* is revolted, and gone to *Bruxelles*. *Atie* not ſuffered to treat with the States. 11

He preſſes a Summ of Money from her Majeſty in behalf of the States, without which they are not able to ſubſiſt. Several have entred into Intelligence with the Enemy, ſuppoſing their Caſe to be deſperate. The States are about to abandon all but *Holland* and *Zealand*; and a general Revolt to *Spain* is expected. He greatly preſſes her Majeſty on their behalf, and lays down a courſe which the States have agreed to, for the enſuing Summers War. Count *Maurice* and Count *Hollock* reconciled to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the States and Council of Eſtate promiſe all Duty and Fidelity to his Lordſhip. The Enemy prepares for the Siege of *Arnham*, *Oſtend* and *Sluyſe*; and therefore both Men and Money are required with ſpeed from *England*; but no Court Captains, or at leaſt as few as may be. The States Aſſent to a new Treaty. Two Projects of their Conſultations ſent over. 11, *&c.*

He ſtill urges a preſent Summ to keep the Soldiers from ſtarving; and begs God to encline her Majeſtys Heart to grant the Petition of the States for the Loan of 50000 *l.* which admits no Minute of Delay. 13, 14

Things reduced to a good Correſpondence again betwixt her Majeſty and the States; their Innovations and Alterations during the Earl of *Leiceſter's* Abſence they ſay are but proviſional, and cauſed through fear of Revolt. They deny all Intent to diſſever from her Majeſty, and cloak their meaning in the Letter ſent to his Excellency the 4th of *February*, with a care for his Lordſhip's Honour. Three Projects agree'd on. More force to be ſent ſpeedily. The Treaſure ſent over not being ſufficient, more is ſpeedily deſired. The Enemy build a Fort near *Oſtend*, and a Bridge at *Weſell*; Sir *John Norris* endeavous to hinder them. *Uffington* and *Cosby* not guilty of *Stanley*'s Treachery. 15, 16

He receiveth Letters from her Majeſty. She miſliketh of his Proceeding. He is not at leiſure to anſwer it preſently; but begs a Suſpenſion

of her Judgment. The States term the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Letter Piquant; and as to other Points of her Majeſty's Letter they reſolve. 1. That no Diminution, either of Garriſon or Army, ſet down in the Project, can be admitted. And, 2. That they ſtill hope, that her Majeſty conſidering their great Neceſſity, will lend the Summ of 50000*l.* with which they cannot maintain their Garriſons, and the numbers of Men projected. In hopes of this Loan the People are willing to raiſe 100000*l.* Tax; but if once they know of her Majeſty's Averſneſs, the whole Grant is thereby endangered. Propoſals concerning the Payment of the Camp. Her Majeſty anſwers their requeſt for the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Return, by their putting the 100000*l.* into ſuch Perſon's Hands as the ſaid Earl ſhall appoint. They are careleſs of the Holds in *Flanders*; her Majeſty taketh it ill; they plead Neceſſity. Lord *Buckehurſt* ſends the Dolances of the Counts *Maurice* and *Hollock* to the Queen; he is indiſpoſed, and ſues to return home. 16, *&c.*

He entreats the Earl of *Leiceſter* to return. The Enemy gathers Force, and therefore more Men to be ſent over. Some Differences between the Earl and the States: They make farther Propoſals. 18

It groweth doubtfull whether her Majeſty will continue the Earl of *Leiceſter* in thoſe Parts; Secretary *Walſyngham* deſireth a Project from the Lord *Buckehurſt* how the Country might be governed without him: He ſends him a full Account of Affairs in Anſwer thereto. 20, *&c.*

A Project for the Government, what is fit to be eſtabliſhed for the better governing the United Provinces, in caſe the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſhould not return to take the Government of thoſe Countries. 22

The Lord *Buckehurſt* writes to her Majeſty in Cyphers, touching the Differences between the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Count *Hollock*; he ſhews that the Proofs were not ſufficient directly to charge the States therewith, and gives his particular Reaſons why he executed not her Majeſty's Directions: The Cypherss are interpreted. 23

The States complain that her Majeſty's Bands are not complete; the *Engliſh* under their Pay complain they are ready to periſh for Want: A device thereupon Projected. Count *Hollock* makes a Road into the Land of *Luke*. Sir *John Norris* relieves the *Weſell*; and skirmiſhes with the Troops. The States ſend a Legation of three erſons to the King of *Denmark*, concerning the Wrong done his Ambaſſadour. The Lord *Buckehurſt* confers with the States touching the filling up her Majeſty's Troops with ſome *Dutch*. 25

Her Majeſty is angry with the Lord *Buckehurſt*, for accepting of the States Anſwer, touching the things they were charged with as ſatisfactory; She gives him freſh Directions, and orders him to charge them anew. If the States comply, ſhe will ſend over the Earl of *Leiceſter*. 26

The Lord *Buckehurſt* and Mr. Treaſurer pledge their Credits for Money to relieve the Soldiers, who are ready to periſh. 28

He urges the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Return; entreats him to move her Majeſty to ſend over more Men and Money. 28, 29

A Peace propoſed; the too early report of it a great Hindrance. The Duke of *Parma* ſends to *Calis* for Corn; the Lord *Buckehurſt* ſtops it from going thither, and entreats the *Engliſh* may doe the ſame. 29

If her Majeſty will lend the States 50000*l.* then they will conſent to a Tax of 20000*l.* Several Advertiſements by a Spy, *&c.* concerning the Enemy. Sir *John Norris* is too weak to reſiſt the Enemy; he ſends to the States for more Force, and alſo to her Majeſty both for Men and Money. 30

Treaſure is ſent into *Holland*; the Lord *Buckehurſt* entreats the coming over of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and alſo of 2000 Men. 35

The Lord *Buckehurſt* complains to Secretary *Walſyngham* of her Majeſty's being miſinformed touching him, and of her condeming him, *inaudità cauſâ*, for what he is not guilty. 36

He addreſſes himſelf to the accompliſhing her Majeſty's Commandment concerning the Peace, and lays open the Conſtitution and Circumſtances of the People relating thereto; which ſhews it to be a difficult Matter, and dangerous to propoſe: He communicates it to ſome of the Chief; they debate it, and come to ſeveral Reſolutions: Time, Place, and Deputies, are ſpeedily deſired. He ſends ſeveral Copies of Letters to her Majeſty. 37

Four of the ſeven to whom he communicated the Matter of the Peace, are utterly againſt it, in reſpect of great Difficulties that attend it: He ſhews who in general are Enemies to it, and and who otherwiſe. He adviſes her Majeſty concerning it. 40

The Lord *Buckehurſt*'s Agreement with the States concerning the better Pay of the *Engliſh* Soldiers, who are in their Service, and under their Pay. 43

He is forced to pay the *Engliſh* who are under the States Pay with her Majeſty's Money, which was due to the Town of *Brill*; and vindicates his ſo doing, by demonſtrating the Neceſſity of the Thing. Other Matters touching the Relief of *Sluyſe* debated. 44

The States are again charged with their Letters of the 4th of *February*, wherewith the Earl of *Leiceſter* was diſguſted, they reply they will anſwer in Writing. 45

The States meaning, about their entertaining ten Companies *Engliſh* at the ſame Pay her Majeſty alloweth, explained. An Advertiſement to the Lords of the Privy Council, concerning the 2500 Men tobe ſent over for Recruits. 45

The

The States repair to *Middleburgh*, to consult with his Excellency touching Provisions for present Necessities: They promise to prepare Storehouses and Magazines. 46

He sends the States Remonstrances to the Queen; prays her not to censure him unheard; and begs his Revocation. *ibid.*

Advertisements from *Sluyse* are brought by Captain *Hart*, who with great Danger both entred the Town, and came away again: A meeting of the Council of State and some of the States thereupon, and what was there resolved. Lord *Buckehurst* sends his Excellency a perfect Account of their own and the Enemy's Army. 47

He is again blamed by her Majesty, but vindicates himself. The 300 Men her Majesty designs to send over, the States cannot accept into their Pay, having not Maintenance for them. They constitute Count *Maurice* Governour in the Earl of *Leicester*'s Absence; the Lord *Buckehurst* protests against it. 52

A Draught of a Preamble to the Accord with the States, drawn by the Lord *Buckehurst*. 53

A Collection of such Points as have been misliked in the Lord *Buckehurst*'s Negotiation; with the said Lord's Answer to each Point, and the Reply of the Earl of *Leicester* to the said Answers: Wherein the Lord *Buckehurst* cleareth himself very well, to the Earl of *Leicester*'s no small Disgrace. 55

The Replies of the Earl of *Leicester* to the former Answers of the Lord *Buckehurst* together with the Rejoinder of the said Lord *Buckehurst* to the said Replies. 63

New Objections of the Earl of *Leicester* against the Lord *Buckehurst*, set down among the Replies of the said Earl; together with the Lord *Buckehurst*'s Answers to the same. 65

Answers of the Lord *Buckehurst* to the Propositions verbally delivered to his Lordship by the Deputies of the States, in the presence of Sir *John Norris*, Doctor *Clerke*, and Mr. *Wylkes*. 67

D.

MR. *Davison* informs the Earl of *Leicester* of the Weakness of the Force that is sent to *Flushing*; entreats him to intercede with her Majesty on the behalf of Count *Maurice*; he returns home as soon as Sir *Philip Sidney* shall arrive. 2

Both the Princes and Count *Maurice*, &c. will be humble Suitors to her Majesty for her Countenance and Authority; for the furtherance of which he prays the Assistance of Secretary *Walsingham*. He signs Bills of Exchange for Money borrowed of the Merchants there, one half at single Usance, the other at double. 3

The Queen doubts of the States Willingness to deliver *Flushing* and *Brill*, as Cautionary Towns, into her Hands; orders Mr. *Davison* what to doe in that Matter; and upon delivery to keep *Flushing* himself. 34

The Commissioners acquaint Mr. *Davison* with her Majesty's Dislike of the States Proceeding, but considering what the People are, can expect no better from them. Order is taken to dispatch both Governour and Treasure thither. Two Reasons for the lack of Money. Letters of Thanks are sent thither to Count *Maurice*. 34, 35

Mr. *Diggs* intreats Secretary *Walsingham*, if Sir *John Norris* should have accused him of any Matter, that the particular Examination thereof may not be delayed: Sir *John* denied, when there, that he had ought, save a Matter against his Brother, which he acknowledged to be false and untrue; but when he was come to *England* exposed it. 50

G.

Gregory Gibbs's Bill for great Ordnance and Provisions for the Town of *Brill*. 87

H.

COmplaints of several of the Inhabitants of the United Provinces, especialy those of *Holland* and *Zealand*, for the redress of which, in most humble manner, they crave Order from the Crown of *England*. 82

A Copy of some Articles, concerning Piracies, agreed on between *Henry* VII. and the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, in the Year 1495. *ibid.*

Mr. *Hunt*'s Memorial concerning the Treasury, and other Matters of the Army; and for calling the Criminals to an Account. 84

K.

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He goes to *Kingston* upon *Hull*, to inspect the Megazine, and redress the Complaints of the Inhabitants, but is denied Entrance by Sir *John Hotham*. He sends to the Mayor to cause his Orders to be read publickly in the Town. *ibid.*

He commands the High Sheriff of *York-shire* to order all the Officers of the Militia, &c. not to rise or march under any Command, save what is under his Hand. 98

The Gentry of *York-shire* return a dutifull Answer to his Proposition; he assures them of Protection. 99

Some bad Rumours in *Scotland* coming to his knowledge, he makes known to his Privy Council there his Disposition and Desire. *ibid.*

He commands the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* to desist from raising the Militia of *Lincolnshire* contrary to his Order. 100

He

The ſaid Lord pleads an Order of Parliament in his Excuſe. *ibid.*
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To General *Monk*, touching his good Intentions, to be by him communicated to the Preſident and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Army. 104
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Part of a Letter writ by *Charles* V. to King *Henry* VIII. wherein he much complains againſt the Pope. 106

L.

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S.

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W.

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That the States are ſenſible of their Errour in altering the Government. Difference riſen between Count *Maurice* and *Sonoy*. The People of *Amſterdam* libell the States. 9
He acquaints Secretary *Walſyngham* with two notable Effects which the coming of the Lord *Buckehurſt* and the Promiſes of her Majeſty had wrought, Count *Hollock* is willing to ſerve her Majeſty, but will not be commanded by the Earl of *Leiceſter*. 32
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The End of this Table.

CABALA,

CABALA,

OR

Myſteries of State and Government.

The Second Part.

Being a choice Collection of Letters and Negotiations, not hitherto publiſhed.

SIR,

YOu underſtand ſufficiently I am ſure, by the Prince's Letters to her Majeſty ſent with Mr. *Norris's* Diſpatch, what ſucceſs the fooliſh Enterprize of the Marſhal *Biron* hath taken, ſince the Battle of *Agincourt*, there was never ſo great ſlaughter made of the *French* Nobility in any conflict, as was this laſt day, and yet the Fight did not continue above half an hour, after our Men had once put themſelves in Arms. The Cabinet Counſellours have now found that to be true whereof I had often forewarned them, that if they did attempt a Maſſacre, they ſhould play the part of a poor Admiral of *France*, which is accordingly happened, and that in a ſet Combat, themſelves being prepared, and our Men only forewarned ſecretly to be in a readineſs. It is true, that God having given me the Grace to be forewarned of this Enterprize, I diſappointed them of their Purpoſe to take the Gate that is between the Caſtle and St. *Michael*, through the which they meant to have entred, and all the Streets had been chained, with command that they ſhould be ſo continued; but the Burghers ſeeing the Duke coming, did, through ſimplicity, let them down in four Streets, where through he had directed his Men to paſs, and on two *Rampiers*. This forewarning was alſo the cauſe to ſtay the Prince in his Lodging, who did otherwiſe purpoſe to have gone abroad; nevertheleſs we muſt give the whole Praiſe to God, for all this would have ſerved to ſmall purpoſe, the *French* having altered their former Deliberation, and laid their Plot in another ſort, that was no leſs dangerous, unleſs it had pleaſed God to have given our Men Lions Hearts, and to have ſmitten the Maſſacrers with ſuch a Terrour, that 30 Halbardiers in one Street were ſeen to drive ſeven Enſigns before them; they never had the Courage to fight, after they had once ſeen our Men in Arms, God be thanked for all. They have poſſeſſed themſelves of certain ſmall Towns, wherein they had Garriſons; but they have failed of divers others; and ſince that *Bruges* and *Antwerp* were ſafe, that is the principal. They do wander abroad, led on wiſely by *Byron*, who knoweth not the Countrey, and ſhutteth himſelf up between Rivers, where they do miſerably ſtarve for want of Food, and would be already conſumed, if there had not been ſome Victuals ſent unto them. I wiſh I might have two hours talk with you; for I would acquaint you with many things which I dare not commit to writing, and would be too long to be written in Cypher. The Duke is reduced into ſuch Extremity, for that he hath ſuffered himſelf to be led by the Counſel of *Byron*, *Gumſay*, the Count St. *Aignan*, who was ſlain in the Enterprize, and *Rochepor*, that if we would ſhut up the Paſſage againſt him, he ſhould be driven to yield himſelf either to the Prince of *Parma*, or to the Prince of *Orange*. But methinks that upon his requeſt for a Parley, there are certain Deputies ſent unto him; the Articles I do not know, neither do I greatly care to be made acquainted with them. But one thing I have thought meet to be imparted unto you: After the end of the Fight there were divers Letters found about a Secretary; one of them had ſomewhat written in Cyphers, whereof the Alphabet was alſo found afterwards, though it had been a matter eaſie enough to have decyphered the ſame without it; for the names only were written in Cypher. This Letter was written by *Antragues* unto the Count St. *Aignan*; it is long and well penned, containing miſchievous Matter, ſo ſetteth down a cunning Plotter, to draw the Duke into ſome Intelligence of Practice with the Duke of *Guiſe*, and by his means to procure the Match with the eldeſt Daughter of *Spain*; whereupon the King of *Spain* ſhall furniſh Treaſure, Shipping, and Soldiers, either *Spaniards* or *French* Men, under the Conduct of a Prince for the firſt Invaſion, and of the Count St. *Aignon* for the ſecond, to invade the Realm of *England*: That this Enterprize ſhall be furthered by the Duke of *Lenox*, and aſſiſted by the young King of *Scots*: That the King

of *Spain* ſhall deliver four Towns for aſſurance hereof. And that theſe things being brought to paſs, the King of *Spain* ſhall match with the Queen of *Scots*, and the Duke with the Daughter of *Spain*. This Letter containeth wonderfull Matters; I will doe what I can to get a Copy of it, and ſend it you. I would not have thought that *Antragues* had been a Man of ſuch Sufficiency; there is but too much in the Man. There is one ſpecial matter contained in his Letter, which I will not keep from you; he writeth, the King told him that he would never truſt his Brother, for that he was a Traitor; you may think thereof, if it pleaſe you to take Order in the matter accordingly. The Duke might without this Treachery have brought the *Spaniard* upon his Knees; but God muſt be thanked for all, whom it hath pleaſed to verifie the ſaying of the Prophet, *The wicked have been caught in the Snare which they had provided for others*; for though upon the Advertiſement that I received of this intended Miſchief, which was 16 Hours before it was executed, I neither ſpared labour of Body, nor of Mind, nor yet my continual Prayers, and obtained beſides eſpecial Directions and Commandments to prevent this Danger, yet I could not prevail ſo much as to ſtett their entring into the Town; whereby I do know that God hath prepared a Day for them. I pray you truſt not too much to the King of *Scots*, for he is altogether won by the Papiſts, and was never other. I beſeech God to preſerve the Realm of *England*, the Low Countries, and the Churches of *France*, the *Swiſſes*, and the Biſhop of *Collen*. But I have this year obſerved ſo many miraculous Deliverances, as I am now more perſuaded than ever I was, that God will preſerve us.

At *Antwerp*, *Jan.* 12.
1582.

Mr. Daviſon *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

A Day or two before the Arrival of Count *Hohenlo*, I received your Letters herewith ſent from the Princeſs and Count *Maurice*, by the Hands of Mounſieur *de Villiers*, together with the Inſtructions in both their Names, addreſſed to your Lordſhip, which I have order to detain by me till all things were finiſhed here in her Majeſty's aſſurance according to her Expectation; and therefore omitted to ſend them yeſterday with Captain *Bennet*; the rather, becauſe my buſineſs then with the Count of *Hohenlo* about the Entry and Diſtribution of a Garriſon, did give me no leaſure to accompany them with any Letters of mine own unto your Lordſhip. Now having taken the beſt Order we might for the ſecurity of the place with ſo weak a Number, and begun all things in a good Correſpondence betwixt the Burghers and our People, I have thought good to diſpatch this Bearer expreſly, to give her Majeſty knowledge of our proceedings, and to be an humble Suitor unto your Lordſhip, for the haſtening away of Sir *Philip Sidney*, conſidering how expedient it is he were here already, to eſtabliſh things in ſome better ſort, than we are yet able, with ſo raw and weak a Number. The whole five Enſigns I have, with the Count *Hohenlo* his advice, retained for the ſecurity of the Place, and ſent for another Company to *Berges* for the *Rammekins*. Of theſe there are above 100 left ſick at *Middleburgh*, and the reſt here not exceeding 600 at the moſt, of which are likewiſe many Sick, where the former Garriſon withdrawn from hence, conſiſting only of three Enſigns, were full 750 ſtrong, excellently well arm'd and furniſhed, and yet eſteem'd with the feweſt for this place, notwithſtanding the advantage they had of ours, in being of the ſame Country, Manners, and Language, and by long cuſtom faſhioned to the Humour of theſe People. How expedient therefore it were, that your Lordſhip ſhould take care to ſee theſe places otherwiſe furniſhed than it is, with all the ſpeed that may be well both for the Companies and Leaders, being a matter that ſhall ſo much import as to her Majeſty's, as the Honour of Sir *Philip*, which I know your Lordſhip tendereth dearly, I leave to your Wiſdom and Conſideration. Touching the motions of Count *Maurice*, which ſtand more in points of Honour, than of Charge unto her Majeſty; I doubt not but that your Lordſhip, of whoſe honourable Love and Kindneſs I have preſumed to give him all aſſurance, will do you beſt to procure him her Majeſty's gracious and favourable anſwer; wherein as he deſireth to be bound to your Lordſhip only, as alſo any other Honour her Majeſty ſhall vouchſafe him to doe, ſo I think that your Lordſhip's friendly Embracings of him, and the reſt of that poor ruined Houſe, will greatly encreaſe your Love and Reputation here, who under your Honour's Correction cannot doe amiſs, to accompany Sir *Philip Sidney* with all the good Complements that may be, both from her Majeſty and your ſelf in that behalf. So ſoon as Sir *Philip Sidney* ſhall be arrived, and my ſelf at ſome liberty, I hope to take the benefit of her Majeſty's Grant to return home, to eſtabliſh mine own poor Buſineſs, and make my ſelf the fitter and readier to wait on your Lordſhip in your Journey hither; which I could wiſh deferred till ſuch time as the Governours be ſettled in their ſeveral Charges; In whoſe behalf renewing eftſoons my humble Suit unto your Lordſhip, for the furtherance of their

diſpatch

diſpatch, I do in the mean time moſt humbly recommend your Lordſhip to the Gracious Providence of the Almighty.

Fluſhing, Octob. 20. 1585.

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and always bounden,
W. Daviſon.

Mr. Daviſon *to Secretary* Walſingham.

SIR,

I Wrote to your Honour yeſterday of the Entry of our Garriſon, far weaker than theſe that are withdrawn; whoſe Companies are full 750 ſtrong, excellently well armed and appointed. The Count *Hohenloe* hath adviſed me to procure ſome one of the other Companies of our Nation to be broken, for the reinforcing under-Hand of theſe, which may be no leſs than 800 ſtrong; and thinketh it fit her Majeſty follow the Prince's Courſe in that behalf, who alway reſpected more the Strength than the number of our Enſigns, appointed to this Garriſon, which I leave to the Judgment and Conſideration of your Honour.

The Letters herewith ſent I received before my coming hither, by the Hands of Mr. *Villiers*, with order to detain them till things were accompliſhed here. It ſeemeth both the Princes, the Count *Maurice*, and the reſt of their Friends, will be humble Suitors unto her Majeſty, to take Protection of that poor mortuary Houſe, left in very hard Terms: Your Honour ſhall doe a very acceptable Work, in moving and enclining her Majeſtys gracious Favours towards them; who (for any thing I know) do ſeek rather to be holpen by her Countenance and Authority, than to be any whit burthenſome to her Purſe. The Count of *Hohenloe* ſhould have had the Charge to recommend this Cauſe unto her Majeſty, if his Journey into *England* had held, which I find the States unwilling to agree unto, and yet beareth me in hand, that he will goe forward withall, ſo ſoon as he hath finiſhed ſome Enterpriſe that he hath now on Foot.

Yeſterday I ſigned the Bills of Exchange for the Money taken up of the Merchants here; the one half at Uſance, the other at double Uſance; which I beſeech your Honour to procure the Treaſurers to ſee duly anſwered, both for her Majeſty's Honour, and my poor Credit's ſake. Theſe three Companies have been anſwered one Month's Pay out of the ſame, and like Order taken to ſatisfie the Garriſon at the *Brill*, which (being no leſs weak for that place than theſe) have as much need of the Preſence of a well choſen Governour; wherein I muſt ſtill beſeech your Honour to give me leave to continue my Suit for her Majeſty's ſake, and my own Diſcharge. Recommending it therefore to your Honour's Care, and your ſelf to God's good Protection, I do here moſt humbly take my Leave.

Fluſhing, Octob. 20. 1585.

Your Honour's moſt humble at Commandment,
W. Daviſon.

Mr. Daviſon *to Secretary* Walſingham.

BY that I wrote to your Honour yeſterday, with Captain *Bennet*, you might perceive what was reſolved betwixt the Count *Hohenloe* and me, for the effecting of her Majeſty's Aſſurance. This Morning, betwixt 9 and 10 of the Clock, our Garriſon made their entrance in very good and quiet ſort, marching firſt into the Church; where after they had taken their Oaths, according to the Form ſent unto you from the *Brill*, they were diſtributed to the Ward of the Port, and the former Garriſon, being all that while in Arms, commanded to give them place, and to retire, as they did immediately; and this Afternoon are to depart home into the Iſle of *Tergoes*, to attend there the Council's farther Order for their Employment. Of ours there are above 100 left ſick at *Middleborough*, and divers of theſe here in little better taking; ſo as I have, by the Count's Advice, retained theſe whole five Enſigns, (being with the weakeſt) for the ſurety of this place, and ſent for another Company to *Berges*, to put into the *Ramakins*.

The former Garriſon here was of 3 Companies, 750 ſtrong, at the leaſt; beſides that, they were of the ſame Countrey, Manners, and Language with the Inhabitants; and by their long abode here, throughly faſhioned to their Humours; all which failing in ours, had need of the better Conſideration in their ſupply. Which recommending now to the Care and Conſideration of her Majeſty, and your

nours there, whom I eſtſoons beſeech to haſten away the Governour, that all things were ſettled and ordered here, with that reſpect that appertaineth. I do moſt humbly take my leave.

Fluſhing, Octob. 19. 1585.

Your Honours moſt humble at Commandment,
W. Daviſon.

Mr. Wylkes *to the Earl of* Leiceſter, *Lord General of her Majeſty's Forces in the Low Countries.*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

IN Confirmation of the Notes by me delivered to your Lordſhip before your departure from hence, containing briefly the Subſtance and effect of the Papers and Pieces by me received of the States and Council here, in my firſt Voyage concerning the Receipts and Iſſues of the Contributions, as well ordinary as extraordinary, of theſe Countries; I ſend your Lordſhip herewith a Copy of an Abſtract of the whole Years Receipt, and Charge of the Provinces, from the beginning of your Lordſhip's Government, untill the 10th of this Preſent, after the new Style, the original whereof is ſent to her Majeſty by the Deputies of the States, with a Letter from the Council of State, avouching the ſame to be true, offering to make particular Demonſtration thereof at any time, when it ſhall pleaſe her Majeſty to ſend hither any Perſon for that purpoſe, thinking it unfit to ſend the ſame at the whole length; becauſe the Pieces to verifie the Abſtract are many, and, in effect, infinite, and not meet to be carried out of the Country. I truſt your Lordſhip will thereby reſt ſatisfied, and believe that my report of their Charges and Expences was no other, nor greater, than that which I received of them, howſoever the ſame may be conſtrued to my Diſadvantage. And if it ſhall be objected, That this doth differ from mine, containing the State of the whole Years Charge, and mine of leſs, I anſwer, That mine contained incluſive the whole Month of *September*; and therefore the difference is but of three Months, and ten Days at the moſt. The Receipts do riſe almoſt to 3000000 of *Florins*, and the Expence and Debts made to above 4000000; which is more than 400000 *l.* Sterling.

And whereas I am given to underſtand, That I am alſo charged to have ſaid, that there was already expended at that time of my Report 400000 l. Sterling, I do and may with a good Conſcience, and in Truth, deny that ever I ſaid any ſuch thing; and I beſeech your Lordſhip to believe, That I reported the Charge to be no greater, than in the Abſtracts I gave to your Lordſhip, as is mentioned.

Of the Government and Courſe of Proceeding held here, and of the Accidents happened ſithence your Lordſhip's Departure, I have written faithfully and truly to your Lordſhip from time to time, even to this Day; which I ſuppoſe will all at once come to your Hand with this Wind. And to conclude, if it pleaſe not her Majeſty that your Lordſhip do return ſpeedily, or do not ſend ſome other to undertake this Government, theſe Countries, by all likelihood, will go to Confuſion, for the Reaſons in my former Letters often expreſſed. And ſo I take my leave moſt humbly.

Hague, Jan. 12. 1586.

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble to command,
Tho. Wylkes.

Mr. Wylkes *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

YOur Letter of the 5th of this Preſent by my Man I have received; and although I find thereby, that your Lordſhip reſteth as yet unſatisfied with my juſt defence, yet I cannot but yield your Lordſhip moſt humble Thanks, that it hath pleaſed you to write unto me, and to remit me to my Anſwer, wherein if I do not give unto your Lordſhip all good Contentment, let me never enjoy your Favour.

I truſt Sir *Roger Williams* ſhall, at his return, be able in ſome Points, (by that he hath learned here) to reſolve your Lordſhip how much I am wronged in things concerning your Lordſhip here, and as for my doings at home, I doubt not but to clear my ſelf with my Credit, and the renewing of your Lordſhip's good Favour.

It ſhall appear unto your Lordſhip at your coming hither, how carefull and diligent I have been to diſcharge my Duty towards her Majeſty in theſe Services; and yet perhaps I may have failed in ſome things, as Men may doe that undergo ſo heavy burthens as this hath been unto me, having been

been here in this time of Confuſion all alone, without help or Aſſiſtance, among a People full of Cunning, inconſtant, variable, ſubject to alteration upon every contrary Accident, as your Lordſhip may perceive, and ſhall underſtand more at large hereafter: But the Fault is not mine; I ſought not the place, nor deſire to continue in the ſame, finding how dangerous it hath been to me every way.

I muſt confeſs unto your Lordſhip that I have erred, in not believing many things by Report, that have been told me of the Imperfections of thoſe Men whom we call the States here; but mine own Experience hath now taught me more of them than many Men have learned before me; and yet I may ſay I have received ſome wrong to have been charged with any Devotion towards them, or that I have preferred any thing in them, (in whom in truth I have found nothing worthy of my liking,) before the Service of her Majeſty, and my Duty to your Lordſhip.

I have been conſtrained, ſeeing the Continuance of the Miſery and lack of her Majeſty's Troops here, and not hearing of any Preparation to relieve them with Pay, to write ſomewhat earneſtly and plainly to her Majeſty in their Behalf, wherein I deſire to be ſeconded by your Lordſhip, that the more haſte may be made in ſending away the Treaſure. All the Companies of the Horſemen, and among the reſt your Lordſhip's, are for extreme Need entred without Patent or Order into the Limits of *Holland*, where they are threatned to be cut in peices, if they retire not. I have ſpoken fair, and offered my Carkaſs in Pawn to anſwer their Expence, untill the Arrival of the Treaſure, in Caſe they may be admitted into ſome Towns, and there fed for the time, at a certain Rate; and if I prevail not with them that way, the Companies muſt of neceſſity disband, and return home.

Sir *John Norris* lieth ſick at *Utreicht*, and can do nothing for them there, nor in any other Place. And ſo in the midſt of my Sickneſs, having through Cold, Thought, and Travel in this troubleſome Countrey, gotten an Impoſthume in my Head broken with great difficulty, and now in ſome hope of Recovery; but by this occaſion of my Sickneſs, I am not able to follow her Majeſty's Service. I take my leave moſt humbly.

Hague Febr. 17*th*. 1586.

Your Lordſhip's moſt humbly to command,
Tho. Wylkes.

The Subſtance of the States Letter to her Majeſty, March, 1ſt. 1586.

THey are infinitely ſorry that her Majeſty ſhould put on any ſiniſter Conceit of their Actions and Proceedings, which they attribute to the practice of their Enemies.

For the removing whereof they do ſincerely affirm unto her Majeſty that they have, as well ſince my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Entrance into the Government as before, bent the whole courſe of their Proceedings to the Maintenance of Religion, Preſervation of their ancient Privileges and Liberties, and Furtherance of her Majeſty's Service.

The firſt being proved, in that it was the Cauſe that ſtirred them up to undertake the War, proteſting their Reſolution to live and die in the Quarrel.

The ſecond, by their firm Union, and mutual good Intelligence together, without which they could not ſo long have ſtood. And,

The laſt, by their leaving of the full Authority of the Government unto my Lord of *Leiceſter*, in ſuch ſort as by the Provinces was appointed, and anſwering all manner of Contributions, as well ordinary as extraordinary.

If her Majeſty's Diſpleaſure grow upon Report of any ſuppoſed Want in this laſt part, they are ready to ſatisfie her by ſufficient Proofs, and appeal to the Earl's own knowledge for their Juſtification.

Hoping that ſuch Petitions and Declarations as they exhibited unto the ſaid Earl will not be offenſively taken; for that they were juſt and reaſonable, tending onely to the Preſervation of their ancient Privileges and Liberties, which were trodden under Foot by Men of mean Condition.

Such as go about to perſuade her Majeſty that their Ability would reach farther than to their Contributions, do abuſe her; for if they were able to contribute now, they would willingly do it, to make a ſhort end of the War.

They complain of ſuch as have made larger Reports of their Ability than is agreeable with Truth, as *Perretz*, *Bingoult*, and others, againſt whom they have, for their ill Deſerts, juſt Cauſe to proceed by way of Juſtice, which they hope will not be ill taken.

They are conſtantly reſolved to live and die in her Majeſty's Service.

And humbly beſeech her, to take ſome final Order and Reſolution, for their neceſſary Defence and Preſervation in this doubtfull time, wherein their State is ſo divided and rent aſunder, with Factions, Practices, and Partialities, as at no other time ſo much.

And

And not to believe, or give ear to, the paſſionate Reports of any whatſoever, though their own Countrey-men; but to reſpect in general the Diſpoſition of the whole Body, and to have a Princely Care over them.

Mr. Wylkes *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

YOur Letter of the 22*d.* of *Feb.* ſignifying the Delivery of 600 *l.* Sterling to Monſieur *de Grunevelt*, for the Gariſon of *Sluyſe*, I received the 8*th.* of this preſent, together with Letters to the Council of State to the ſame Effect, and others to the Count *Hohenloe*; for Anſwer whereunto, your Lordſhip is to be advertiſed. That in the Abſence of Monſieur de *Grunevelt*, about the midſt of the laſt Month, there was paid to that Gariſon of *Sluyſe* 17000 Florins; ſo that until the next Pay, which will be God knoweth when, in reſpect of the weakneſs of the general Purſe here, there will be no means to deduct your Lordſhip's 6000 Florins lent unto him. The onely Want in that Garriſon, (as I can learn,) was Money, the ſame being furniſhed otherwiſe with a ſtrong Magazine, and ſufficient Proviſion of Munition. It is ordered by the States General, (who govern all, and we of the Council ſtanding but for Cyphers) that there ſhall be preſently drawn out of that Town three Companies of the Gariſon, for ſaving of Charges, ſuppoſing the reſt to be ſufficient for the defence of the Place.

The 6*th.* of this preſent, the States General reſorting to the Council of Eſtate, delivered unto them an Act eſtabliſhed in their Aſſembly, by the which they have Ordered, that all the Engliſh Companies of Foot and Horſe, at their Pay ſhall be forthwith caſſed, and reduced to the Companies at her Majeſty's Charge, which they have done without the Privity of the Council, or Conſent of the General of her Majeſty's Forces, who hath been abſent from hence theſe two Months.

The States did at this time deliver unto us farther by Speech, That in Caſe we did refuſe to execute that Caſſation, they would thereupon ſee the ſame done themſelves. I did require them to ſtay the Caſſation untill your Lordſhip's Return, which I fear they will not reſpite: They alleadged unto me, that conſidering the Poverty of their Eſtate, and that her Majeſty's Auxiliary Forces were not compleat by allmoſt the one half, they muſt of Neceſſity accompliſh that Caſſation and Reduction, for the Eaſe of their preſent Charge. I do ſend your Lordſhip herewith a Copy of their Act concerning the ſaid Caſſation.

The Enemy maketh very great and ſtrong Preparations, and hath, in ſhew, threatened to beſiege *Berges op Zome*; but now we are credibly advertiſed, that all his Forces march towards *Gelderland*, having a purpoſe to beſige *Arnham*, and to take in all the ſmall Towns upon the *Velluwe*, and at the laſt, to attempt *Utreicht*, where (as it is muttered) he hath ſome Intelligence. It is here thought by all Men of Judgment, that it will be no hard matter for the Enemy to take all, even to the Gates of *Utreicht*, conſidering that we are not able, not only to put any ſtrength into the Field, to make head againſt him, but with much difficulty to Victual and Man the Towns who do refuſe to obey the preſent Government and to accept Gariſon, but at their own Pleaſures and Liking; we have in that reſpect been conſtrained to caſs many of our Engliſh Companies at the States Pay, becauſe no Towns would receive them into Gariſon, ſithence the Treaſon of *Deventer*, and the Fort; and at this time moſt of our Companies of Engliſh Horſe are eating upon the Villages between *Holland* and *Utreicht*, and cannot be received into any Gariſons.

Thus much I thought good to advertiſe your Lordſhip that you might ſee in what Caſe we ſtand, and how needfull it is that her Majeſty reſolve ſpeedily, if ſhe mean to relieve theſe Countries; and ſo do moſt humbly take my leave of your good Lordſhip.

Hague March 10*th.* 1586.
Stylo veteri.

Your Lordſhip's moſt humbly to command,
Tho. Wylkes.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

My very good Lord,

BEing now paſt *Midnight*, and I to morrow to paſs towards *Dorte*, I cannot write much unto you, but do refer your Lordſhip to my Letter to Mr. Secretary *Walſingham*, and to Mr. *Atie's* Letter who will particularly advertiſe you: Nevertheleſs thus much I ſay, That already I find, that as your Lordſhip's Abſence hath been one of the chief Cauſes of this Alteration, ſo will your Preſence reſtore all to his former ſtate again. But if her Majeſty will not pleaſe to ſend preſent Money for the Pay of the Soldiers, ready to mutiny or to famiſh; for that by reaſon of the extreme Dearth of Victuals, and

and of the long Want of Pay, they can get nothing upon Truſt: Surely there is ſo little hope of good Succeſs, as I do rather doubt of all Miſchiefs and Miſeries to follow. The late 3000 *l.* will not pay, beſides the remanent due in Mr. *Hurſton*'s time, above two Months from the 12*th.* of *October*; ſo as by the 12*th.* of *April*, there will be four Months due unto the poor Soldiers, beſides the Pay of this 3000 *l.* I have written to her Majeſty therein. And thus hoping, e'er it be long, to write much more at large to your good Lordſhip. I end

From Middleborough *this* 26th. *of* March, *after our Style*, 1586.

Your Lordſhip's aſſured to command,
T. Buckehurſt.

Mr. Wylkes *to Secretary* Walſyngham.

May it pleaſe your Honour,

THat her Majeſty having informed, that I having at this time diſpatched (in effect) with the Council of State, and received their Anſwers and Reſolutions of the Matters committed to my Charge, I am repairing towards my Lord of *Leiceſter* to the Camp, to take my Leave of him, and to return home with as much convenient expedition as poſſible I may. The haſty paſſing of this Bearer will not ſuffer me to write much unto you of the ſtate of theſe Countries, only I may inform in general, That I find great Confuſion in the Government, their Means ſo weak, as not able to maintain the third part of their Numbers here in Pay; and yet there come daily now hither Forces, as well from *England* as from *Scotland*, whom they are not onely not able to Pay, but not in caſe to feed; which I fear will draw on a Danger not eaſily remediable. I will haſten my ſelf the more, that her Majeſty may know their Weakneſs timely, and give ſome Remedy thereto, before their Caſe grow deſperate.

My Lord of *Leiceſter* is gone into the Field, not provided of Means to keep the ſame 20 days. The Enemy is well advertiſed of all our Imperfections here, and we no good Intelligence of his Doings. God muſt doe well for us, if we ſpeed well; and ſo thus briefly I take my Leave moſt humbly.

Utreicht Aug. 26. 1586.

Your Honour's moſt humble to command,
Tho. Wylkes.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

My very good Lord,

WIth great Grief do I write theſe Lines unto you, being thereby forced to renew to your Remembrance the Deceaſe of that Noble Gentleman your Nephew, by whoſe Death not only your Lordſhip, and all other his Friends and Kinsfolks, but even her Majeſty, and the whole Realm beſides, do ſuffer no ſmall Loſs and Detriment. Nevertheleſs it may not bring the leaſt Comfort unto you, That as he hath both lived and died in fame of Honour and Reputation to his Name, in the worthy Service of his Prince and Countrey, and with as great Love in his Life, and with as many Tears for his Death, as ever any had; ſo hath he alſo by his good and godly End, ſo greatly teſtified the Aſſurance of God's infinite Mercy towards him, as there is no doubt but that now he liveth with Immortality, free from the Cares and Calamities of mortal Miſery; and in place thereof remaineth, filled with all heavenly Joys and Felicities, ſuch as cannot be expreſſed: So as I doubt not, but that your Lordſhip in Wiſdom, after you have yielded ſome while to the Imperfection of Man's Nature, will yet in time remember how happy in truth he is, and how miſerable and blind we are, that lament his bleſſed Change. Her Majeſty ſeemeth reſolute to call home your Lordſhip, and intendeth preſently to think of ſome fit Perſonage that may take your Place and Charge. And in my Opinion Her Majeſty had never more Cauſe to wiſh you here than now; I pray God ſend it ſpeedily. I ſhall not need to enlarge my Letter with any other Matters, for that this Meſſenger, your Lordſhip's wholly devoted, can ſufficiently inform you of all. And ſo wiſhing all Comfort and Contentation unto your Lordſhip. I reſt your Lordſhip's wholly for ever to uſe and command as your own.

From the Court this 3d *of* November, 1586.

Your Lordſhip's moſt aſſured to command,
T. Buckehurſt.

The

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Queen.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty.

I Could not till now, in reſpect of Count *Hollock*'s Abſence from hence, ſend your Majeſty any certain Advertiſement touching the Anſwer of Count *Hollock*, or of ſuch others as have declared their knowledge concerning the Slander bruited upon my Lord of *Leiceſter* for the killing of the ſaid Count. The Effect of their Declaration is thus:

Mr. Doctor *Clerk* affirmeth, how *Villiers* told him, That he much feared leſt the Reconciliation of Count *Hollock* was not ſo ſound, nor ſuch as it was taken to be; for that the ſaid Count had been perſuaded, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* was of Intention to have had him killed, and that (as he underſtood from good Place) the ſaid Count had ſo ſaid: And that Mr. *Wilkes* came by chance unto the midſt of this Talk betwixt Mr. *Clerk* and *Villiers*, and heard the ſubſtance thereof, but ſpake no word, as Mr. *Clerk* remembreth. This matter Dr. *Clerk* thought good to impart to Mr. *Atie*, but nevertheleſs prayed him not to utter the ſame, untill he had better ſearched out the bottom thereof, which Mr. *Atie* promiſed, like as Mr. *Clerk* alſo did, never to utter the ſame to any, expecting the Return of *Villiers* out of *Zealand*, from whom he hoped, at better leiſure, to have drawn out the Truth more particularly.

Mr. *Thomas Wylkes* teſtifieth the effects of the ſaid Speech, uttered by *Villiers* to Dr. *Clerk*, and utterly denieth, that ever *Villiers*, either to him apart, or to him and the Lord *Buckehurſt* jointly, did declare any ſuch thing, touching the ſaid Earl and Count.

Villiers confirmeth all that Mr. Doctor *Clerk* declareth, namely, as far as toucheth his own Speech uſed to the ſaid Dr. *Clerk*: As alſo affirmeth, that he never dealt with the Lord *Buckehurſt* in this matter with whom he never ſpake, till the 2*d.* of *June* laſt.

Junius, being Servant to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, affirmeth, how he hath oftentimes underſtood, and among others, of one *Jaſper Summerce*, who told him how he had heard it from one that was in great Credit with Count *Hollock*, that the ſaid Count did hold it aſſured, that the Earl of *Leiceſter* had ſought by all means to kill him, whatſoever it ſhould coſt him.

Monſieur *Treſlong*, late Admiral in theſe Low Countries, declareth how Count *Hollock* did tell him, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* had conſpired againſt his Life and Perſon, and doth offer to juſtifie the ſame againſt this Count *Hollock*.

Count *Hollock* affirmeth, That having the Depoſitions of five Perſons, taken before a publick Notary, that the *Cartell* ſent to him in *November* laſt by Sir *Edw. Norris*, was made and ſent by the conſent and procurement of the Earl of *Leiceſter*: And calling to his remembrance, that a little before the ſaid *Cartell* ſent, the ſaid Earl had ſent *Burgrave*, his Secretary, unto the ſaid Count, being then ſick of his Hurt, to deſire him that he would accompany the ſaid Earl into *England*: And having alſo, after the ſaid *Cartell* ſent, honoured the ſaid Sir *Edward Norris* with the degree of Knighthood, having offered ſuch Wrong unto him; he confeſſeth, That he hath ſaid, that he could not tell in what ſort he ſhould have been uſed by the ſaid Earl, in caſe that he had gone with his Lordſhip into *England*. And if in ſpeaking ſometimes to that Effect, any have conceived and reported that which by the Lord *Buckehurſt* was proponed to the Court, the ſame is otherwiſe than he hath ſpoken, ſo far as he can remember.

Finally, I may not leave your Majeſty unadvertized, That Count *Hollock* doth ſo affectionately and ſo earneſtly pretend and proteſt all Faith, Duty, and humble Service to your Majeſty, and doth alſo promiſe ſo great Love and good Reſpect unto all our Nation, as there cannot be more wiſhed nor deſired in that behalf. And touching my Lord of *Leiceſter*, he alſo ſaith, That if your Majeſty will ſend the meaneſt within the Realm, as your Governour, he will yield all due Repect unto him.

By Letters written from my Lord of *Leiceſter* to certain of his Friends here, (whereof Copies are given and diſperſed,) I have been in this matter greatly injured; for his Lordſhip, either miſ-informed, or miſ-conceiving, hath written, that *Villiers* did declare the ſaid Matter unto Mr. *Wylkes* and me, which is utterly from the Truth. I have never ſeen *Villiers*, untill his repair to the *Hague* at this time.

Thus moſt humbly and heartily I beſeech God for ever to preſerve your Majeſty, and to ſend you all your moſt Royal Heart's deſire.

From the Hague, *this* 13*th. of* January, 1587.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and Faithfull Servant,

Tho. Buckehurſt.

Sir

Mr. Wylks *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

My very good Lord.

MY Letters of the 12*th.* of *March*, are I truſt come into your Hands, whereby you have been advertiſed what courſe hath been held by the States General, and what Innovations have lately been attempted by them, and thoſe of *Holland*. I beſeech your Lordſhip to conſider effectually of the Advertiſements, and to give ſuch Direction in matters needful, as in your Wisdom ſhall be thought expedient. I do now ſend unto your Lordſhip a Copy of the Articles mentioned in my ſaid Letters; I find not the States any thing haſty to deliver any anſwer unto them, ſuppoſing they intend to reſerve them until the Arrival of the Lord *Buckehurſt*, to whom they mean to ſmooth all their Actions. They now begin to ſee the Peril whereinto they are entred, in caſe the People ſhall demand an account of their Proceedings, and by what Commiſſion they have undertaken the alteration of the Government, who do threaten, that if her Majeſty do for any particular Offence offered unto her by them, alter her Affection and Goodneſs towards theſe Countries, they will be revenged on the States. At *Horn* in *North-Holland*, the Inhabitants have been in Arms to reſiſt ſome Proceedings of the Count *Maurice* againſt Monſieur *de Sonoy*, who hath refuſed to accept a new Commiſſion, and both offered unto him by the Count and States of *Holland*. Doctor *Malſon* and one *Bruning*, a Counſellour to the Count *Maurice*, eſcaped hardly out of the Town with their lives, who were ſent thither to practice the removing of the Garriſon, (being part of *Sonoy*'s Regiment,) and the placing of another at the Count's Devotion. The Towns of *Horn*, *Anchuyſen*, *Medemblike*, have proteſted they will depend only upon her Majeſty, and ſo do moſt of the Burghers of *Amſterdam*: The Count *Maurice* is head-ſtrongly reſolved to remove *Sonoy* from his Government, and holdeth him as it were beſieged within the Town of *Medemblike*; having placed in the Villages round about the ſame, divers Companies of Foot, and before the Town certain Ships of War, being himſelf in Perſon thereabouts. I have written to *Sonoy* not to be diſcouraged, but to remain conſtant, aſſuring him of your Lordſhip's ſpeedy Return.

The Count *Hohenlo* is gone to *Gorcum*, (where the Count *Philip de Naſſau* hath been refuſed for Governour twice,) proteſting he will place him there, or it ſhall coſt him his Head. The like reſolution is taken by Count *Maurice*, to place the Count *Solmes* as his Lieutenant in *Zealand*, who hath likewiſe been refuſed by the States there; but what will follow of theſe Violences, conſidering how the People are animated againſt the States, thence your Lordſhip may judge. Theſe two Counts are ſaid herein to be directed and guided by the Counſels of *P. Buſi*, and *Floris Thin*, baniſhed from *Utreicht*.

I muſt advertiſe your Lordſhip of one thing, whereof I am ſorry, which is, that the Preſident *Vandermile* is employed in the matter againſt Monſieur *de Sonoy*, and is for that purpoſe at this time with the Count *Maurice* in *North-Holland*.

I am even now advertiſed that the People at *Amſterdam* do begin to ſtir, and have ſet up Paſquils and Libels in Publick Places againſt the States; it is to be feared that if the People ſhould riſe, that the Enemy will be ready to take ſome notable Advantage thereby to the apparent loſs of all, which will not be prevented (if any Garboil happen) but by your Lordſhip's preſence, which in all wiſe Mens Opinions here, will remove the preſent Confuſions and aſſure the Countries.

The Deputies of the States made ſo great haſte to arrive here before my Lord *Buckehurſt*, that they ventured themſelves hither in a ſmall Boat, where they arrived the 28*th.* of this preſent. They have had ſundry days of ſeveral and ſecret Conference with the States General, delivering no report as yet to the Council of their Negotiation with her Majeſty; and it ſeemeth the States have an intention, to conclude and lay ſome Plots apart without the privity of this Council. The States are not a little amazed with her Majeſty's round dealing with their Deputies, but more perplexed to ſee the Reſolution of the People here to depend wholly upon her Majeſty.

Sithence the writing of theſe Letters, the Count *Maurice* and *Hohenlo* are returned from *North-Holland* and *Gorcum re infecta*, to their great ſhame and diſcontent.

The expectation of your Lordſhip's ſpeedy return, hath ſo aſſured our Friends, the People, and the Towns, that now remain in Devotion towards her Majeſty and your Lordſhip, that if they ſhould be fruſtrate of their hope therein, it is as much as the whole State is worth: By reaſon that if your Lordſhip ſhall not return, it is to be feared that the People will either riſe or yield to the Enemy. And ſo I take my leave moſt humbly.

Hague *March* 26*th.* 1587.

Your Lordſhip's moſt humbly to command,
Tho. Wylkes.

The Anſwer of his Excellency the Earl of Leiceſter, *to the States of* Holland, *September*, 1587.

HIs Excellency hath paſſed the Anſwer exhibited unto him in writing, by certain of the Deputies of the Eſtates of *Holland*, bearing date the 15*th.* of *September*, *Stylo novo*: And for the firſt part, touching the Speeches ſet down by them of Mr. *John Barnevelt* in their Aſſembly, *viz.* That her Ma-

jeſty had given Charge unto his Excellency to procure himſelf to be confirmed in an abſolute Government of the United Provinces, to the intent that by the means of a Peace made, or to be made, with the Prince of *Parma*, he might reduce them unto the King of *Spain*. His Excellency ſaith, That he named the ſaid *Barnevelt* not for any evil Will particularly born unto him, but to ſhew that in naming the Party, he dealeth plainly with them; but by the Anſwer hath occaſion to conceive that there is a greater Regard had to excuſe and defend the ſaid *Barnevelt*, than to have her Majeſty's Honour (to whom they have been ſo much beholden) repaired, in ſuch ſort as her Merits towards them have deſerved. For touching the particular Words ſpoken by the ſaid *Barnevelt*, it hath been heretofore ſufficiently declared unto the Preſidents, and others of the Council, and Chambers of Accounts, and ſome of the Eſtates ſent him, That beſides thoſe words contained in their ſaid Writing, tending to ſome ſuch like Effect, he openly among them ſaid, That it might appear that her Majeſty had a meaning to make a Peace, ſith the Month of *May*, 1586. and that his Excellency had ſuch Inſtructions, whereof he not onely pretended to have an authentical Copy, but alſo cauſed ſome Articles of the ſame Inſtructions to be openly read in their Aſſemblies, to induce a Proof of his Aſſertion concerning her Majeſty's meaning; and beſide that, the ſaid Preſidents and others ſo ſent unto him, could not deny, but confeſſed to have heard ſome part of the ſaid Inſtructions read unto them; and farther to have been informed, that ſundry Advertiſements to the ſame Effect had been ſent out of *Brabant*, and from the *Eaſt* Countries, both of a Treaty, and ſending Commiſſioners to *Bruſſels*, (a thing moſt untrue, as it manifeſtly appears, and diſhonourable to be thought or reported of her Majeſty.) His Excellency therefore requireth, that by Commandment of the ſaid Eſtates, the ſaid *John Barnevelt* may exhibite a Copy of the ſaid Inſtructions and Advertiſements, with the Names of the Perſons from whom he received the ſame; and in that the ſaid *Barnevelt* would ſo lightly believe, and ſo conſtantly report things ſo untrue and diſhonourable to her Majeſty and his Excellency, otherwiſe than his Excellency had at ſundry times declared unto the ſaid Eſtates before, he cannot but think that both her Majeſty's and his Honour have been more touched, than can be ſalved with ſo ſlight a Denial, and excuſe of ſome ſuch part onely of the ſaid *Barnevelt*'s Words, as it have pleaſed them to ſet down in the ſaid Writing, without calling to remembrance, and weighing the whole Summ and Effects of his ſaid Speeches, which are too well known both to themſelves and others, to have been too prejudicial to her Majeſty and his Excellency's Proceedings.

Touching the Propoſition exhibited by the Counſellours *Valke* and *Menin*, his Excellency ſaith, That foraſmuch as he underſtood that ſundry Bruits were ſpread in *Holland*, and pretended to be a part of the Story of the Reſolution of the General Eſtates, according to their Promiſe made at *Middleburgh*, his Excellency confeſſeth, that by word of Mouth he uttered ſome Speeches to the like Effect unto them, as is contained in their Writing, but yet gave them no ſpecial Inſtruction, eſpecially to be delivered in Writing to others; and therefore whereas after their Return, he perceived that they had ſomewhat miſ-conceived of his Meaning, upon the receipt of the Anſwer and Reſolution of the ſaid Eſtates, brought by them, that their meaning was, to have the ſame committed unto the Eſtates General, his Excellency thought good to propound the ſame Matter again unto the Eſtates General, in ſuch ſort as he meant it ſhould be conceived by them, whereto he referreth himſelf, and attendeth their reſolute Anſwer.

And beſides, although the ſame Eſtates of *Holland* do alleadge that there were no Copies delivered by them unto any, but onely unto the Deputies of the Cities, in reſpect of their Obligation to their Principals, to advertiſe them thereof; his Excellency can ſay nothing, but that the ſame Writing hath been divulged in divers Places, as well in *Frieſland*, as *Overiſſel*, to make the People to conceive another Opinion of her Majeſty, and his Excellency, than there was cauſe; leaving it unto them to ſearch out by whom the Copies have been given out, either by themſelves, or the Deputies, or others. But ſtill thinketh that her Majeſty's Honour hath been much touched thereby, ſeeing the Original Copy remained with themſelves, and from thence all the reſt have proceeded; wherefore his Excellency doubteth whether her Majeſty will accept this their Anſwer for ſuch a full and general Satisfaction, as ſhe attendeth from Perſons that have been and are ſo much beholden unto their; and therefore mindeth to refer the farther Conſideration and Anſwering thereof untill ſuch time as he ſhall underſtand her Majeſty's farther Pleaſure, to whom he mindeth to ſend the ſame.

At the Hague, 1587.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

My very good Lord,

HAving written at length to her Majeſty and to Mr. Secretary, I do not repeat the ſame to you, becauſe I haſte away Mr. *Atie* ſo much to haſte you hither. Mr. *Atie* can better tell you the ſtate of Things than I can write them; and therefore to him I refer you. Onely this I ſay, that your Lordſhip ſhall come hither a moſt welcome Man to the People in truth, and ſo ſhall you alſo to the States, as they ſay; and no doubt there is, but that to the moſt part you ſhall in Deed, though perhaps to ſome but in Word: Nevertheleſs your Lordſhip's mild manner of Proceeding, and receiving

thoſe

thoſe that will ſeek and ſue for your Favour, will work a general Reconcilement betwixt you and them all, and that is the only way for you to win Honour and Good to this Cauſe, and conſequently to your ſelf; which if you doe you ſhall be a happy Man, both to her Majeſty and the Realm. And becauſe I ſee how greatly important the good ſucceſs of this Cauſe is to them both, I am moved moſt earneſtly to beſeech your Lordſhip, That as already I have made a thorough Reconcilement betwixt your Lordſhip and all others, ſo I may alſo perfect the ſame betwixt you Lordſhip and Sir *John Norris*, whoſe Wiſdom, Skill, and great Experience in the Action of theſe Wars, ſhall be the Mean to win ſo much Honour to your Lordſhip, and ſo great fartherance to the Cauſe, as I cannot but be an inceſſant Suitor and Mover thereof unto your Lordſhip. I have already dealt with Sir *John Norris* therein, who is moſt deſirous to have your Lordſhip's Favour, and will by his Service deſerve it, ſo as your Lordſhip will vouchſafe your honourable Good-will to him again. And knowing the Courteſie of your noble Mind to be ſuch as it is, I have no doubt but that your Lordſhip will gladly embrace the Love and Friendſhip of ſo noble a Gentleman, not only for your Lordſhip's Particular, but even for the great Benefit which both to her Majeſty's Servants, and to this weighty Cauſe, is like to grow thereby. If your Lordſhip will have this Cauſe to proſper and doe well, you muſt come away with all ſpeed poſſible. *Veni, Veni, Veni*, you cannot come ſoon enough, and you may eaſily come too late. Thus remaining your Lordſhip's aſſured to Command, I end

Hague, April 13th. 1587. *Your Lordſhip's aſſured to command,*

T. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

Sir *W. Stanley* was gane to *Bruxelles* before *P.* could come to him; but I think he is gone after him, for as yet we hear nothing of him. *Verdugo* is in *Deventer*; but, as it is thought, Sir *W. Stanley*'s Companions are as yet the ſtronger.

I would by no means ſuffer Mr. *Atie* to deal with the States about your Reckonings; not only becauſe now it was in a time utterly unſeaſonable; but alſo for that he was ſure to have obtained no Money as yet; for that I had learned to be certain, but ſpecially becauſe when your Lordſhip comes hither, you ſhall then reckon and order things, much more to your Contentation and Profit; for all which Cauſes I did utterly diſſuade him to move it, as a Matter ſounding, methinks, nothing to Honour, That when we laboured, and they ſued to have you return, your Servant ſhould ſue for ſuch Money as they owe you.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Secretary* Walſyngham.

SIR,

BEing aſſured that you ſhall ſee my Letter to her Majeſty wherein I have written the whole courſe and manner of my Proceeding here, I will refer you to the ſame, without farther Rehearſal thereof here. If her Highneſs ſhall either refuſe to grant, or do not ſpeedily grant that Summ which is required at this preſent, we ſhall ſee a ſudden, woefull, and a dangerous Change in theſe Parts; for by reaſon of the Bruits which have here been ſpread, that her Majeſty will abandon the Cauſe; and of the great Doubt and Diſtruſt in the States, That her Majeſty will give them no farther ſufficient Aid; and without her ſufficient Aid they ſee well enough, that this preſent War cannot be maintained: Divers in theſe Countries, as it is certainly underſtood, have already entered into Intelligence with the Enemy, taking their Caſe altogether deſperate, without her Majeſty's Aſſiſtance. The State alſo have determined to abandon the Defence of all, ſave of *Holland* and *Zealand* only; which if it ſhould be done, it is reſolved by thoſe of beſt underſtanding here, That e'er a Year go about, there will follow a general Revolt to the King of *Spain*: For hitherto the States having made their War with Promiſe of great Pay, and ſmall Performance, with the Terrour of many Thouſands of Men in Books, bet not in being, and the Captains on the other ſide having requited them with the aſſurance of thouſands for their defence; which when they come to the Fight were ſcarce full Hundreds, they have paſſed on without Pay, Order, or Diſcipline: So as all things being brought to Confuſion, it is to be wondred that the Enemy hath prevailed no more againſt them. The onely Salve to all this Sore, hath been the very Name and Countenance of her Majeſty, wherein the States have ſo cunningly carried on the People, making them believe, that although her Majeſty accepted not their Sovereignty, yet ſhe did ſo embrace the Defence of their Cauſe, as in all their wants ſhe did ſupply them; That by this means covering the Matter with the Honour, Hope, and Countenance of her Majeſty's Aſſiſtance to help them in all their Needs, the People have ſtood faſt in the Quarrel as yet; and hereupon it grows, that the States both always heretofore, and of late, have ſo often and ſo earneſtly preſſed her Majeſty to accept the Sovereignty, becauſe indeed it is the onely and the infinite deſire of the People, to be governed by her Majeſty, and not by the States, who they ſee well enough do convert their Authority rather to the Advancement of their own Particular, than to the publick Benefit of the Common-weal; ſo as now

if it ſhall in the end fall out, as already it hath been ſhrewdly bruited and ſuſpected, That her Majeſty doth not only refuſe the Sovereignty, but alſo ſhall not give them ſufficient Aid, as may ſuffice to defend them againſt the Violence of the *Spaniard*, it is in manner certain, that the People, (not being the 5th Man a Proteſtant, but compact of all Profeſſions, and the moſt part Papiſts, and not making their War in truth for Religion, but for their Country and Liberty onely, and to reſiſt the Tyranny of the *Spaniard*, whoſe hatred is ingraft in the Hearts of them all,) when they ſhall ſee her Majeſty to fail in their Defence, and themſelves deceived of their expectation therein, and Men brought into a hopeleſs and deſperate Caſe, and induring theſe continual and intollerable Taxes, and yet cannot be defended, will undoubtedly turn and revolt to the Enemy, with whatſoever Conditions. Nevertheleſs if her Majeſty will be pleaſed to think well upon the weight of this Cauſe, and how mightily it importeth both the Safety of her ſelf, and of her whole Realm and People beſide, and to follow the Advice of grave Counſel, without which it is not poſſible that this Cauſe can either be well plotted or preſerved; there is yet left hope ſufficient to reſettle the ſame, with an aſſured defence againſt the Enemy, for the furtherance whereof this good beginning my coming hath already made, That by my ſeveral Letters to the Towns, I have both fully recomforted the People, and alſo ſtayed the ſtaggering States, with hope of her Majeſty's gracious Aſſiſtance. I have procured a certain Courſe to be ſettled and agreed upon, for the having a ſufficient Garriſon and Army to defend theſe Provinces, the Charge whereof is likewiſe caſt up and ſet down, to amount, beſides their ordinary Contribution of 20000 *l.* Monthly, and of her Majeſty's Forces, to the Sum of 150000 *l.* more to be raiſed upon their extraordinary Levies; ſo as now the Charges of the War is brought to a certainty. I have brought the ſaid States to aſſent to yield of the ſaid 150000 *l.* the Summ of 100000 *l.* to be raiſed upon their extraordinary Levies, over and above their ordinary Contribution of 20000 *l.* Monthly; ſo as they may have the Loan of 50000 *l.* from her Majeſty, being the reſt of the ſaid 150000 *l.* And thus a ſufficient War for their Defence ſhall be ſure to be maintained. I have reduced all Matters of Differences and Unkindneſs to Love and Unity. The Count *Maurice* profeſſeth now all Good-will and Amity to my Lord of *Leiceſter*. The Count *Hollock* promiſeth with all Honour and Friendſhip to embrace his Lordſhip. The States General and Council of Eſtate have publickly, and divers ſuch as ſtood ſuſpected have even to me privately aſſured all Duty and Fidelity to his Lordſhip. And even *Paul Buis*, if his Lordſhip will pleaſe to receive him, will give Promiſe of all Faith and Service to his Lordſhip. I have likewiſe fully reconciled Count *Hollock* and Sir *John Norris*; and brought likewiſe the Quarrel of the Count and Sir *Edw. Norris* to be wholly referred unto Her Majeſty: And knowing the end of my Ambaſſade to be to advance the good Succeſs of this common Cauſe, I have thought I could not better employ my ſelf that way, than to travel to renew Good-will and Friendſhip betwixt my Lord of *Leiceſter* and Sir *John Norris*, whoſe Wiſdom, Temperance, Valiance, great Knowledge, long Experience in theſe Wars and Countries; and having thereby the dependance of the eldeſt Soldiers, he doth in my aſſured Opinion, give ſo mighty a furtherance to the good ſucceſs here, as that by his Departure I do certainly believe the common Cauſe would ſuffer exceeding great Hurt and Hinderance. I find Sir *John Norris* right willing and deſirous thereof, ſo as he may ſtand aſſured of his Lordſhip's Friendſhip towards him; but he ſpecially remembreth, that if his Lordſhip ſhall pleaſe to beſtow his Favour upon him, that then he may enjoy his Office of Collonel as always he hath done, with thoſe Preheminencies that belong thereunto; as, to have the nomination of the Captains under him, which he deſireth not but as in right it appertaineth to him. I have dealt with Mr. *Atie* herein, who hath promiſed me to be a faithfull fartherer thereof: And I beſeech you, Sir, even for the true Love you bear to the good of this common Cauſe, that you will extend all your Power to effect the ſame. My Lord without queſtion, ſhall want one of his beſt means to win Honour here, if he want Sir *John Norris*, and thoſe that follow him; and even the Cauſe it ſelf, which moſt importeth, ſhall have the chiefeſt Loſs; which eſpecially moved me to write earneſtly ever to her Majeſty in this Matter: So as I conclude, Things here being thus redoulced and reſtored to ſome Life again, I perſuade my ſelf, that they are now ready to re-crave her Majeſty and her Succours, with all Love and Fidelity, even towards her and hers. The Lord above he onely ſeeth and knoweth the Secrets of their Hearts, but ſurely in Appearance it is ſo pretended. Now if her Majeſty ſhall either deny or delay, (for now both thoſe will bring forth an Effect,) we ſhall ſure ſee a ſudden Mutation of things here, dangerous, I doubt, to the Subverſion of this Eſtate, never more to be had or recovered again.

We have here daily Advertiſements of the Preparation of the Enemy, as well for the Siege of *Arnham*, a Town of great importance, as for ſome ſudden Attempt upon *Oſtend*, or *Sluyſe* or both; yea, we have certain knowledge, that the Enemy hath Intelligence in *Utreicht*, *Swoll*, and divers other Places, and all growing upon the Bruit and Diſtruſt, that her Majeſty will not relieve them.

Wherefore if her Majeſty will give Remedy to theſe Evils, her Majeſty muſt not only ſatisfie their Demand, but ſhe muſt doe it ſpeedily and preſently; for the infinite Wants, and Unreadineſs to reſiſt the Enemy on this ſide, and the great Preparations and Forces already armed on the other ſide, do admit no Minute of Delay.

He

Her Highneſs muſt alſo ſend over the Earl of *Leiceſter* with all ſpeed poſſible, through lack of whoſe Preſence infinite Things are left at Random and unordered, which cannot but by him their Governour be performed.

Her Majeſty muſt likewiſe ſend over preſent Money for the Pay and Relief of her own Soldiers, of whom ſome daily die, and ſome run to the Enemy, forced with extreme Penury for lack of Pay. And whereas Mr. *Hurſton* affirmed, That about 11000 *l.* would ſatisfie Average in his time, it falleth out here, that there was due then to the Summ of 15000 *l.* and odd; ſo as the reſt of the 30000 *l.* will not pay above one Month and an half, and then there will be due by her Majeſty by the 12th of this next Month, though by that time the Treaſure come, for 5 Months and an half.

Her Highneſs muſt alſo ſend, with all the poſſible ſpeed that may be, 1000 Men, to complete the number of her own Forces, which do want above that Number, as by Sir *John Norris* I am certainly informed; for as yet the Muſter-Maſter is not come hither, by the ſending of which 1000, both her Majeſty ſhall complete her Numbers according to her Contract, (which the States here do wonderfully call upon,) and they may alſo ſerve to furniſh *Oſtend*, *Sluyſe*, *Arnam*, *Utreicht*, and other places of Importance, now utterly unprovided, and ſought by the Enemy. I would to God it might alſo pleaſe her Majeſty, to cauſe ſome Victuals to be ſent out of *England* for *Oſtend*, *Berges*, and *Sluyſe*, for by reaſon that her Majeſty's Soldiers in *Oſtend* and *Berges*, for want of Pay from her Higneſs, have been forced to conſume the Magazines which the States have finiſhed in thoſe Places for a Siege onely, and ſo will ſtill doe, untill they may have full pay from her Highneſs, we can by no means perſuade them to ſend any Victuals thither, knowing certainly that her Majeſty's Soldiers, not having Pay, will conſume it; and we not having Money to provide it, do not know how to help it.

Madam *Villiers* beſeecheth you, that where by your Letter you have ſtayed a *Spaniard* Priſoner for the redeeming of Monſieur *Lanow*'s Son, which ſhe ſaith will never be for this Man, that you will by your ſaid Letter releaſe the ſaid Priſoner again, ſo as ſhe may have him for her Money to redeem her Husband. Sir *John Norris* alſo deſireth, that you would pleaſe to be a Mean, that when the ſaid 1000 Soldiers are ſent over, there may be aſſigned as Captains to Companies, ſuch as by their long Service here, and Ability to ſerve, do well deſerve it; as namely, *Roper*, *Green*, and *Jackſon*, and likewiſe *Cosby* and *Hovenden*, who by their Fidelity in the time of Sir *William Stanley*'s Revolt, do worthily deſerve ſome ſpecial Favour, and yet are Men of good Ability to ſerve. And Sir, I beſeech you to ſend over with the ſaid 1000 as few Court Captains as may be; but that they may rather be furniſhed with Captains here, ſuch as by their Worthineſs and long Service do merit it, and do rather ſeek to ſhine in the Field with Vertue and Valiance againſt the Enemy, than with Gold Lace and gay Garments in Court at home, leaving their Charge and Soldiers here without leading them; and yet can be content to fill their Purſes with the Queen's Pay, without doing the Service for the which they are hired, which I aſſure you is a woefull Thing to be ſuffered.

If her Majeſty will proceed in the good courſe of this Cauſe, and ſend over Commiſſion with Inſtructions for the concluding of a new Treaty, whereunto the States here have aſſented, and in that behalf have written to the Towns for ſufficient Authority, then I beſeech you to further the ſame with Speed, that I be not forced to dwell here for ever. We hear that Sir *William Stanley* is gone to *Bruxelles*, his Soldiers remaining in the Town of *Deventer*, and of greateſt Force there, where *Verdugo* now remaineth. I recommend my ſelf to your good Favour, and remain all yours aſſured.

I have no time to write at length to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, my Lord Treaſurer, nor to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, nor to the reſt of my Lords, therefore this my Letter to you muſt inform them all.

Hague April 13th. 1587.

Your moſt aſſured Friend,
T. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

There is alſo one *Acton*, who hath ſerved in *Ireland* and here theſe 16 Years. I beſeech you farther him to have a Company, for he is worthy of it.

I ſend you herewith two Projects of our Conſultations and Reſolutions here.

A Copy of a Letter from the Lord Buckehurſt *to the Queen.*

It may pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

DOubting leſt my Letters by Mr. *Atie*, to be brought unto your Highneſs, ſhall not find ſo ready paſſage as I wiſh, I have thought good eftſoons to renew to Mr. *Secretary* the Effect of thoſe my former Advertiſements, whereunto I do referr your Majeſty; onely theſe few Lines I am bold to addreſs beſide unto your Highneſs, whereby moſt humbly to beſeech your Majeſty, that you will pleaſe to ſend over with all poſſible ſpeed ſuch Money as may ſuffice to make a full Pay, untill the 12th of this next Month, according to the Account which Mr. Treaſurer by this

this Meſſenger now ſends unto your Majeſty, which ſhall not onely redound to your Highneſs's great Profit, (ſith the keeping your Majeſty's Treaſure in your Coffers doth yield no Intereſt unto you, but alſo ſhall be a Matter of much Honour unto your Highneſs, and which is above all Reſpects earthly, ſhall be the mean to preſerve the Lives of numbers of your faithfull Subjects, which otherwiſe muſt needs daily periſh, whoſe former Miſeries, through want of Meat and Money to relieve them, being made known unto me here, doth, I proteſt to God, ſo much move my Soul with Commiſeration of that which is paſt, and ſo tremble my Heart to think of the like to come again, (being now by the weekly Impreſt provided for,) as I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, even for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to have Compaſſion of ſuch their lamentable Eſtate paſſed, and to ſend preſent Money to preſerve them from the like hereafter; for that your Majeſty's Treaſure here will not perform thoſe Impreſts beyond the ſixth day of *May*. Likewiſe your Highneſs muſt be pleaſed to paſs over with all ſpeed 2000 Soldiers, for the filling of your Majeſty's Companies, utterly broken and enfeebled, which ſhall not onely reinforce your Power here, moſt neceſſary to be done with ſpeed, but alſo ſatisfie that which in Honour and Right by your Contract your Majeſty is bound unto, and which the States do daily call upon, and beſeech your Majeſty may be performed. The Eternal God encline your Majeſty's Heart to grant the Petition of the States unto your Highneſs, for the Loan of the 50000*l.* and that it be accompliſhed ſpeedily; for the dangerous Terms of this State here, and the mighty and forward Preparation of the Enemy, admit no Minute of Delay; ſo as even to grant it ſlowly, is to deny it utterly. The many and notable good Havens here, and the great number of Ships and Mariners in theſe Places, with their impregnable Towns, if they were in the Hands of a potent Prince, that would defend them; and laſtly the Seat of this Shoar, ſo near and oppoſite to the Land and Coaſt of *England*, ſo alſo the ſight of all theſe daily in mine Eye, conjoined with the deep enrooted Malice of that your ſo mighty Enemy, who ſeeketh to regain them; theſe things continually entering into the Thoughts and Meditations of my Heart, and thereby how much it importeth both the ſafety of your ſelf, and your Eſtate; theſe be they which in the abundance of my Love and Duty to your Majeſty, do enforce me thus earneſtly to ſpeak, write, and weep unto your Majeſty, leſt when the occaſion yet offered ſhall once be gone and paſt, this bleſſed Mean of your Majeſty's defence, by God's Provident Goodneſs thus put into your Hands, will then utterly be loſt, ſo never never more to be had or recovered again. I wiſh a long and moſt proſperous Reign unto your Majeſty, with triumphant Conqueſt over all your Enemies, and ſo I moſt humbly take my Leave.

Hague, *April* 19*th.* 1587. *Stylo Angliæ.* *Your Majeſty's moſt humble and Faithfull Servant,*
Tho. Buckehurſt.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Secretary* Walſyngham.

SIR,

I Hope that e'er this my Letters of the 13*th.* of this Month are come to the Court; wherein as well to her Majeſty, as to the reſt of my Lords, I have advertiſed at full length, all the ſtate and courſe of our Proceedings here; nevertheleſs Mr. *Atie*, by whom the Pacquet was ſent, having taken his Courſe by *Fluſhing*, and the Winds ſince having been very ſtormy and uncertain, I have thought good to reiterate briefly the Effect of my ſaid Advertiſements by this Meſſenger alſo, which ſhortly is thus.

That all things are redoulced and reduced to good Correſpondence again betwixt her Majeſty and the States.

That all their late Innovations and Alterations whatſoever, are by them affirmed to be but proviſional, until my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Return, enforced through fear of a general Revolt, after the loſs of *Deventer*, by reaſon of their maimed Government that wanted their Head and Governour, and that at his Lordſhip's Return they will and muſt agniſe both him and his Authority, as amply and fully as firſt the ſame to him was granted.

That they deny all thought of Intention to diſſever themſelves from her Majeſty, or that ever they did any Act, or had meaning to touch the Honour either of her Majeſty, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, or of the *Engliſh* Nation, or to prejudice the Authority of his Lordſhip, whoſe ſpeedy Return they do earneſtly deſire.

That the Intent and Meaning of their Letter of the 4*th.* of *Febr.* to his Lordſhip, was onely to tax certain pernicious and ſeditious Perſons that ſought to abuſe his Lordſhip with falſe and ſlanderous Tales for their own particular, and not in any ſort to touch his Lordſhip whoſe Honour they reverence, and hold in high Eſtimation: In confirmation of all which the ſaid General States have by Mr. *Atie* written their ſeveral Letters both to her Majeſty, and to his Lordſhip.

That I have received from Count *Maurice* and Count *Hollock* great Aſſurance of their moſt faithfull Devotion to her Majeſty, and loving Words of their good Affection towards his Lordſhip, though ſprinkled with ſome Drops of Unkindneſs from Count *Hollock*; but yet ending with all Good-

Will

Will and Service towards his Lordſhip: And that ſithence the Departure of Mr. *Atie*, I have received in Writing, not onely from Count *Hollock*, but alſo from Count *Maurice*, which I ſuſpected not, certain Notes of Unkindneſs towards his Lordſhip alleadged in their Writings, to be done not to the End to encreaſe Unkindneſs, but rather to extinguiſh it; and ſo concluding with all Good-Will unto his Lordſhip.

That I have fully reconciled Count *Hollock* and Sir *John Norris*; and that the Quarrel betwixt the Count and Sir *Edward Norris*, is wholly referred unto her Majeſty likewiſe.

That in Conference with the States, (after my Declaration unto them, that her Majeſty, in reſpect of this good ſatisfaction from them, would yield ſuch farther Encreaſe of Contribution, as might ſtand with her preſent Charges otherwiſe, and ſo as they alſo would ſupply the reſt,) we did agree upon three Projects: The firſt ſetting down ſuch Towns and Places as were fit and neceſſary to be kept with continual Gariſon, and withall a competent number of Soldiers for the ſaid Gariſon, which were reduced to 20000 Footmen, and 2000 Horſemen ordinary. The ſecond to contain ſuch Forces as are neceſſary to make an Army for this Year, which muſt conſiſt of 12000 Footmen, 5000 Horſemen, and 1000 Pioniers; whereof their 2000 Horſemen ordinary, and the Queen's Majeſty's 1000 Horſemen ordinary, and her Highneſs's 5000 Footmen ordinary, being part, there reſteth to be newly paid and levied 2000 Horſemen, 7000 Footmen, and 1000 Pioniers; for that from the Gariſons there may be none extracted: Within which Reckoning doth fall their Levy already made, but not paid for, *viz.* of 2000 Rutters, 3000 Launs Knights, and 1000 Pioniers, which are ready levied towards the fulfilling the ſaid Army. The third expreſſing the Charges, as well for the ſaid Gariſon, as for the ſaid Army, which grows to 150000 *l.* and odd, over and above their ordinary Contributions of 20000 *l.* Monthly, and all her Majeſty's contracted Forces. And that the ſaid States have promiſed to doe their uttermoſt to procure, that the Provinces ſhall pay two parts of the 150000 *l.* and odd; ſo as her Majeſty will pleaſe to pay the 3*d* part, being 50000 *l.* by way of Loan unto the ſaid States, for the which they have written to their Towns, and do hope within 14 days to have Anſwer to their Contentation.

That thus the Gariſons ſhall be well defended, the Army puiſſant againſt the Enemy, the Soldiers monthly and truly paid, and ſo the War to proſper, and have good ſucceſs, which now ſtandeth all upon Diſorder, Mutiny, Miſery, with utter Ruine and Confuſion, both to the Cauſe, and to the Soldiers that defend it.

That her Majeſty muſt pleaſe, not onely to grant to this their ſaid Demand, but alſo to grant it preſently, and to ſend away my Lord of *Leiceſter* ſpeedily; for otherwiſe they being of themſelves not able to reſiſt the Enemy, and having before my coming deſpaired of her Majeſty's ſufficient Aid in that behalf, and now notwithſtanding my Re-comfort given them, not finding indeed that ſpeedy Supply which their neceſſity requireth to follow with Effect from her Majeſty, it is too apparent that we ſhall ſee a ſudden and a dangerous Mutation here, many having Intelligence with the Enemy, even in the Towns of greateſt Importance, and thoſe of *Holland* and *Zealand* meaning to relinquiſh all other but themſelves, if her Majeſty deny this their Demand unto them.

That her Majeſty muſt be pleaſed to ſend away, with all ſpeed poſſible, 2000 Soldiers, to fulfill her own Companies; for that by Sir *John Norris* I am aſſured, (who hath cauſed a View to be made of them,) that they want ſo many, or rather more, and are in wonderfull Weakneſs and Want, not having had pay of a long time; and that 200 of them may be ſent to *Oſtend*, and all the reſt to *Berges*, and ſo from thence to be diſperſed.

That the Treaſure now come over is not able to pay two Months of ſix, as by a particular Declaration of Mr. Treaſurer ſhall appear; whereby we have been inforced to forbear to make any on full Months pay; for thereby (all being allready owing by the Soldiers, either for Victuals, or otherwiſe to his Captain for Apparel,) he muſt ſtarve for Want, nothing here now being to be had but for ready Money, in reſpect of the long Want of Pay, which hath undone both the Victualler, the Soldier, and the Captain: For which cauſe her Majeſty muſt be pleaſed to ſend over preſent Money, and that with all ſpeed; ſo as at the leaſt they may have weekly Impreſs of 20 *l.* a Company, or elſe the Soldiers muſt either ſtarve, or rebell upon the Countries, or revolt unto the Enemy. Wherein alſo her Majeſty muſt know, that untill her Majeſty pleaſe to make a thorough Pay, there can neither be Order kept in the Reckoning, Benefit to the Soldier, nor Profit to her Majeſty, but all goes upon Account betwixt her Majeſty, the Captain, and his Soldier, to the great Loſs and Hinderance of every one; deſiring you for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake to beſeech her Majeſty to have Pity and Compaſſion of her poor Subjects and Soldiers, who for Want of Pay have here moſt miſerably died and periſhed, to the which, like as at this preſent, we have given ſome Relief by this Impreſt of 20 *l.* weekly; ſo that being ended, as within this Month it will, they are then in worſe Caſe than before, the Towns here utterly refuſing now to yield any thing to the poor Soldier, without ready Money, in reſpect of the long Want of Pay which hath been here.

We have now received new Advertiſement of a Siege intended by the Enemy for *Oſtend*, of 4000 Footmen, and certain Cornets of Horſe, lodged within two Miles of the Town; and that they are making of a Fort between *Sluyſe* and *Oſtend*. I have earneſtly proponed for Relief of thoſe Maritime

Places,

Places, but can get none here; for I ſee they expect to hear Anſwer from her Majeſty, and if therein they be not ſatisfied, the End will be, That if her Majeſty relieve them not, they will be loſt, for they will ſurely abandon the Defence of them. Monſieur *Grunevelt* did this day ſend his Brother unto me, to give me knowledge of the Enemy's building of the ſaid Fort, and that he intendeth to build another upon the Haven, and that then he accounts it as beſieged; and that if her Majeſty will not accept the Defence thereof, he muſt think of ſome Mean for his Behoof, for of the States he makes no count at all.

The Enemy doth likewiſe begin to make a Bridge at *Weſell*, to impeach which there is ſome Exploit intended by Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Martin Skink*. The Siege of *Arnam* is certainly intended by the Enemy, as our Eſpiall affirmeth. I have ſtayed the Money due to the States for *Brill*, being 850 *l.* to be employed for the Defence of theſe Maritime Towns, and have already taken Order for a Magazine at *Oſtend* for a Month, which comes to 500 *l.* and for the Pay of their Dutch Companies, which for want of Pay are mutinying towards the Enemy; ſo as that Place I hope is provided for this Month: The other 350 *l.* will doe ſo little for the Relief of *Sluyſe* and *Berges*, as well for a Siege Magazine, as to pay the Soldiers, as it is not to be accounted. And thus I recommend you to God, wiſhing all Honour and Happineſs unto you.

This 19*th. of* April 1587. Stylo veteri,
from the Hague, *meaning to go to* Utreicht *to Morrow.*

Your moſt aſſured loving Friend,
Tho. Buckehurſt.

POSTSCRIPT.

The 2000 Men muſt be ſent with all ſpeed, 200 to *Oſtend*, the reſt to *Berges*; they muſt have Conduct Money to keep them till they be placed here.

I ſend you herewith the Examination of *John Flud*, Sir *W. Stanley's* Man, whom Mr. *Bamborough* brings over with him; wherein Sir *John Norris* aſſureth me, that notwithſtanding the Depoſition of the ſaid *Flud*, touching Captain *Uffington* and Captain *Gosby*; yet that by many certain Intelligences it is apparent, That they both were no ways privy to Sir *William Stanley's* Treachery, but did immediately renounce him, and come away, and are worthy Men, and deſerve to be farthered.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Queen.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I Received your Letters, dated at *Croiden* the third of *May*, upon the 22*d.* following, (which could no ſooner come into my hands, by reaſon of want of Wind for Paſſage, as the Meſſenger affirms,) at which time divers of the States General, being then diſperſed to viſit their Friends within ſundry Towns adjoining; five days more were ſpent before they could be reaſſembled. The effect of your Majeſty's ſaid Letters do contain three Parts: The Firſt reciting your Majeſty's miſ-conceiving, or rather miſ-information of my Proceeding with the States upon my firſt Arrival here; the Declaration and Juſtification whereof in particular, being a long and tedious Work to perform, and my poor Mind and Body in this your other Services of great Importance, having never Quiet nor Repoſe, but ſo continually wearied and oppreſſed with inceſſant Cares and Travels, for the Order and Direction of the ſame, as it is not poſſible for me by any longer time to endure it: I am thereby enforced as yet to forbear, to anſwer untill better Leiſure ſhall give me leave to do it; humbly beſeeching your Majeſty in the mean while, to ſuſpend your Sacred Judgment, and in the Honour and Juſtice of your Royal Mind, (yea whatſoever ſhall be urged and inforced againſt me,) yet not to condemn your faithfull Servant here toiling in your Service, before himſelf and his Cauſe may be heard and tried. The Second part expreſſeth your Pleaſure, in matters concerning my Lord of *Leiceſter* in two Points; the one about the Defence made by the States of that Letter, which they wrote to his Lordſhip the 4*th.* of *February* laſt, and which they alledge to that, proceeded upon a Piquant Letter, written by him unto them: Whereas your Majeſty having ſeen the true Copy thereof, do blame them of manifeſt untruths, in naming it a Piquant Letter; having no ſower nor ſharp Word therein, nor any Clauſe of Reprehenſion, but full of Gravity and gentle Admonition, ſo as it deſerved a kind and thankfull Anſwer, and that ſo I ſhould maintain it againſt them; which, to obey your Majeſty's Commandment, I have done accordingly. But for ſo much as they pretend at good length to deliver their anſwer in Writing to the ſaid Letter, which as yet I have not received, I cannot certifie your Majeſty thereof; deferring alſo to ſend your Majeſty my juſt excuſe for my Proceeding in that particular, becauſe I mean, among the reſt of your Majeſty's millikes towards me, to ſatisfie your Majeſty therein alſo moſt ſufficiently. The other point containeth that I ſhould ſeek by all the means I may, to diſcover the Authors of the ſlanderous Brute of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, touching the killing of Count *Hollock*, as well by examining the Count himſelf; as alſo to any other that I ſhall learn to have been a party in that Cauſe. That matter alſo I do as yet forbear to ſignifie to your Majeſty; for although I have already proceeded to the Examination of divers therein, yet doth the chief part thereof reſt, as it ſeemeth, in the knowledge of Count *Hollock*, with whom as yet I have not dealt, being but two days

ſithence

ſithence he returned hither; during all which time, both he and we, with the States and Council of Eſtate, have been continually buſied about the publick Cauſe; and am now alſo making this diſpatch to your Majeſty, which I thought not fit in reſpect of that private Cauſe to deferr; eſpecially, ſith the ſaid Count *Hollock* is departed to *Delph*, there for ſome while to ſtay, as I am informed. The third part mentioneth your Majeſty's Anſwer unto my former Advertiſement concerning the States Petition, as well for the Loan of 50000 *l.* as alſo for the return of my Lord of *Leiceſter*; which ſtanding upon ſome words of doubtfulneſs, and withall upon ſo hard a courſe ſet down, as that I may not proceed upon aſſurance of certainty in matters that cannot chuſe but be ſubject to a great incertainty, I find to be a very ſtrange and difficile work for me to bring to paſs. Nevertheleſs in performance of your Majeſty's Commandment, I have followed that way which I thought moſt agreeable both to your Majeſty's good Pleaſure, and to the beſt Conſervation of this publick Cauſe, ſo much importing both your Majeſty and your whole Eſtate, in ſuch ſort as I truſt in God, it will content your Majeſty.

Wherefore after long Declaration, Debating, and Conference, touching all thoſe points contained in your Majeſty's Letter: And after the return of Count *Hollock* unto the *Hague* here, which was not untill the 5*th*. of this preſent; and before whoſe coming, they would in no wiſe determine any thing touching the Diminution of the Army or Garriſon, at length they grew to theſe Reſolutions. Firſt, that by no means there could be any Diminution admitted, either of the Garriſon, or of the Army, in the Project ſet down and expreſſed; for having deliberated upon the numbers of the Men of War, being partly waged in the defence of theſe Provinces, they do find that your Majeſty's Forces being compleated according to your Majeſty's contract, that thoſe Forces that are in the States Pay, are by the Rolls of the Muſters, above 2000 Horſe, and 24000 Foot; whereunto joining the 2000 Rutters, 3000 Lans-Knights, and 1000 Poiniers, which are already entertained according to a former contract, with them made by the good conſent of the Lord of *Leiceſter*. That with the number projected for the Garriſon and Army, *viz.* of 5000 Horſe, 32000 Foot, and 1000 Pioniers, will be more than compleat by 4000 Men. And yet the States do think that it would be a very dangerous thing at this time, now to make any Diminution of the ſame, or to caſt their Men of War, now ready armed for their Defence; the Enemy having at this preſent an Army in the Field, and holding their Towns beſieged. And chiefly for that there was a Bruit ſpread among the People of a Treaty of Peace, which would be confirmed by ſuch Diminution, whereof might follow very great Inconveniences.

Secondly, That they did ſtill moſt conſtantly hope, that your Majeſty of your moſt Gracious Goodneſs towards them, conſidering their great Neceſſity, would at length yet be induced to grant the Loan of the ſaid 50000 *l.* Nevertheleſs they would not omit to do their uttermoſt and poſſible endeavour, (having a ſupply to be yielded by your Majeſty of 15000 *l.*) not only to maintain their Garriſons, but alſo to ſet in the Field the Horſe and Foot in the Project mentioned; and that (by ſuch help and means as they had already wrought) they doubted not but to effect and accompliſh the ſame; for as touching the extraordinary Contribution of 100000 *l.* they did affirm, That their Towns having full hope that your Majeſty would pleaſe to ſupply their neceſſity with the Loan of 50000 *l.* had already yielded to the extraordinary Contribution of 100000 *l.* in form following. To wit, That the Nobility, and all the Towns of *Holland* and *Weſtfrize*, excepting two, have conſented to the ſaid 100000 *l.* and that they hope the ſaid two Towns which have not as yet conſented, will be induced to conform themſelves with the Nobility and other Towns; that thoſe of *Zealand* and *Frize*, have accorded their Quote, and that thoſe of *Utreicht* have done the like, ſaving that they pretend to have ſome Diminution of their Quote, in reſpect of the waſte and ſpoil of their flat Country; and that ſo long as their Towns and People, ſhall not hear nor underſtand of the Fail and Decay of ſuch your Majeſty's Goodneſs towards them, touching the Loan of the ſaid 50000 *l.* (which they will keep from their knowledge by all the ways and means poſſible,) that ſo long they are ſure they will pay the ſaid 100000 *l.* truly. And as touching the 35000 *l.* with which the ſaid 100000 *l.* and your Majeſty's 15000 *l.* doth make up the full 150000 *l.* projected, to the Maintenance of the Garriſon and Army; the States General do declare, that neither they have power to condeſcend to the ſame, nor yet do think it convenient to move it to the Provinces or Members thereof in particular, becauſe thereby the failing of your Majeſty to lend the ſaid 50000 *l.* being diſcovered, it would greatly hinder and endanger even the ſucceſs of the whole Grant. But they ſay, that although the great and unſupportable Charges ordinary of the War, and other Charges of the Country, be very uneaſie to be born, and by that means it will be grevious and burthenous to thoſe Provinces reſpectively to furniſh and pay the ſaid 100000 *l.* that every of them notwithſtanding will put in proof ſuch means as they ſhall find practiſable with the leaſt Damage and Grief of the People. To the end alſo that the Money which ſhall come ſhort monthly towards the ordinary Charges, ſhall be monthly paid, and that the ſumms neceſſary for the Charges of the Camp, ſhall be paid in three or four Months, as the Camp ſhall be entertained proportionally. And although the ſaid Provinces reſpectively do force themſelves to the uttermoſt in furniſhing of the ſaid extraordinary Grant, that yet notwithſtanding the moſt part of the principal of the ſaid Provinces ſhall be conſtrained to furniſh out their Quote thereof by the ſale of Rents, and Levy of Money at Intereſt.

Thus much being by the States General offered and declared, and it ſeeming not onely probable unto me, that they ſhall be able to perform the ſame, but alſo a Matter moſt apparent, that for lack of ſome ſupport to be yielded by her Majeſty, they ſhall not be able to put themſelves in that ſtrength into the Field as were meet, and may ſtand with their Safety; and being moreover a manifeſt likelihood, as in mine Opinion it is, That by your Majeſty's not yielding ſome convenient ſupport in this Neceſſity, beſides your Majeſty's ordinary Contribution, there might grow by the Practice of thoſe that ſtand ill affected towards your Majeſty ſome Alteration of Good will that generally the People of thoſe Countries do bear unto your Majeſty, and ſo to be carried into ſome dangerous Reſolution; I did hereupon, according to the Tenour of your Majeſty's Letters, as of my ſelf, give promiſe unto them, that I would doe my beſt Endeavour to draw your Majeſty to yield to the furniſhing of the ſaid 15000 *l.* by way of Loan, with aſſured hope to obtain the ſame at your Majeſty's Hands; for the which they ſhewed themſelves very thankfull, much deſiring that the ſame might be obtained in ſuch convenient time, as might help to bring the Army ſpeedily into the Field, without which they ſhall be ſubject to great and many Dangers; concluding always, that their humble Suit and Hope is and muſt be, that your Majeſty will at length pleaſe to grant them ſome mean of farther Help for their Defence. Concerning your Majeſty's Anſwer to their Requeſt for the Return of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, I ſignified unto them, That your Majeſty required not onely their Promiſe, but alſo good Proof to be made by them unto me, how the ſumm of 100000 *l.* growing of the extraordinary Contribution, ſhould be delivered into the hands of ſome Perſons of that Country Birth, to be nominated and choſen by my Lord of *Leiceſter*, to ſupply the place of Treaſurer of the intended Army, and to be iſſued out by his Direction, with the Privity of the Council of Eſtate here. Whereunto they gave their reſolute Anſwer, in this manner, *viz.* That as by his Lordſhip, before his Departure out of theſe Countries, there was a Treaſurer choſen and eſtabliſhed, as alſo a Receiver General of the Contributions of the ſaid Provinces, Men known to his Lordſhip to be ſufficiently qualified, and that their preſent Affairs required great Expedition, and might not ſuffer any longer Delay, that therefore the ſaid Treaſurer and Receiver General might have the Adminiſtration of the Moneys of the ſaid extraordinary Contributions, by the Appointment of his Lordſhip and Council of Eſtate, at the leaſt by Proviſion, and untill his Lordſhip ſhould return into theſe Countries. And in caſe his Lordſhip at his ſaid Return ſhould find it neceſſary, that beſides the ſaid Treaſurer, and Receiver, there muſt be appointed alſo a Treaſurer at War for the managing of the Charges of the Camp, that then his Lordſhip for time onely, and without drawing the ſame for a Precedent hereafter, might appoint a Treſurer for the adminiſtring of the Moneys, which ſhall then be received of the ſaid extraordinary Contribution deſtinated for the Camp, provided that he ſhall be a Perſon of Quality, born in *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utreicht*, or *Frieſe*, and agreeable to the States General; and that the ſame Treaſurer ſhall iſſue the Moneys by Warrant of his Lordſhip, and thoſe of the Council. And foraſmuch as the ſaid Anſwer impugned the Deſire of your Majeſty in three Points; as, firſt, in reſtraining the Choice of his Lordſhip to four Provinces, excluding thereby both *Flanders*, *Guelders*, and *Overriſſell*, which are Provinces United: And, ſecondly, That the Perſons to be choſen muſt be ſuch as ſhall be agreeable to the States; whereas your Majeſty's Deſire was, that they might be nominated and choſen by his Lordſhip onely: And, thirdly, For that the Moneys ſhould be iſſued by the Warrant of his Lordſhip, and of the Council of State jointly; whereas it is demanded, that it be iſſued by the Direction of his Lordſhip, with the onely Privity of the Council of State. I declared finally, That for the reſpects aforeſaid, I had no Warrant from your Majeſty to promiſe the Return of his Lordſhip unto them.

I did declare unto the States your Majeſty's great Goodneſs towards them, in pleaſing to interpoſe your favourable Mediation for them unto the King of *Denmark*, as well for the mitigating of that Exaction lately laid upon them, as alſo to recommend their Cauſes all in General to the ſaid King, for the which they render their moſt humble Thanks unto your Majeſty.

I did alſo ſharply lay before them, That your Majeſty taketh in ill part, That they have ſo little care of the Defence of the Holds in *Flanders*, and that if they ſhall not ſhow themſelves more forward hereafter, that it will be a Mean to make your Majeſty even to give over the Action, your Majeſty having as great Care for the Defence and Preſervation of that which is yet held in that Province, as any of the reſt. To this they anſwered: That the great Wants and Neceſſity of their Eſtate do not ſuffer them to repleniſh every Town with Plenty of Magazine and Munition, untill they ſee a very certain aſſurance of Danger. Beſides which they affirmed, how they have alſo had great Loſs by the ſpoil of their Magazines, as well by her Majeſty's Soldiers, as their own, which makes them moſt unwilling to furniſh Magazines, before they ſee apparent Neceſſity: Nevertheleſs I can now aſſure your Majeſty, That ſithence they underſtood of certainty, that *Oſtend* and *Sluyſe* were to be beſieged, they have with all Care and Diligence ſupplied the Wants both of Victuals and Munition for the ſame.

I ſend your Majeſty herewith the Dolances of Count *Maurice* and Count *Hollock* exhibited unto me, which I did hitherto retain, not onely in reſpect of the daily Expectation of my Lord of *Leiceſter's* Return, but chiefly for that betwixt their Lordſhips and me, it was agreed, that the ſame ſhould not be

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ſent into *England*, but reſerved till his Lordſhip's Return, and then a perfect Reconcilement by my Means and Travel to have been wrought betwixt them.

And finding my ſelf altogether unable, both in Body and Mind, to ſuſtain the Burthen of ſo weighty a Cauſe as this is, although my heart deſireth nothing more, than even to ſpend my Life and Subſtance in the ſervice of your Majeſty. I am moved moſt humbly to beſeech your Highneſs, That after ſo many Toils and Troubles, as I have here endured, I might now at length make my Return to *England*, being ſo far unfit for this, or any other foreign Negotiation, for lack of Language, as I am forced in all my Propoſitions, Anſwers, and Speeches, whatſoever, to perform the ſame by the Mouth and Utterance of another; which how inconvenient and abſurd a thing it is for me in this Place to doe, I am both ſorry and aſhamed to remember: I moſt humbly therefore beſeech your Majeſty to have conſideration thereof, and ſo I pray the Eternal God for ever to bleſs your Majeſty with all Royal Felicity.

Your Majeſty's moſt faithfull and obedient Subject and Servant,
Tho. Buckehurſt.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

My very good Lord,

LEſt Mr. *Atie* by adverſe Winds may be held at *Fluſhing*, which we much doubt here, I have written to Mr. Secretary the ſumm of all things formerly ſent, and ſome other Matters happened ſince: To his Letters I referr your Lordſhip, becauſe I have no leiſure to repeat them, being here far wearied with Toils and Buſineſs; but all things reſt here in ſo good ſtate, ready to embrace her Majeſty's and your Authority, as there is no Danger but in the Delay of your Coming, whoſe Preſence would ſo re-eſtabliſh and fortifie all things, which no doubt were ſtaggering before my coming, and chiefly ſo re-comfort the People, who did infinitely deſire your Return, as there is no queſtion but that all things would ſucceed much better than ever. The Enemy we hear doth daily gather his Forces, ſo as your Lordſhip muſt needs haſten away 2000 Soldiers over, to fill up her Majeſty's Forces, who are wanting to that Summ, and above, as by Sir *John Norris* the Eſtimate hath been made, for as yet the general Muſter is not performed, which this day we have agreed upon, as well touching theirs as ours, to be all in one day.

I beſeech your Lordſhip give me leave continually to be an inceſſant Suitor unto you, for the acceptation of Sir *John Norris* into your good Favour, and that you will beſtow upon him again the Aſſurance of your Love and Friendſhip, upon his Deſert towards you: I am ſure that there is nothing that in the end ſhall more redound to your Contentation, nor to the Fartherance of this noble Service; ſithence without good Miniſters you cannot of your ſelf perform it, and a more worthy Miniſter than he you cannot have for theſe Wars.

Sithence Mr. *Atie*'s Departure Count *Maurice* and Count *Hollock* have delivered unto me ſome Notes of their Unkindneſs towards your Lordſhip, which I ſend not to your Lordſhip, both becauſe I do daily expect your Return hither, as alſo for that I doubt not but to accommodate them to your Contentation. And thus I end, reſting

Hague, *April* 29. 1587. *Your Lordſhip's moſt aſſured to command,*
T. Buckehurſt.

I ſend your Lordſhip herein a Copy of my Letter to her Majeſty.

POST-SCRIPT.

I had forgot to advertiſe your Lordſhip that the States do ſomewhat ſtrangely ſeek to avoid the Payment of Captain *Hill* in the *Brill*, and of Captain *Wingfeld* and *Randal* in *Fluſhing*, ſaying, They were not in their Pay, becauſe they had no Commiſſion from your Lordſhip, wherein my Coſin *Digs* thinks they do derogate from your Authority; for that he thinks you may do it as well by your Word, as by your Commiſſion, being their Governour. And they add farther, that your Commiſſions muſt be enrolled with them, or elſe they ſay they are not bound to pay them; becauſe they know not to whom to pay, unleſs they be enrolled with them. Beſides, they propone to me and offer in this ſort, *viz.* That her Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to have 7000 Footmen to be in her Pay, beſides the Gariſons of *Fluſhing* and *Brill*, and they will give good Aſſurance to her Majeſty, to repay back after ſuch rate as her Majeſty doth pay to her Soldiers, ſo many of the ſaid 7000 as upon every Muſter ſhall be found to exceed the number of 5000, upon this Condition, That her Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſuffer them to fill upon every Muſter all ſuch Defects from time to time, as ſhould fall out to be of her Majeſty's 5000. This Matter ſeemed to me to be a very good Device, both for her Majeſty, the Cauſe and to content your Lordſhip; but Mr. *Digs* affirms it to be derogating to your Authority; for that by this means the Checks are taken from your Lordſhip, whereby you are to raiſe the Decay of Horſe Bands: But he was anſwered, that the Checks of all the Horſemen remained ſtill for that Purpoſe

and that all the Checks of Footmen were not hereby taken away, but rather to a good Purpoſe diminiſhed. But they proponed a third Matter, from whence the chief Grief proceeded; and that was to have certain Commiſſaries divided to ſeveral Places, and to take away quite the Office of Muſter-Maſter, as a Matter of great Charge, and to no Purpoſe; which in my Opinion I think verily will fall out to be ſuch before your Lordſhip. All theſe things are for the preſent by them and us here ordered proviſionally, to be altered or confirmed at your Return, as you ſhall think beſt.

T. Buckehurſt.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Secretary* Walſyngham.

SIR,

I perceive by your Letters, that in reſpect of the Demands of my Lord of *Leiceſter* for the ſupply of his Wants and Neceſſities from her Majeſty, how it groweth very doubtfull whether her Highneſs will employ his Service in theſe parts or not; and that therefore you would have me to deviſe ſome way how theſe Countries might be otherwiſe governed and defended againſt the Puiſſance of this mighty Enemy. For Anſwer whereunto thus I ſay, That it cannot be denied but that the whole ſtrength of theſe United Provinces, and her Majeſty's Forces here, conſiſteth onely in their firm and conſtant abiding, joining and knitting faſt in one, and that as well in the Cauſes Civil as Martial: For as the Martial Forces conjoining together, is all the hope and help whereby to front and repulſe the Enemy; even ſo their Civil Policy being kept in Unity, is the only way and Means by which to levy and raiſe that Contribution which muſt maintain thoſe Forces. Theſe twain do make the Life and Body of this Common Wealth, and are ſo inſeparably to be knit together, as it is no more poſſible to ſunder them, without diſſolution of both, than it is to ſever the natural Body from the Soul, and yet withall to keep the Life in being. To this Body of Neceſſity there muſt be one Head, who may onely and abſolutely command and guide the Direction and Diſpoſing of all Matters and Proceedings here, as well by his provident Preſerving of the Provinces and People in one Courſe of Juſtice, Order, Obedience and Unity, as alſo by his Politick Ruling and Governing the Captains and Soldiers in one form of Diſcipline, and by conducting and leading them with one combined Breaſt and Force againſt the Enemy: Or elſe, if we ſhall admit two Heads, we ſhall thereby make a monſtrous Body, which cannot but produce ſtrange and monſtrous Effects, ſubject to divers and different (yea, ſometimes mere repugnant) Counſels and Commandments, and ſo divide and rend this Body aſunder, whoſe onely Force conſiſteth in one conjoined Unity; the Experience whereof both hath and doth daily confirm the ſame ſo fully, as even at this preſent I have found here ſundry particular Factions, Differences and Diſſentions, not onely among the Captains and Soldiers, but alſo even within the United Provinces; as namely, betwixt thoſe of the Province of *Flanders* and all the reſt, for their Admittance into the States and Council of Eſtate; betwixt thoſe of *Guelders* and *Holland*, for the manner of their Contributions; betwixt thoſe of *Oſterge* and the reſt of *Freiſland*, for the Aſſigning of their Demeans, Confiſcations, and Lands Eccleſiaſtical, to be diſpoſed by the general Governour; betwixt thoſe of *Overriſſell* and the reſt, for their Admittance into the United Provinces; betwixt thoſe of *Holland* and *Utreicht*, both for the Title of their Separation, as alſo for the manner of their Contributions; and laſtly, betwixt thoſe of *Zealand* and *Holland*, about the Aſſeſſing of their Taxes and Payments, ſo as if there be not one Head, unto which both Parts do obey, theſe Civil Diſſentions (while either Party grieved doth hold it ſelf for equal, and without reſpect to the general Good, doth onely look to their particular,) will in fine no doubt enhazard to bring the whole even unto utter Ruine and Confuſion; therefore there muſt not onely be one Head of all, but that one alſo muſt be a Man of high Honour and Dignity, whereby to allure the greater Eſtimation, Reverence, and Reſpect unto him; who ſhould have the Vertues of Affability, Liberality, Martial Skill, and Valour; and withall to be a Man of Wiſdom, Juſtice, Temperance, and Integrity: But becauſe all theſe are very rare or never to be found in any Man, therefore the choice will be of ſuch a one as doth poſſeſs ſo many of them as at the leaſt may give hope to proſper and advance the Cauſe in Hand. But ſurely above all things it will bring exceeding furtherance to theſe Affairs, that this noble Man be one ſent from the Queen's Highneſs, that ſo the Countenance of her Majeſty, within truth, being the onely Uphold and Pillar of this preſent War, may ſo yet ſeem to ſhine upon the common Cauſe. This Foundation thus laid, for the firm conjoining of this Body, and for the ſettling of one Head to govern and command the whole, the next Deliberation is, That in ſatisfaction of your Letter we do conſider what good and fit way may be found to govern and defend theſe Provinces, and not the Earl of *Leiceſter* to be uſed in the ſame; wherein always ſubmitting my ſelf unto graver Judgment, methinks I am forced to be of this Opinion: That as the State of Things doth now ſtand here, there is no other way to repell the preſent Enemy, but by the onely and ſpeedy Return of the Earl of *Leiceſter* for their Governour, and that for ſundry Reaſons: For, firſt, it is manifeſt, that like as at mine Arrival here I found this Body rent and divided into ſundry Parts and Factions; the Earl of *Leiceſter* poſſeſſing one Part; the Count *Maurice* and Count *Hollock*, with di-

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vers of the States, Council of Eſtate, and Magiſtrates, another Part; Sir *John Norris*, and moſt of the followers and Captains a third Part; the People, and ſundry of the *Burghers* with them, a fourth Part; and even the Enemy himſelf a fifth Part, having made Entrance for his Intelligence with divers Towns and Perſons of Account, by means of certain Bruits before my coming diſperſed, That her Majeſty would abandon the Cauſe; and yet all theſe Parts and Factions (without queſtion) reſting wholly at her Highneſs's Devotion, ſo long as Hope remaineth of her Majeſty's Succours and Defence unto them: So now it is come to paſs, that ſithence the late Reduction of Things, at the leaſt unto Appearance of their former Eſtate, and with a ſeeming ſatisfaction, and profeſſed Reconcilement, by mine Endeavour and Travel brought to paſs and effected; ſo even all theſe Parts and Factions whatſoever, are at this preſent, either for Reſpect or Reverence unto her Majeſty, or for Fear or Affection unto my Lord, or elſe for mere Love and Duty to their Countrey, content to embrace his Government, and do daily expect and look for his Return; for ſo the States, Council of Eſtate, Nobility, Burghermaſters, Burghers, Miniſters, and Magiſtrates in every Town and Place where I have come, by their Orations and Speeches, and others by their Letters unto me, both have and do continually proteſt, though in the Heart of all I dare not take upon me to aſſure the ſame: So as if any other Governour ſhould now be newly ſent, it is greatly to be feared, that the Part and Faction ſo addict unto his Lordſhip, not receiving thoſe Favours and Dignities which they deſire and look for, would perhaps ſtir up new Troubles and Garboils, and ſo to raiſe up that Flame again, which now at this preſent ſeemeth ſo well ſuppreſſed. Secondly, I think it is not to be doubted but that his Lordſhip hath all things fit and neceſſary, ready and prepared for ſo great a Journey; whereas if her Majeſty ſhould now upon this ſudden appoint anew, he cannot but with infinite Charge, either to her Majeſty, or to his own exceeding great hinderance, furniſh himſelf in order to ſo high and ſo great a Charge. Thirdly, It is moſt evident, That by reaſon of the Lack and Abſence of their Governour here, ſo every day, yea rather every hour doth bring continual Danger unto this Eſtate, being thereby forced to leave at large Matters of great Importance utterly without Order or Direction, for that but by himſelf they cannot be eſtabliſhed; whereas if a new Governour ſhould now be made, it is greatly to be feared, that before he ſhould be ſent from *England*, or could be ſettled and confirmed here, there would be ſo many Weeks, and ſo long a time ſpent, in a Caſe which without all doubt admits no Minute of Delay, as in the mean while the Year being already ſo far ſpent, and coming ſtill upon us, with the forward Preparations of the Enemy on the one ſide, and our lamentable Lack and Unreadineſs on the other; and then in the midſt of all theſe Miſeries, this Body to be without a Head, and the Government without Direction, as it could not but project this State wide open to ſo many Miſchiefs and Perils, as what would be the End thereof I am both fearfull and ſorrowfull to think. Laſt of all, During this Abſence of his Lordſhip and the Expectation of his coming, Mens Minds are diverſly diſtracted, wavering, and unſettled; ſome hoping for his Return, ſome doubting the ſame, ſome glad and wiſhing it, ſome fearfull and miſliking it; ſo as no Man knowing certainly either what Courſe to take, or whereunto to truſt, men are unwilling as yet, to diſcover themſelves; whereby even thoſe that ſhould deal and give Direction, are loth to meddle; each Man attendeth upon his private Doings, and ſo the common Cauſe is greatly neglected. All which with Sight and Preſence of his Lordſhip would ſettle ſtreight, and all theſe Waverings and Uncertainties would ſoon fix themſelves, and Things would knit and be eſtabliſhed preſently: Wherefore I conclude, that to provide againſt theſe preſent Perils, which muſt have a preſent Remedy, there is none other but his Lordſhip onely, for this preſent time, to be ſent unto us And ſith the good ſucceſs of this Cauſe ſhall purchaſe Safety both to her Majeſty and her whole Eſtate; and that the wiſe and worthy Conducting of the ſame ſhall get and acquire to my Lord the greateſt Honour that ever Earl obtained, why ſhould either her Majeſty make Price of the one, or his Lordſhip eſteem of wordly Goods, in reſpect of the other.

I beſeech you, Sir, even for the Cauſe of God, and for the Singular Loyalty and Duty which you bear unto her Majeſty, and for the great Care which I know you have to advance the Common Good, and laſtly, even for the Preſervation and Safety of us all, that you will not ſpare inceſſantly to preſs and importune her Majeſty in this Matter; and that with all ſpeed poſſible ſhe will pleaſe to ſend away their preſent Governour, (for there is no time left now to chuſe and eſtabliſh anew,) and likewiſe ſome preſent Maſs of Money, and preſent Supply of Men; for otherwiſe, if the end of all this her Majeſty's Ambaſſade here ſhall be ſeen to bring forth no other Fruits but Conferences, Entertainments, and Delays, I doubt the ſecond Sore will prove far more dangerous than the firſt: Yea, I fear that their Miſeries and Wants, being not holpen by her Majeſty, and themſelves not able to releive them, will ſoon force and bring upon them Diviſion, Deſperation, and Confuſion; and ſo either to make a general Revolt, or elſe leave all to the Sword and Slaughter of the Enemy: Which if it ſhould once happen, (as the eternal Mercifull God forbid the ſame,) and that thereby thoſe Fires and Flames which now conſume the People and Countries here, ſhould once be brought and tranſported into *England*, and ſhould there begin to kindle, and to ſpread within our own Territory and Houſes; ſo I proteſt before God, Her Majeſty, and to you, That whatſoever Calamity and Miſchief ſhall or may befall, that I am free from all juſt blame thereof, for I have

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and do from time to time advertiſe the great Wants and Miſeries that are abounding here: I never ceaſe to write, that a preſent Governour, with preſent ſupply of Men and Money, is the onely Mean to remedy this Miſchief; that the Enemy is in manner prepared for the Field, and that we have nothing in a readineſs, I certifie continually, that the State of things here admitteth no Delay; for that every Day, yea every Hour ſtill Perils do encreaſe upon them. Finally I tell and forewarn of the certain Ruine and Subverſion that of neceſſity, for Want of Help in time, muſt needs fall upon theſe afflicted Countreys here, and conſequently upon our ſelves in fine; but if you will not hearken to me, or though you do, yet you like not to believe me; yea, albeit you do both hear me, and muſt in reaſon alſo credit me, if notwithſtanding you will ſtill become both careleſs and wretchleſs in providing a Remedy, what reſteth more then for me to ſay and doe, but even with fear of ſome fatal Ruine deſtined unto us, to pray to God inceſſantly, that he will pleaſe ſo to rule and diſpoſe the Heart of her Royal Majeſty, as ſhe may always doe and farther that which ſhall be for the Advancement of his Glory, her Majeſty's Honour and Safety, and the Weal and Comfort of us her faithfull Subjects, in whoſe Majeſty's Service whatſoever ſhall betide, I do and ſhall for ever avow to expoſe my Self, my Life, Lands and Goods, even to the uttermoſt. And thus praying you to pardon my long and tedious Diſcourſe, I wiſh eternal Happineſs unto you.

From Utreicht, *the laſt of* April, 1587.

Yours moſt aſſuredly,
T. Buckehurſt.

The Project for the Government.

What is fit to be eſtabliſhed for the better Government of the United Provinces, in caſe the Earl of Leiceſter *ſhould not return to take the Government of theſe Countries.*

FIrſt, Foraſmuch as it is greatly to be feared, that the return of the Earl of *Leiceſter* (in reſpect of the ſecret Hatred and Miſlike that is born unto him by the great Perſonages and States General of theſe Countries, and the Fear they conceive of Revenge in reſpect of the bad Letter to him by them ſent on the 4th of *February* laſt,) may renew the Garboils and Diviſions among the Provinces and Towns, to the apparent Hazard and Ruine of the whole State; and that the ſame cannot be preſerved but by placing the Authority abſolute in a ſole Governour of the *Engliſh* Nation to command both Policy and Wars: It is therefore thought neceſſary, that there be choice made by her Majeſty of a ſufficient Man, being of Quality, Wiſdom, and Direction, furniſhed with Authority to govern them, according to ſuch Commiſſion as he ſhall receive as well from her Majeſty as the States General.

And becauſe if the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſhall not return, the Choice and Preparation of ſuch a Perſon will require ſome time before he can be eſtabliſhed in that place, during the which it may be doubted that the State may receive Damage and Offence by the Enemy: It will be therefore requiſite that the Government, as well of the Wars as of the Policy, with regard to the preſent State of the Countries, be proviſionally ſettled in the Council of State, to be compounded of Perſons qualified: In which Council, beſides the Aſſiſtents, on the behalf of her Majeſty, it will be neceſſary ſome ſpecial Perſon of Quality, that is ſufficiently languaged, either with *Dutch*, *French*, or *Latin*, (without which it is not poſſible for him to deal in theſe Affairs,) be with all ſpeed ſent hither as Ambaſſadour for her Majeſty, and to be appointed as Preſident of the ſaid Council, authoriſed from her Majeſty, to interpoſe her Authority and Countenance in all things that ſhall concern the Weal and Defence of the Countries; and the ſame Ambaſſadour to have likewiſe, by Act or Commiſſion from the States, Power and Authority on their behalf, with the Advice and Aſſiſtence of the ſaid Council, to manage the Government of the whole State for the time; and he to have, in all the Reſolutions to be taken by the Council, a Voice Negative, for the preventing of Partial Proceedings on the behalf of the Council againſt her Majeſty, whoſe Manner is to carry all their Reſolutions by plurality of Suffrages.

Item, That the Preſident and Council of State have the ſame Authority that was left with the Council at the Departure of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, for the nominating and appointing of a General and Chief Commander of their Forces in the Field; and he from the ſaid Preſident and Council to have a Commiſſion Proviſional for that Charge at ſuch time as they ſhall think fit to put Force or Army into the Field.

And for that it may be feared, that the appointing of ſuch a Man may breed Emulation and Diviſion among the Perſonages that are fit to take the Charge here, and eſpecially between the Count *Hohenlo* and Sir *John Norris*, (albeit by the Contract between her Majeſty and the States it be meant, that he that ſhall command her Majeſty's Forces in the Field, ought likewiſe to have the Commandment of the Forces of the Countrey in the ſame place,) and that without all exception Sir *John Norris*, for his Valour, Skill, and Wiſdom, is to be preferred before all Men in that Caſe; yet it may be ſo ordered, that this Charge may diverſly, and at ſeveral times, and in ſeveral Places, be laid upon

on them both ſeparately, without Offence to either of them, as in Caſe the Enemy ſhould put his Forces againſt us on the farther ſide of the *Maze*, in that Frontier where the Count *Hohenlo* hath his Chief Quarters, and Towns at his Commandment; and if it be found requiſite to make head againſt the Enemy in that Place, there may the Count *Hohenlo* command the Army, and Sir *John Norris* ſerve under him as his Lieutenant, which now upon their Reconciliation Sir *John* will not refuſe to doe, and hath done the like heretofore.

Item, If the Wars in the Field be proſecuted in the Quarters of *Guelders*, *Overriſſell*, and *Frieſe*, there Sir *John Norris* to have the abſolute Charge, who for his Reputation among the Governours of thoſe Provinces, ſhall be obeyed without Emulation of them, or Offence to Count *Hohenlo*; where, in reſpect of their unfeigned Reconciliation, and that the ſaid Count hath heretofore ranged himſelf under Sir *John Norris*'s Commandment, it is not doubted but that he will doe the like again.

And whereas it may be ſuppoſed that the Count *Maurice*, in reſpect of his Birth and Place, would affect the chief Commandment of the Wars in theſe Countries, it is found by Experience had of his Humour, and the ſmall deſire he hath to follow the Wars, that there will be no doubt of his entring into Competency with the two above-named; howbeit Regard is to be had, that in his Government of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Weſt-frieſe*, his Authority of Governour be preſerved unto him; ſaving onely, that whereas of late the States of *Holland*, by a Placart publiſhed, have prohibited, that the Garriſons within his ſaid Government ſhould not be tranſpoſed nor altered, but by him, or his Lieutenant the Count *Hohenlo*; and that no Man of War ſhould enter into the Limits of his ſeveral Governments, but by his Patent and Proviſion; it will be now ſpecially requiſite and provided, That the diſpoſing of all Garriſons and Men of War, be left to the Authority of the ſaid Preſident and Council of State.

Item. That all Commiſſions and Diſpatches may be ſigned by the aforeſaid Ambaſſadour, as Preſident of the Council of State, and chief in Authority amongſt them, for the time of this kind of Government, and the ſame Commiſſions and Diſpatches to be alſo paraphed by one of the Council of State, and ſubſigned by a Secretary of the Council; and that nothing be done or concluded in any Matter concerning the Government, but in full Aſſemby of the Council.

Item. That her Majeſty do appoint the Order for the iſſuing of her Majeſty's Treaſure; wherein it may be remembred, that Warrants for Pays ordinary, and of certainty, are fitteſt to be ſigned by one; the other of Diſcretion, as Diſtribution of Checks, and ſuch like, to be done by two at the leaſt.

Item. That the Treaſurer of the States be iſſued by Warrants of the Council of Eſtate, with the Conſent of her Majeſty's ſaid Ambaſſadour.

Item. That if this Courſe or Form of Government for the time, ſhall be allowed of by her Majeſty, and aſſented unto by the States General, (whereof there is no doubt to be made on their behalf,) then in the ſettling and eſtabliſhing thereof, divers other things are to be conſidered in particular, which ſhall concern the Advantage of her Majeſty, and her Subjects, which now for Brevity is here omitted.

Finally, This Form of Government may be eſtabliſhed and ſettled here, (as it is affirmed,) within 15 days after the knowledge of her Majeſty's Pleaſure and Reſolution to be taken in that behalf; ſo as if ſpeedy Reſolution come from *England*, things there will be confirmed with great Expedition.

Moſt humbly beſeeching her Majeſty, unto whoſe moſt prudent Cenſure, with all Humility I ſubmit this Plot and Project, to pardon all Imperfections and Defects within the ſame, which being done in ſo ſhort time, and built upon the Foundation of ſo weak Skill and Judgment, as is in us here, and by her Majeſty required to be done with ſpeed, may therefore ſeem the rather to deſerve the ſame.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Queen.*

May it pleaſe your ſacred Majeſty,

I Have received your Letters in *Cypher* by Mr. *Frances Croft*, my ſelf being then repaired from the *Hague* to *Utreicht*, where I had left Mr. *Wilks* to attend his Charge, whom, upon the receipt of your Majeſty's ſaid Letters, I cauſed to come unto me, to inform me of the particularities concerning .I. Count *Hollock*, mentioned in your Majeſty's Letter: And after good and ſerious Conference had of the matter with Sir *John Norris* and him, as we found not the Proofs ſo direct and ſufficient as in a Caſe of ſo great moment we thought convenient; ſo if they had been ſuch as might have led us to have attempted the Execution of your Majeſty's Commandment and Directions, yet did we find the ſame ſo accompanied with Danger, even to the whole State, That for your Majeſty's better Service, and Preſervation of the Countries, we took it for the ſafeſt Courſe, under humble Correction, to forbear to touch +12y ⱥ5171515 (*his Perſon*,) and to lay before your Majeſty's grave and princely Conſideration, the Reaſon and Cauſes that have moved us thereunto.

First,

Firſt, We did conſider, (as your Majeſty moſt prudently adviſed in your Letters,) how with the ꝛꝰ12ᵧ017ꝰ (*ſeiſure*) of his λꝰ17ᵧ15ꝑ (*Perſon*) the 315θꝑꝰᵧ (*Townes*) and ϥ1715ꝑ31217ꝰᵧ (*Frontiers*) oꝑ20ꝰ17 (*under*) his ττ17195 (*charge*) might be aſſured; wherein we found inevitable Difficulties and Dangers, in reſpect that the Governours and Men of War, by whom they are at preſent +ꝺx20 (*held*) are moſt devotouſly aſtricted and affected unto +1214 (*him,*) being +317πꝑ19ꝰ17ᵧ (*ſtrangers,*) and his 15θꝑꝺ τ150ꝑ3171214ꝰꝑ (*owne Countrimen,*) and ſuch as have been advanced by his Credit and Countenance onely, and wherein withall, (which I may not omit to let your Majeſty underſtand,) that ſome of theſe 191505ꝰ17ꝑ1517ᵧ (*Governoirs*) have heretofore directly refuſed to obey the Directions and Commandments of (40 *the Earl of* Leiceſter,) in the time of his late 191505ꝰ17ꝑ14ꝰꝑ3 (*Government*) +ꝰ17ꝰ (*here,*) relying more upon the favour of .I. (Count *Hollock,*) than upon their 191505ꝰ17ꝑ1517 19ꝰꝑꝰ17πx (*Governor General*;) ſo as hereby your Majeſty will diſcern how dangerous a thing it may be to meddle with the λꝰ17ᵧ15ꝑ (*Perſon*) of the ſaid .I. (Count *Hollock,*) leaving theſe Impediments untaken away, as it lies not in our Power to doe, as things ſtand at preſent.

Secondly, We had in Conſideration the Credit and Authority he at preſent hath with 3ɪꝰ (*the*) .ᴇ and principally with the ᵧ3π3ꝰᵧ (*States*) of +15ɪxπꝑ20 (*Holland,*) of whom he is and hath been ever ſince the departure of 40 (*the Earl of* Leiceſter) reſpected in ſo high a degree, as in all their Deliberations, Plots, and Purpoſes, he is by them conſulted with, and held as their Oracle; ſo as it is to be forethought what Apprehenſion the .ᴇ might conceive by the 2012ᵧ1917ττ12ꝑ19 (*diſgracing*) 15ϥ (*of*) +1214 *him*; upon whom, after the x15ᵧ (*los*) 15ϥ (*of*) 20ꝰoꝰꝑ3ꝰ17 (*Deventer,*) and the ϥ151703 (*Forſt*) they had repoſed their whole Defence and Preſervation, it might (under moſt humble Correction) be hardly conjectured, on your Majeſty's behalf, of the end whereto ſuch courſe of Proceeding might tend. For although the preſent ſuſpicion conceived of his Practice with ▭ were as Pregnant as the Truth it ſelf; yet in a Caſe of that nature, and againſt a Perſon of 3†π3 (*that*) 20ꝰ1917ꝰ (*degre,*) and who hath ſo long and faithfully ſerved theſe τ150ꝑ31712ꝰᵧ (*Countries*) as he hath done, there can be no proof, in my ſimple Judgment, ſufficient to condemn him in the Opinion of Men here, unleſs his Fact were diſcloſed from 3†ꝰ ꝺꝑꝰ1412 (*the Enemi,*) or his xꝰ33ꝰ17ᵧ (*Letters*) or Miniſters 12ꝑ3ꝰ17τꝰλ3ꝰ20 (*intercepted,*) that might diſcover x12ᵧ 20ꝰx12ꝑ19ꝰᵧ (*his delinges,*) or himſelf had ϥ17ꝰx15ꝰ τ15ϥϥ ꝺᵧ3 (*frelie confeſt*) 123 (*it,*) whereof as yet there is not any thing ſufficiently appearing.

Thirdly, We did not forget the nearneſs of Blood and Conſanguinity between him and the fartherly Power and Authority he hath over him, as well by reaſon of Kindred, as by the xπᵧ3 *laſt* θ15x (*Will*) and 3ꝰᵧ3π14ꝰꝑ3 (*Teſtament*) of his late Father, by whom he left πꝑ 150ꝰ17ᵧꝰπꝰ17 (*an Overſeaer,*) to ſee the Adminiſtration of ſuch Goods and Poſſeſſions as were left unto him, which upon an occaſion of ſo notable a 2012ᵧ1917ττꝰ (*diſgrace*) offered to .I. (Count *Hollock,*) might ſtir the young Man, with the Aſſiſtance of .ᴇ of whom he is in regard of the ſingular and manifold Services of his ſaid ϥπ3†ꝰ17 (*father,*) greatly loved and reſpected, to work ſome dangerous Alteration and Alienation towards your Majeſty in theſe Countries.

Laſtly, If the λ1715ϥ ꝰᵧ (*proſes*) againſt +1214 (*him*) had been ſuch and ſo manifeſt, as thereby we might with good Foundation have proceeded to the Execution of your Majeſty's 201217ꝰτ312ꝑ5 (*direction,*) wherein for the better ſurety, as well of the λxπτꝰᵧ (*places*) that are at his 201217ꝰτ312ꝑ3 (*direction,*) as of oᵧ (*us*) your Majeſty's ſubjects here, it had been requiſite we ſhould have ſtood upon our ſufficient 19π1720ꝰ (*garde.*) The weakneſs of your Majeſty's ϥ1517τꝰᵧ (*Forces*) here are ſuch as they had been no way able, without apparent hazard of all, to have made head or reſiſtence in caſe of any Revolt or Violence to have been offered or made by +1214 (*him,*) or +12ᵧ λπ17312ᵧπꝑᵧ (*his Partiſans.*) For theſe and many other Conſiderations, it was thought convenient, as well by Sir *John Norris* and Mr. *Wilks*, as my ſelf, to ſtay Proceeding untill your Majeſty might receive farther knowledge of this Matter, and of the great Difficulties and Dangers thereof.

And upon particular Conference with Mr. *Wylkes*, of the Cauſes that moved him to write thereof to Mr. *Secretary*, I find, that as for Diſcharge of his Duty in that Caſe, he had reaſon to give notice at home thereof upon ſuch ſeveral Advertiſements as he received, enducing ſtrong Preſumptions thereof; ſo do I perceive that his Meaning was not, that either your Majeſty or Mr. *Secretary* ſhould thereupon as yet have laid any Foundation of Belief or Credit, untill he might have farther diſcovered the Truth, by ſuch good Means as he had attempted for that Purpoſe; wherein conſidering how much the ſame importeth his mortal Danger here, he moſt humbly beſeecheth your Majeſty, that if allready you have not diſcovered it to any, that then you will pleaſe ſo to retain it; and if you have, that yet it may be held with all ſecreſie, or elſe his Peril will be great. And thus wiſhing your Majeſty eternal Days of Honour and Happineſs, I end,

Utreicht, *April ult.* 1587.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and Faithfull Subject,

T. Buckehurſt.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Secretary* Walſyngham.

SIR,

AS we have been never free from the daily and continual Complaints and Exclamations of the States, in that her Majeſty's Bands are ſo weak, and ſo far from the number contracted both of Horſe and Foot; ſo have we on the other ſide made the like daily againſt them, for that the *Engliſh* in their Pay are ſo miſerably uſed for want of Pay, as that daily they cry out, and are ready to periſh for Want. Theſe Inconveniences on both ſides have brought a Device in queſtion, ſuch as if it might have allowance there with you, we here do think ſhould be very good both for her Majeſty and the Cauſe, which is thus.

Her Majeſty ſhall pleaſe firſt to fill her Bands with the number contracted, they alſo will agree to receive ten Companies of *Engliſh*, of 150 to a Company, at their Pay, and to entertain them at the like Rate, and Pay as her Majeſty doth her Companies, *viz.* 8*d.* a day after our Month, and to pay them as oft, and at ſuch time as her Majeſty doth pay hers: With this Condition, That her Majeſty will be pleaſed, that her Companies may be monthly muſtered, and that the Decays may be then likewiſe ſupplied in her Majeſty's Companies out of thoſe *Engliſh* in their Pay; and by this Means her Majeſty's Companies ſhall be allways full: And when any one of their Companies *Engliſh* is by this ſupplying decayed, whereby the Captains and Officers thereof are without a Band, yet ſhall they by the ſpace of ſix Months after be bound to pay the ſaid Captain and Officers their Wages notwithſtanding. Provided allways, that if the ſaid Band be not ſupplied out of *England* within the ſaid ſix Months, that then the Captain and Officers ſhall be no longer paid, untill the Bands be newly ſent and ſupplied out of *England*, which at all times they will be ready to receive and entertain again. Much to this Effect I hope we ſhall conclude, if it may have allowance from you; for now we dare doe nothing by Diſcretion, without ſufficient and plain Warrant, it hath had ſo ill ſucceſs when we have done, and meant it for the beſt Service of her Majeſty.

We have here continual Letters from *Oſtend*, That now the Enemy intends his Siege thither; and I think it be certain, that ſome Exploit is meant, either to *Oſtend*, *Sluyſe*, or *Berges*; for which Cauſe I have here continually and inceſſantly called upon them for the victualling and furniſhing of theſe Places with all things; but I ſee plainly by them, that till they ſee what Courſe her Majeſty will take with them, they are no ways to be drawn to Deeds; for we want not fair Words and Promiſes, but in Effect nothing is performed: Wherefore if we might have ſome Authority, as well for *Berges* and *Sluyſe*, as we have allready for *Oſtend*, to help to furniſh them with Victuals and Neceſſaries, if need be, being ſo that we find the States careleſs, we durſt then be bold to doe it; and yet I doubt, that if any thing be intended againſt thoſe places, it will be ſeen before we can have word from you.

I have withall earneſtly moved the States in her Majeſty's Name for the King of *Portugal*; they have taken time to write to the Towns, which requiring ſo long a time, I fear will bring his Deſire to nothing. We are now in hand to move them to ſome other courſe to obtain ſome preſent help; but I ſee neither Mean nor Hope to attain it.

The Count *Hollock* hath of late, with certain Companies of Horſe and Foot, made a Road into the Land of *Luke*, a great Favourer of the Enemy, and hath burned and ſpoiled two fair Villages, and brought away a good Booty. They killed an Abbat that would have yielded, as it is ſaid, 50000 Dollars for his Ranſome; but I think they were half Drunk, for now they repent it.

Sir *John Norris* is returned from *Weſel*, having relieved, ſettled, and confirmed that Town, which before ſtood wavering to yield to the Enemy; they ſent him forth Wine, and greatly rejoiced at his Coming, but they would in no wiſe accept him in; but promiſed, that if they ſhould find themſelves hereafter diſtreſſed, and not able to hold out the Enemy, then they would ſend to him, and accept him. The Bridge there was before his coming finiſhed by the Enemy, and guarded with about 3000 Soldiers, and a Fort made beſide the Cloiſter there, for Defence thereof. Sir *John Norris* had but 1600 ſtrong, being deceived of 1400 more, that were promiſed to come to him by the States, and had no Artillery, nor Victualls there to ſtay above one day; ſo as wanting ſufficient Men, Artillery, and Victual, he was forced to return. He had there a brave Skirmiſh with ſome of their Troops, wherein onely Mr. *Blunt* was with a Shot hurt in his Hand, who moſt valiantly demeaned himſelf; divers Horſe of our Captains killed; of their ſide 16 ſlain, and not one of ours. The Dealing of *Poole* for the Surpriſe of *Daventer*, as he lay at *Campon*, was diſcovered, whereby all the *Iriſh* were put out of the Town, ſave onely Sir *W. Stanly*'s own Company. The States here do ſend a Legation of three Perſons, *viz.* Monſieur *Bredero*'s Brother, and two others, to the King of *Denmark*, upon colour to deal for the 30000 Dollars of theirs, laid down *in depoſito* to ſatisfie the Wrongs done to his Embaſſadour; but we doubt here with ſome other ſecret Inſtructions to make ſome part with the ſaid King. We are here daily informed, that the Enemy, by the Eſterlings, and divers alſo that ſteal from hence, is greatly victualled. I doubt we ſhall deceive our ſelves with too much ſecurity upon his Want of Victuals; for he ſpareth for no Price, and provides in divers Places.

I ſend you this incloſed, being intercepted; her Majeſty may ſee thereby that there is like to be a buſie World, and therefore to be well armed and prepared, as he counſels the Soldiers. I recommend you to God, and remain all yours.

Hague May 1587.

All yours for ever aſſured,
Tho. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

I have had ſome Conference with ſome of the States, touching the ſupply of her Majeſty's Horſe with the Companies of ſome *Dutch* Captains here, as namely, the three *Bakes*, and *Grunevelt*'s Brother, who are greatly devoted to her Majeſty, and are valiant Gentlemen, and their Companies as good Soldiers as any of ours. It is thought that 3000 *l.* will raiſe her Majeſty 500 Horſe, which are ſuppoſed do want of her Majeſty's number, and for the ſupply of which the States do call and exclaim daily; whereas her Majeſty is at the Charge of 10000 *l.* for 500. If we might have any Direction from you to proceed in this ſort, I think we could make a very good Agreement for her Majeſty for the ſupply of the ſaid Bands, and doubt not of the Valiance and Worthineſs of theſe Bands, for they are reputed as good as the beſt of ours, and moſt deſirous to ſerve under her Majeſty's Pay.

Tho. Buckehurſt.

A Copy of a Letter from her Majeſty to the Lord Buckehurſt.

RIght Truſty and Right well beloved, We great you well. Upon peruſal of your late Letters, by the which you make Report unto Us of your Proceeding with the States General of the United Provinces, We find it very ſtrange to ſee you accept, without any Reply, ſo weak and ſlender an Anſwer, (as you term the ſame a ſatisfaction,) yielded by them to ſuch things as you were by Us directed to charge them withall, having for that purpoſe received both from Us, delivered unto you by our Secretary, and from Our Coſin the Earl of *Leiceſter*, divers Particularities of a very contemptuous manner of Proceeding held by them, as well to the blemiſh of Our Reputation, as towards Our ſaid Coſin, ſupplying the Place of Our General there; as in keeping of Our People out of their Gariſon Towns, prohibiting them from all Relief of Victuals, and thereby famiſhing many of them; in the placing and diſplacing of Governours of Countries, and of Gariſons; in publiſhing of a Placard under their own Authority for the Ordering and Diſpoſing of the Companies, contrary to the Order left by the ſaid Earl; in conſtraining of divers Captains and Governours to take a new Oath contrary to their former Oath; in appointing of new Governours, in revoking of Paſs-ports granted by Our ſaid Coſin, as namely, the Placard before granted for the reſtraining of the Trade to *Callis*; in admitting of new Counſellours of Eſtate, and excluding of others before named by Our ſaid Coſin, and reſtraining of the Authority of the Council of State in divers things, notwithſtanding that they were eſtabliſhed in the ſame by Our ſaid Coſin, at the time of his Departure thence, with Allowance of the ſaid States in the time of his Abſence, as by an Act made by the States afore Our Coſin's coming from thence may appear; and laſtly, the calling in of the Placard publiſhed by the Counſel of the States againſt *York* and *Stanley*, beſides many other like Diſorders wherewith our Servant *Wylkes* hath before charged them, and whereof you ought to have taken knowledge, and as yet, as far as we can learn, there hath been no Anſwer or Satisfaction made from them, either to you, or to *Wilkes*; and therefore We ſee great cauſe to miſlike of your looſe manner of Proceeding therein, where you ought to have urged them either to have yeilded better Satisfaction to theſe particular Grievances, or elſe to have acknowledged their Faults, and ſought Our Favour by ſome Offer of Amends hereafter; for We cannot but think Our Honour greatly touched, to have a Miniſter of Ours, of your Quality and Judgment, being ſo well informed of theſe particular Contempts before you went hence, and having alſo, for better Confirmation thereof, manifeſt Proofs by *Wilks*, to put up Matters of ſo great Contempt, as the ſaid States ſtand charged withall, after ſo weak and ſlender a manner, moved thereunto, as We perceive by your Letters, for that you conceived, as it ſeemeth, that a more ſharp manner of Proceeding, would have exaſperated Matters to the Prejudice of the Service; and therefore did think it more fit to waſh the Wounds rather with Water than Vinegar; wherein We could rather have wiſhed on the other ſide, that you had better conſidered, that feltering Wounds had more need of Corroſives than Lenitives; for your own Judgment ought to have taught you, That ſuch a ſlight and mild kind of Dealing with a People ſo ungrate and void of Conſideration, as the ſaid States have ſhewed themſelves to be of towards Us, is the ready way to encreaſe their Contempt. And whereas in Defence of the proud and contemptuous Letter they wrote to the ſaid Earl, they alleadge, that the ſame proceeded upon a Pikquant Letter written by him unto them, We do marvel much, that you did not firſt require to ſee that Letter; which if you had done, then might you have good matter to have diſcovered their deceitfull manner therein uſed, to cover their groſs Faults; for We have ſeen the true Copy of that Letter, which alſo ſhall be ſent you, wherein you ſhall manifeſtly ſee their Untruths

truths in naming it a picquant Letter, having no ſowre or ſharp word therein, nor any Clauſe of Reprehenſion, but full of Gravity and gentle Admonition, ſo as it deſerved a kind and thankfull Anſwer, and ſo may you maintain it againſt them to their Reproof; for that We do not think it meet that they ſhould be let ſlip with ſo light a Charge, having offered ſo great Indignities to one ſupplying our Place there, as Governour of thoſe Countries, being choſen and eſtabliſhed in that Government by their own free Choice and Election, and ſworn to yield him all Obedience; which how ſlenderly they have performed, all the World may ſee, and they may be aſhamed of, having alleadged nothing in their own Defence, that, being well weighed, can yield Satisfaction. And whereas it appeareth by their laſt Letters, of the 20th of *April*; that ſince the Diſpatch of *Atey*, there hath been delivered unto you in Writing by the Count *Hollock* and Count *Maurice*, certain Grievances againſt the ſaid Earl, which We would have been glad to have ſeen; and therefore do miſlike that you, having knowledge thereof, did not ſend over the ſame unto us; and the rather; for that, as we have been informed, *Villiers*, the *French* Miniſter, did report unto Doctor *Clerk*, that whatſoever Shew the Count *Hollock* made, that all Unkindneſs and Diſlike between him and the ſaid Earl was removed, yet inwardly he ſtood ill affected towards him, in reſpect of ſome Information given to the ſaid Count, that the Earl, at the time of his being there, had entred into ſome Practice for the killing of him; a Matter ſo foul and diſhonourable, that doth not only touch greatly the Credit of the ſaid Earl, but alſo our own Honour, to have one who hath been nouriſhed and bred up by Us, and of whom We have made ſhew to the World, to have extraordinarily favoured above any other of our own Subjects, and uſed his Service in thoſe Countries in a place of that Credit and Reputation he held there, ſtand charged with ſo horrible and unworthy a Crime, as We cannot but think Our ſelf greatly intereſted in this Matter; and therefore Our Pleaſure is, even as you tender the continuance of Our Favour towards you, That you ſeek by all the Means you may, by examining the Count *Hollock* himſelf, or any other that you ſhall learn to have been a Party in this Matter, thereby to diſcover and ſift out how this malicious Imputation hath been wrought; for We have ſome Reaſon to lead Us to think, that it hath grown out of ſome cunning Practice and Device, to ſtay the ſaid Earl's Return, and to diſcourage him from the continuance of his Service in thoſe Countries; for we cannot in good Senſe conceive, that the Count would have written ſo kindly to the ſaid Earl, as he hath done of late, if he had been perſuaded that the Earl had any ſuch malicious Intent againſt him, as is pretended. And for that We are informed that *Wylkes* is ſomewhat acquainted with the Matter, having repaired to Doctor *Clerk's* Lodging at ſuch time as *Villiers* brake with him in that behalf; and being called by the ſaid *Villiers* unto Doctor *Clerk* at the time of their Conference, and charged by him that he underſtood ſomewhat of this Matter, did not deny the ſame; Our Pleaſure therefore is, That you command the ſaid *Wilkes* not onely to diſcover unto you, as he will anſwer the contrary at his Peril, his knowledge therein, but alſo to doe his uttermoſt endeavour to ſearch out the ground and beginning of this malicious Imputation. Now to come to the other material Points of your late Letters, whereunto you require ſome ſpeedy Anſwer, as namely, the Requeſt made by the States for the Loan of 50000 *l.* towards the raiſing up of an Army, grounded upon a certain Project, containing an Eſtimate of what the ſaid Charges will amount unto, and the ſpeedy ſending over of our Coſin of *Leiceſter*: For the firſt We do marvel very much that you did yield to prefer any ſuch requeſt unto Us, being not ignorant how greatly We ſtand charged otherwiſe, and how unable We are to furniſh ſuch a Summ over and above our ordinary Contribution; for it had been your Duty, being one of our Council, to have diſſuaded them from the propounding of ſo unreaſonable a Requeſt; and therefore ſeeing you make no mention of any ſuch Diſſuaſion uſed towards them, We have juſt cauſe to conceive that you undutifully omitted the ſame: Beſides, at the time when the Matter was debated, when the Commiſſioners that were here did propound the Requeſt unto Us for the like Loan, you your ſelf did not then think it convenient for Us to yield any greater Summ than 20000 *l.* over and above Our ordinary Contribution; Our Pleaſure therefore is, That you ſhall let the ſaid States underſtand, touching their Requeſt for the ſaid Loan of 50000 *l.* that We ſee no Cauſe, (conſidering the weak State of the Enemy, by the Decay of his Forces, both Horſemen and Footmen; for the repairing whereof, as far as We can learn, he is not to receive any new Supply; as alſo that if his Forces were great, yet for lack of Victuals he ſhall not be able to continue long in the Field, or to attempt the Siege of any Town;) why they ſhould raiſe up an Army of ſo many Horſemen and Footmen as is ſet down in the Project; for as far as We conceive upon Conference with thoſe that know the State of that Countrey, and are not unacquainted with the Forces of the Enemy, an Army compounded of 10 or 12000 Footmen, and 4000 Horſemen, and 1000 Pioniers, might be of ſufficient ſtrength to make Head to the Enemy. Now for the furniſhing of the ſaid Footmen, We ſee no Reaſon but that there may be 4000 Footmen taken out of the Garriſons, ſo long as the Army ſhall continue in the Field; and therefore according to that Account, We do not find, but that the extraordinary Contribution of 100000 *l.* will ſuffice to maintain the number of Men abovementioned, without any farther charging of Us; and the rather, for that it will be ſo late before the ſaid Forces can be levied, as they ſhall not need to be continued in the Field above 3 Months; And therefore you may tell them, conſidering their unkind and ungrate Dealing towards Us, they

ought with good Reaſon content themſelves with the Continuance of Our former Contribution, without preſſing Us to any farther Charges. And yet if upon the debating of the Matter you ſhall ſee apparently that their extraordinary Contribution of the 100000 *l.* will not ſuffice to maintain ſuch an Army as ſhall be neceſſary to make head to the Enemy; and that for lack of ſome ſupport to be yielded by Us, they ſhall not be able to put themſelves in that ſtrength into the Field as were meet, and may ſtand with their ſafety; as alſo that by Our not yielding in this their neceſſity ſome convenient Support, beſides this Our ordinary Contribution, there may grow ſome Alteration of the Good-will, that generally the People of thoſe Countries do bear unto Us, by the Practice of thoſe that ſtand ill affected towards Us, whereby they may be carried into ſome dangerous Reſolutions; Our Pleaſure then is, That you ſhall as of your ſelf let them underſtand, That in Caſe they will undertake with the Supply to be yielded by Us, of 100 or 150000 Florins, to ſet into the Field the numbers of Horſe and Footmen above mentioned, making it alſo probable unto you that they ſhall be able to perform the ſame, you will doe your beſt endeavour to draw Us to yield unto the finiſhing of ſuch a Summ, with aſſured hope to obtain the ſame at Our Hands: But in this Point our Pleaſure is, That you ſhall in no ſort yield to make any ſuch Offer unto them, but upon manifeſt likelihood of ſome ſuch Danger to fall out, as hath been before mentioned; whereof we charge you in any Caſe to have ſpecial Regard. And as touching the other Point, which is the ſpeedy Return of the ſaid Earl, you ſhall let them underſtand, that if they ſhall be able to put an Army into the Field conſiſting of the Number above mentioned, and ſhall alſo not onely promiſe unto you, but make good Proof to you how the ſaid Summ of 100000 *l.* growing of the extraordinary Contribution ſhall be delivered into the Hands of ſome Perſons of that Countrey Birth, to be nominated and choſen by the ſaid Earl to ſupply the Place of Treaſurer of the intended Army, and to be iſſued out by his Direction, with the privity of the Council of Eſtate there; and that the ſaid Summ of 100000 *l.* ſhall be alſo recollected, and paid in to the ſaid Treaſurer, in ſuch ſeaſonable Time as may ſerve to defray the Charges of the ſaid Army; then We will not fail, ſo ſoon as We ſhall receive from you Aſſurance of the Performance thereof, but ſend the ſaid Earl over, to whom We have given Order in the mean time to put himſelf in a Readineſs for that purpoſe.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Secretary* Walſyngham.

SIR,

MR. Treaſurer and I, deſirous to provide for and prevent Inconveniencies to come, thought good to pledge both our Credits, he for 3000 *l.* and I for 1500 *l.* whereby the better to have made theſe weekly Impreſts, if perhaps contrary Wind, or any ſuch other occaſion, ſhould impeach the ſpeedy coming of Her Majeſty's Treaſure hither; but with all our Credit, and all the Prayers we could make, there is no Money to be had here, neither among our Merchants, nor otherwiſe; ſo as now being paſt hope of Help on this ſide, and the Money here remaining not availing to perform theſe weekly Impreſts but for a very little Time, I thought it moſt convenient to advertiſe you thereof, to the end that ſith nothing is here to be had to the poor Soldier but for ready Money, the Miſeries and Dangers that for want thereof muſt grow, may be remembred unto you; And thus hoping that Mr. *Croſts* hath long e'er this brought my Letters unto you, I end,

May 5th, 1587. *Yours moſt aſſuredly*,

T. Buckehurſt.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

My very good Lord,

THis Bearer can fully inform you of the whole Courſe of his Proceeding, to whoſe Declaration I refer your Lordſhip. Touching other Matters, I will more particularly write to your Lordſhip by a Servant of mine own, whom I ſend away either this Day or to Morrow. If her Majeſty do not ſend your Lordſhip preſently, or, being not reſolved ſo, do not determine upon ſome other, all will go now to Ruine; and if the Want and Scarcity of the Enemy had not preſerved us from feeling his Force, we had found it e'er this. And thus I wiſh all Honour and Happineſs to your Lordſhip.

Hague, May 9th. 1587. *Your Lordſhip's aſſured to command*,

T. Buckehurſt.

The

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

My very good Lord,

TOuching ſuch Occurrences as are here I muſt refer your Lordſhip to the Letters of Mr. Secretary. The State of theſe Provinces ſtandeth ſo dangerouſly, in reſpect of no Reſolution as yet come from her Majeſty, that I aſſure you they begin to doubt of any farther Succour to come from *England*, and the Miſery that will of neceſſity fall upon us here, if we have not Money to continue the weekly Lendings, as I aſſure your Lordſhip we ſhall very ſhortly want, that is alſo fearfull to be thought upon; for the Towns will now no longer furniſh but for ready Money, and how ſhall then the Soldiers live, having neither Money nor Credit: Wherefore I beſeech your Lordſhip to move her Majeſty inceſſantly to ſend over Men and Money with all poſſible ſpeed. The ſecret Miſlike of theſe Earls againſt you is daily more and more diſcovered. If her Majeſty pleaſe that your Lordſhip ſhall come, I doubt not but you will procure as much *Engliſh* Forces as you may, leſt you find theſe Earls frowardly diſpoſed towards you, which will be eaſily holpen, if your Forces be Superiour. I wiſh your Lordſhip all Honour and Happineſs, and ſo end

Hague, May 11th. 1587. *Your Lordſhip's aſſured to command,*

T. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

I ſend your Lordſhip herewith a Letter from the States, touching the 30000 Dallers, empawned to the King of *Denmark* for the Releaſe of their Ships.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Mr. Secretary* VValſyngham.

SIR,

I Came to the *Hague* the 8th of *May*, being not able to travel before, by reaſon of the Hurt of my Leg: Now ſithence my coming hither, Mr. *Dean* of the *Aches* is fallen ſick of the Stone, who being the onely Man to whom I do empart ʒᴛᔑ *the* 14ᴨ33ᔑ17 *matter* 15ᔐ *of* ʒᴛᔑ *the* λᔑᴨᴛᔑ *Peace*, as well through his Acquaintance with thoſe that are the fitteſt to begin this Dealing withall, as alſo for the help of his Language, ſith mine doth no ways ſerve me to diſcourſe withall. Our Proceeding by this Occaſion is alſo therein ſomewhat hindered; here have been many Bruits therof brought hither by Engliſh Men, but I have as much as may be ſuppreſſed the ſame, colouring it, that it is none other but the Proceeding of ʒᴛᔑ *the* ♄18ρ19ᔑ *Kinge* 15 ♄ *of* 20ᔑρ14ᴨ17ᔐᔑ *Denmarke*, whereof, as far as I underſtand, her Majeſty is onely a Hearer, and no Dealer; and ſo no ᴛ15ρ317ᴨᴛ3ᔑ *Contract* broken. I do more fear that this Bruit coming to the Ears of .I. *Count Hollock*, might ſet him forward to λ17ᴨᴛ312ᵧᔑ *practiſe* with ʒᴛᔑ ᔑρᔑ1418ᔑ *the Enemie*, than of any thing elſe; for he ſpending now ſo greatly, and having nothing to live withall but by ʒᴛᔑ *the* θᴨ17 *War*, and now being in ſo great ᴛᴨ317ᔑ20 *Hatred* with 40 *the Earl of Leiceſter*, it is and may well be doubted, which might very much hurt the λᔑᴨᴛᔑ *Peace*, and therefore I put down the Bruit thereof here ſo much as I can poſſibly, and will enhaſten my Proceeding therein with all diligence poſſible. Thus much I thought good to write unto you, that you might know in what State my Proceeding therein doth ſtand at this preſent. I remain all yours aſſured.

Hague, May 11th. 1587. *Yours moſt aſſured,*

T. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

If I had thought that in my laſt Letters to *Andrea di Lo*, I might with her Majeſty's good liking have made Overture for ſome ᵧ017ᴛᔑᴨρᔑ *Surceaſe* from ᴨ1714ᔑᵧ *Armes*; I could, in my Opinion, very well have done it; whereunto if I may from you underſtand her Majeſty's good Aſſent, I ſhall upon like occaſion hereafter take hold thereof accordingly. We have here certain Advertiſements that 100000 Dollars are ſent by the Duke of *Parma* to *Callis*, for the buying of Corn there; wherefore as I have procured ſtreight Order to be taken here, That no Corn, nor other Victuals, be carried neither to the Enemy nor thither; ſo if in *England* like Order may be taken, it ſhall greatly bring down the force of the Enemy. Captain *Morgan* ſent me word, that he hath had long Intelligence with thoſe of ᴨρ20θᔑ17λ *Andwerp*, and doth certainly hope, that if he had but 1000 Crowns to beſtow amongſt the ᵧ15ϰ20121517ᵩ *Soldiors* of ʒᴛᔑ *the* ᴛᴨᵛ3ᔑϰ *Caſtel* there, that might be obtained: If therefore we may have Warrant to diſburſe the ſame, the Adventure is ſmall, the Benefit infinite great, The Want and Famine there is ſuch, and ſo great, as will be the Cauſe of good Succeſs, as he ſaith; but this muſt be ſpeedily attempted, for elſe the Want will be ſhortly provided for: And thus once more I recommend you to God.

T. Buckehurſt.

The

The honourable Entertainment which I have had at *Utreicht* with the States, the Burgher-Maſters, and after by the Count *Maurice*, Governour there; and likewiſe at *Amſterdam*, *Harlam*, and *Leyden*, I aſſure you have been ſo great, as if they had been done even to her Majeſty's ſelf. I ſend you herewith alſo an Advertiſement of a Matter proceeding out of *Scotland*, declared by one of the Religion here, one that Mr. *Wilkes* holdeth to be honeſt and well affected; it ſeemeth to contain Matter of Importance: I have ſet down what way we think beſt to diſcover the ſame.

And I do alſo ſend you a Letter from the States unto her Majeſty, touching their humble Suit about the 30000 Dollars pawned for the Diſcharge of their Ships.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Secretary* VValſyngham.

SIR,

WE have ſo long lived in hope and continual Expectation to hear of your Reſolution, that now we begin to grow towards Deſperation. I do underſtand that the States have received Anſwer from the Towns what they will do touching the 20000 *l.* to be levied on their parts, but they keep it ſo ſecret, untill they may hear what her Majeſty will doe, as I can by no means diſcover it; and yet I have ſought ſundry ways to learn it: I have ſome Inkling, but with no aſſurance, that it ſhall be granted; ſo as her Majeſty yield the 50000 by way of Loan; but hereof there is no certainty. I beſeech you, Sir, either ſend over my Lord of *Leiceſter*, or Reſolution for ſome other way, or ſome other; for thus to be without any, doth greatly endanger the Eſtate, and I have ſo long fed them with Hopes, that they are ſo ſatiate, that even their Stomachs loath it. If there come no Money within very few days, the weekly Lendings will end; and then what will follow God knows, for the Towns will furniſh no Want without ready Money, and Mr. Treaſurer's Credit and Mine can raiſe no Money here; the Caſe being ſuch, as I do certainly underſtand, that in this doubtfull and dangerous time, the State being altogether unſettled, each Man keeps his Money cloſe and ſecret to himſelf, and many having ſent it away from theſe parts unto *Hamborough*, as it is affirmed.

Touching our Advertiſements here, thus it is: It is confirmed by certain Ships come from the *Sound*, that the Ships of theſe Provinces are releaſed by the King of *Denmark*, and that the Cauſe of their ſtay grew in reſpect of the violence done by certain Soldiers of the States here to the Embaſſadour of the ſaid King, treating for Peace with the Duke, from whom divers Jewels and Money was taken, and no Reſtitution made; for the which the ſaid Ships are forced to give Pawn for 30000 Dollars, to anſwer ſo much as ſhall be found in Right and Juſtice fit to be reſtored, and upon ſuch Pawn given were releaſed.

By Eſpial, ſent of purpoſe over moſt of the Enemies Countrey, to diſcover the ſtate of Things there, and now very lately returned, it is advertiſed thus.

That in the Villages about St. *Truyen* are five Enſigns of Walloons.

That in *Tienen* and *Lovain* are no Gariſon; but that in *Lovain* lay this laſt Winter one Regiment of Infantry, which were forced to depart for want of Victuals, having ſpoiled and deſtroyed there above 10000 Houſes, where alſo there are above 3000 void, becauſe the People ran away for want of Victuals.

The Gariſon at *Bruxelles* is but ſmall; the Prince of *Parma* remaineth there, and no certainty of his Departure thence, or of his going in Perſon into the Field.

It is ſaid in *Brabant*, that the Prince of *Parma* meaneth to make a Camp about *Weſel*, and that there are 2000 *Italians* to come out of *Piedmont* to his Camp out of Hand.

The Corn which is ſown in *Brabant* doth ſtand very fair, but in no ſuch abundance as was reported, here being few Countrey-men remaining to till the Ground.

In the Countrey about *Aken* doth lie a Cornet of the Enemies Horſe, and in the Land of *Balkenborch*, *Dalen*, and *Limburgh*, with thoſe five Enſigns about St. *Truyen*, are in all 26 Enſigns, but much weakened and decayed.

In *Bruxelles* a pound of Rye-bread is worth three Stivers, a pound of Bread made of Oats two Stivers: There is reaſonable ſtore of Fleſh to be gotten, but very ſmall Proviſion of Provender for Horſes to be gotten.

At *Bolduck* a Meaſure of Rye is worth 25 Guilders, which coſt here but 3 Guilders.

This Advertiſement was given by the ſaid Eſpial the 2*d.* of *May* laſt paſt.

Sir *John Norris* departed from *Utreicht*, with ſuch Forces as he could gather thereabouts, the 2*d.* of this Month, intending to go to *Weſel*, to impeach the Enemy of his Enterpriſe there; where the Enemy having ſent about 2000 Soldiers, is in hand to make a Bridge, and ſo to paſs his Forces into *Guelders*, to make this Summers War in thoſe parts, as it is greatly preſumed. By Letters from the ſaid Sir *John Norris* from *Arnham*, the 7*th.* of *May*, he writeth, That immediately upon his coming into thoſe Parts, he was aſcertained, that the *Spaniards* which were in the Dutchy of *Luxemburgh* and *Limbourgh*, did march with all poſſible Diligence towards the *Rhine*, and that they were allready come as far as *Venlo*; it is thought that with thoſe which are allready about *Weſel*, where the

Bridge

Bridge is in making there, in all they will make about 5000 Men, which is far above the Forces that Sir *John Norris* hath. He hath written to the States to have better ſupply, and I have earneſtly ſollicited it; but I ſee, that before they find what her Majeſty wil doe, they reſt careleſs, and do reſolve upon nothing. There needeth no other Enemy to overthrow this Eſtate, but want of Reſolution; for I ſee that thereby no Care is had for the Common Defence, but all goes looſe, and at random.

Sir *John Norris* likewiſe writeth, That there is great ſcarcity of Victuals with the Enemy, and eſpecially in *Nimeguen* and *Zutphen*, as by this encloſed intercepted Letter you may perceive; ſo as if he had ſuch a Power now at the beginning, as might make him Maſter of the Field, there is no doubt but that very Neceſſity and Want of Victuals would make them to revolt; for an Army in the Field would enforce them to put in no Gariſon into the ſaid Towns, and more Gariſons would, in this great Want of Victuals, ſoon conſume them, and thereby conſtrain them to yield, or to revolt.

In a Letter written from *Middlebrough*, by a Merchant that came out of *Antwerp* the 5*th*. of *May*, it is contained,

That a meaſure of Corn is worth in *Antwerp* 3 *l*. Flemiſh, and hardly to be gotten; and that the Poverty and Miſery there is incredible. *Bruges*, *Gaunt*, *Lovain*, *Maklain*, *Bruxelles*, and in a manner all the principal Towns of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, are in moſt extreme Penury for Victuals.

That the Caſtle of *Antwerp* is nevertheleſs victualled for 6 Months.

That at *Antwerp* there is great ſpeech of Peace. Thus far is advertiſed by the ſaid Merchant.

By other Letters from *Antwerp* we are advertiſed, that about 200 Mariners are gone from *Antwerp* to *Bruges*, with intent to be employed about the Siege of *Oſtend*, as is ſuppoſed.

Certain of our Soldiers at *Berges* have lately defeated a good part of the Cornet of Captain *Couradin*, and 16 Priſoners taken, and brought to *Berges*; Count *Maurice* and Count *Hollock* do more and more diſcover underhand their ſecret Miſlike againſt my Lord of *Leiceſter*, being gone to their Governments; and there aſſuring to themſelves, what they may, to ſtrengthen their Party.

I have earneſtly ſollicited the States to renew the Magazines at *Oſtend*, *Sluyſe*, and *Berges*, but they anſwer with Delays, alleadging, that in manner all the Soldiers at *Oſtend* and *Berges*, are *Engliſh*, and therefore they not bound to provide Magazines for them, very few being at their Pay; and beſides that they have ſuch other neceſſary occations to employ that little Money which they have, as they cannot ſpare it: And laſt of all, that as yet there is no ſtore of Money come in. But I ſee plainly, that till they ſee what her Majeſty will do in this matter, they will do nothing at all; wherefore it is moſt behoofefull that her Majeſty do reſolve one way or other with all poſſible ſpeed.

If the Want of Victuals of the Enemy had not thus kept the Enemy from us, moſt miſerable had been the Eſtate here at this preſent. And it is undoubted, that if now her Majeſty would be pleaſed to extend her Forces, to put ſuch an Army into the Field as might be ſuperiour, we ſhould ſo prevail at this preſent, as it ſhould not be poſſible for the Enemy in this Year to recover it: But if it be deferred till the Enemy ſhall be able to put himſelf into the Field, which by the End of *July*, notwithſtanding all this Want, it is certainly thought he will do, then either muſt there be far a greater Charge, or elſe he will prevail at his Pleaſure. It is here affirmed, that the Harveſt of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, being a Sandy, hot Soil, is ended before the End of *July*; nevertheleſs if it be not provided for, it is certain that in *Guelders* he will gather very ſhortly about 8000 Men, beſide the *Italians* that are bruited to come; for allready there are now 5000, and if he attempt nothing at *Berges*, *Oſtend*, or *Sluyſe*, as, unleſs it be by Intelligence, we hold it here impoſſible for him to do, conſidering the great Want of *Victuals* in thoſe parts, then is it moſt likely that thoſe 3000 which were at *Berges*, and are now gone up to *Gaunt*, as we underſtand, ſhall join with thoſe at *Weſell*, and ſo alſo by ſome Eſpial it is confirmed unto us: Wherefore if preſently there be not put into the Field ſufficient Force againſt thoſe at *Weſell*, we ſhall loſe all our Towns in thoſe parts. I have continually ſollicited them to procure their 2000 Rutters, 3000 Launs Knights, and 2000 Pioniers, to be brought hither, but I ſee no hope how they can be here before *July* be ſpent. The Difficulties of their Levy in ſo many Princes Countries, with their long March, and the preſent Lack of Money is ſo great. Finally you muſt know, that notwithſtanding this great ſcarcity in the Enemy's Countries, yet ſhall he be able much eaſier to make the War in *Guelders*, becauſe of *Cullein* and *Cleves*, which are Friends unto him, and will do all their beſt to victual him, as well from themſelves, as from their Neighbours.

Sir *John Norris* having now written to the States and Council of State, that either they muſt ſend him more Forces to front the Enemy, or elſe that he muſt retire, and leave all to his Will, hath alſo written earneſtly to me, to procure Means, if it might be, that 1500 of thoſe 2000 Men, which he hopeth her Majeſty will ſend, might be ſent to him with all ſpeed; but this cannot be done without Order from her Majeſty, that they may be paid with that Increaſe of Money which her Majeſty means for this Year to grant unto them; for I truſt you have in remembrance, that whatſoever Increaſe of Money her Majeſty pleaſe to grant, that the ſame may be left to the Diſpoſition of her Majeſty's Governour; and for the raiſing of *Engliſh* Companies, and not of *Dutch*.

Thus

Thus I have written confuſedly and out of Order, as things came to my Remembrance, praying you to pardon the ſame: And ſo wiſhing all Honour and Happineſs unto you, I end

May 11th. 1587. *Yours moſt aſſuredly,*

T. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

I ſend you alſo herewith ſuch Occurrents as I have received from *Cullen*, ſo as making Conference of ours and yours together, you may the better diſcover the Truth.

T. Buckehurſt.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Secretary* VValſyngham.

SIR,

I Have written at large to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain of my Lord of *Leiceſter's* hard Conceipts taken againſt me, and of her Majeſty's Miſlike likewiſe touching my Proceeding here; nevertheleſs I know my ſelf to have ſo well deſerved of her Majeſty, and of this common Cauſe, as, if I be not condemned and never heard, I doubt not but to ſatisfie her Highneſs at the full. I write not this in that my Heart is troubled in reſpect of the Matter, which doth rejoice and comfort me, but that you of whoſe firm Love and Friendſhip I make ſo faſt Aſſurance, might know the State of me and all my Doings. Onely her Majeſty's Miſlike doth bring ſome ſorrow to me, but being brought unto her without Foundation, it cannot chuſe but fall and come to nothing: If you will neither ſend away my Lord of *Leiceſter*, nor any other, nor ſettle upon any Order for the preſent; nor ſend Men, nor Money, I do marvel what you think can be the End of this. I doubt this Matter of ἀδπτδ *Peace* doth rock you ſleeping in Security; as I would not reject it, ſo I would it might be accepted, even armed and weaponed fully, if it ſhould not come to good Succeſs. I reſt for ever Yours.

Hague, May 11th. 1587. *Yours moſt aſſured,*

Tho. Buckehurſt.

Mr. Wilks *to Secretary* Walſyngham.

May it pleaſe your Honour.

ALthough in reſpect of the Diligence of my Lord *Buckhurſt* here, who (as I ſuppoſe) doth advertiſe, as much as may be needfull to be known at home, I might well ſpare my labour in Writing, conſidering alſo, that I ſhall but repeat the ſame Things again; yet in diſcharge of my Duty and Love towards your Honour, I could not forbear, (having this Opportunity) to ſignifie my poor Opinion of the State and Caſe of theſe Countries, the rather, if it may be, to haſten ſome Reſolution from thence.

The coming hither of my Lord *Buckhurſt*, and the Promiſes by him made from her Majeſty of ſome increaſe of Succour, did work here two notable Effects; the one in ſtaying the Violence of the People, ſtirred againſt the States and Governours, by reaſon of their late Innovations and Alterations begun in this Government, and giving them a certain hope of her Majeſty's Goodneſs towards them, in the Continuance and Augmentation of her ſaid Succours, the contrary whereof was underhand perſuaded unto them; the other in ſtaying the Proceeding of the States, and Members of that Faction, who, deſperate of any farther Relief from her Majeſty, began to ſettle a new Courſe and Face of Government in theſe Countries.

The People believed in the Promiſes of my Lord; the States, although they ſeemed to hope for as much as was offered, yet doubtfull of the Performance, forbear not ſecretly to proceed to the Execution of their former Plots and Purpoſes, by ſending of ☽ Count *Maurice*, and ♒ Count *Hollock*, to the Frontiers of *Holland*, and into the chief Towns of *Zealand*, to aſſure the Towns to themſelves, by eſtabliſhing of new Superintendants, to command the Gariſons, as in the Towns of *Worden*, *Odewater*, *Worcum*, *Gorcum*, and others, upon the Frontiers of *Holland*, they have appointed the Count *Philip* of *Naſſau* the reſt of the Frontier of *Holland*, butting upon *Brabant*, as *Bommel*, *Hueſden*, *Gertrudenbergh*, *Wilmſtat*, *Clundart*, and *Suenberghen*, remain in the Hands of ♒ Count *Hollock*, who departing ten days ſithence from this Place, towards *Gertrudenbergh*, ſaid publickly at his Table, in the Preſence of divers Perſons, who have ſithence reported the ſame: That if ☉ the Queen's Majeſty would take the Sovereignty, and ſo proceed roundly in this Action, he would ſerve her to the laſt drop of his Bloud; but if ſhe ſhall imbrace it, in no other ſort than hitherto ſhe hath done, and that *Thomiſtocles* (the Earl of *Lieceſter*) be returned, he is then as good a Man as *Themiſtocles*, and will never be commanded by him; but meant to continue upon his Frontier, where all thoſe that loved him might come and find him.

The

The ☽ Count *Maurice* is also gone into *Zealand*, there to establish Count *Somes*, as Superintendent over all the Towns of that Province; meaning, that whosoever shall be appointed Colonel over the Regiment of *Zealand*, (which they suppose shall be some English,) he shall have no Authority to command them within the Province, in any Garison, the same appertaining properly (as assented unto by a special Act from *Themistocles*, (the Earl of *Leicester*) to the Superintendents of the Towns where the Garisons shall remain. My Lord Ambassadour hath opposed himself to the admission of these Superintendents, because that the Choice and Appointing of them, doth belong to her Majesty's Lieutenant General, as by the Contract appeareth in the 24th Article.

The Delay of Resolution in *England*, and that there is nothing advertised, that may give hope there, of the Performance of that which hath been promised by my Lord, doth breed divers inevitable Dangers and Inconveniences. It doth encourage such, as have opposed themselves against our Government, to go forward in their Purposes, and doth discomfort those that have taken our Parts, who are like to recieve hard Measure, if they be not defended by us.

There be two Things especially (besides the Faults we have committed in our Government among them) that do withdraw the States and Principal Persons here, from their accustomed Devotion towards ☉ (the Queen's Majesty;) the one is, the Treating at Home underhand with ♈ (the Prince of *Parma*,) which they do assuredly believe, and can speak of many Particularities in that Matter, which are unknown to us here; whereby they do apprehend, that ☉ (the Queen's Majesty) seeketh to provide for one, and to abandon them in the end: The other is the Return of *Themistocles*, (the Earl of *Leicester*) who is deadly hated among them, and yet they dare not refuse him, in respect of his Greatness with ☉ (the Queen's Majesty,) lest he might thereupon, by way of Revenge, endanger them, as well here as there. I dare not herein set down my own Conceits, but do beseech your Honour to imagine the rest.

These Men, transported with the Fear of these two Dangers, do providently foresee how to avoid the Events of them both, by assuring their Limits by Land, and encreasing their Strength by Sea.

By Land, your Honour may perceive what they have done, for the securing of *Holland* and *Zealand*, the principal Provinces, as well for the greatness of their Contribution, (who in effect do furnish all the whole Charge of the Wars at this present,) as for their Strength and Site to be defended.

The Province of *Frise* is also of Strength, and of Ability to pay the Troops that are to defend the same, and may upon all Necessities be succoured by Sea from the other two; for the assuring of which also, the Governour there, with the Advice and Assistance of the States of that Province, hath offered the new Oaths to the Captains and Garisons remaining within the said Province, which hath been refused by divers of them; whereupon the Captains have been discharged, and others placed in their Rooms, and four or five of the Captains cassed. Some of the Towns have taken part with the Captains and Companies refusing the Oath, and have opposed themselves against the Governour and States; so as it is feared that there will follow some dangerous Division among them. We are here moreover informed, that her Majesty's Letters written to the States of that Province, by the Deputies of *Ostergo*, who were lately in *England*, are refused to be received; and the Parties that have offered to deliver them are committed; but of these Things your Honour shall hear farther shortly, and of more certainty, because my Lord hath sent thither to enquire of the Matter.

By Sea they are stronger at this Instant than they have been ever sithence her Majesty embraced their Defence, having encreased their number of Ships now at the Seas by many, whereof there are remaining 28 Sail of good Men of War upon the Coast about *Dunkirk* and *Callis*, under colour of keeping their own Subjects from carrying of Corn to *Callis*, besides many others remaing about the Mouth of the River of *Ems*, and within the *Scheld*, and at large in other parts.

It doth appear by all Circumstances, that they have set up their rest upon the Defence of these three Provinces onely, in either of which they mean to bridle *Themistocles*, (*the Earl of Leicester*,) if he return, protesting openly, that their Purpose is to straiten and limit his Authority, so as he shall hereafter no more endanger them. If therefore he return, and that his former absolute Government be confined unto the Provinces of *Utreicht*, *Overrissell*, and *Guelders*, who in effect do at this time contribute nothing, because the Enemy, by reason of the loss of *Deventer*, doth branschat all the flat Countrey of *Overrissell* and *Utreicht*, even to the Gates of that City; and that *Guelders* it self is already wasted and spoiled; your Honour will consider what Measure of Authority he will be able to exercise for the Government of these Countries. If your Honour will object unto me the late Letters of the States unto her Majesty and to him, promising to continue him in his former Authority, I must answer: That whereas they had in the first Draught of both those Letters inserted a Clause, whereby they would have signified their Meaning, to limit his said Authority at his Return. My Lord *Buckehurst* did entreat them to forbear so to write, in respect of the Hurt it might doe, promising them, that he himself would assist them at the Return of *Themistocles*, (the Earl of *Leicester*,) in the doing of any thing that should be found just and reasonable in that behalf.

All theſe ſiniſter Proceedings and Difficulties notwithſtanding, I am of Opinion, that if ⊙ (the Queen's Majeſty) would reſolve upon ſome other Governour, with Performance of that which is promiſed, it would be no hard matter to reduce the ſtate of all things here to ſo good a Temperature as might be deſired, not onely to her Majeſty's great Advantage, but to the Ruine of the Enemy, who now attempteth to make this Profit of our Differences and Diviſions, having in effect, no other Means at this preſent to annoy theſe Countries, conſidering the Poverty and Famine wherewith he is oppreſſed in all his own Countries, and ſo like to continue until the Harveſt, if the Fault be not in us here.

Thus much without Prejudice to my Lord Ambaſſadour, in Regard either of his Advertiſements, or of his Opinion of the Courſe of Matters here, I thought good to impart to your Honour in particular; beſeeching you moſt humbly to have Conſideration of my Suit mentioned in my two latter Letters, concerning my Revocation; proteſting, that in Caſe I ſhould be left here to the Mercy and Diſcretion of my great Enemy, if he return, that I will venture to hazard her Majeſty's Favour, in returning home without Licenſe; which I hope your Honour will prevent, by procuring forthwith her Majeſty's good liking for my Return, wherein I repoſe my ſelf wholly upon your Honour's Goodneſs; and ſo take my Leave moſt humbly.

Hague, May 15th. 1587. *Your Honour's moſt bounden to command,*
T. Wylkes.

The Queen to Mr. Daviſon, *Sebtember* 5th. 1585.

TRuſty, *&c.* Underſtanding that there are at this preſent divers Practices ſet abroach, to draw thoſe of *Zealand* and *Holland* to an Accord with the Prince of *Parma*, We have thought meet, for the Prevention thereof, and the better to win the States to yield to the Delivery of *Fluſhing* and the *Brill* unto Us, that ſuch of our Council as We did of late authorize by Commiſſion under Our Great Seal to treat with their Deputies, ſhall ſign and ſeal an Inſtrument, by Virtue of our ſaid Commiſſion, wherein they do, for our Part, ratifie and confirm the Project of the Treaty of Aſſiſtance, that paſſed between them and the ſaid Deputies, by the Promiſe they make on our behalf, of the due Performance of the Aſſiſtance by them required, of 5000 Footmen, and 1000 Horſe, during the continuance of the Wars; and ſending over of a Nobleman, as well to take the Charge of our ſaid Force, as to aſſiſt them with his Advice and Counſel in the Courſe of their Government by the grant whereof, as they are for their part bound reciprocally to perform their Offers contained in the ſaid Project, ſo do We nothing doubt but that they will have that Care that appertaineth, to yield Us due Satisfaction therein, eſpecially in the Delivery at this Time of the Towns of *Fluſhing* and *Brill* into your Hands to Our Uſe; whereunto We do by our encloſed Letters, directed unto them, (whereof We ſend you a Copy,) require them to yield: In which Caſe, if you ſhall find them reſolved to perform Our Requeſt, touching the Delivery of the ſaid Towns, that then Our Pleaſure is, you ſhall deliver the ſaid Inſtrument unto them, authoriſing and requiring you hereby to receive the ſaid Towns of *Fluſhing* and *Brill*, in Our Name, and to Our Uſe; and to keep *Fluſhing* your Self, with ſuch Gariſon as by Our Servant, General *Norris*, ſhall be appointed for that purpoſe; delivering the other into the Hands of ſuch as by Our ſaid Servant ſhall be appointed to receive the ſame, untill We ſhall make Choice of ſome other apt Perſon, to take the Charge thereof upon them, *&c.*

The Commiſſioners to Mr. Daviſon, *October* 23d. 1585.

HEr Majeſty doth allow very well of your Proceeding, and taketh no Exception to your accepting the Ratification of the Act in ſuch ſort as by the States was delivered unto you; but doth notwithſtanding miſlike greatly that the States ſhould urge her, by the ſaid Ratification, to the preſent Entertainment of 5000 Footmen, and 1000 Horſe; beſides the Gariſons in the Cautionary Towns, as alſo to defer the Payments of the Summ Diſburſed for the Proviſional Support untill the end of the Wars. Seeing in the Act ſet down between Us and the Commiſſioners here, it appeareth manifeſtly, that the ſame ſhould not take Place, till the expiration of the three Months, and that the Money diſburſed for the Proviſional Support ſhould be paid within one Year: A manner of proceeding not to be allowed of, and may very well be termed Mechanical, conſidering that her Majeſty ſeeketh no Intereſt in that Countrey, as the *French* King did, but onely their Good and Benefit, without regard had of both her Treaſure, and the hazard of the Lives of her Subjects; beſides the throwing of her ſelf into a preſent War for their Sakes, with the greateſt Prince and Potentate in *Europe*. But ſeeing the Government of thoſe Countries, reſteth in the Hands of Merchants and Advocates, the one regarding Profit, the other ſtanding upon Vantage of Querks and Terms of Advantage, there is no better to be looked for from them. You did well therefore to adviſe them upon

their

their urging the preſent payment of 2000 Men, not to ſtand upon Terms with her Majeſty in that behalf, and although her Majeſty doth not blame you for accepting the ſaid Ratification, yet doth ſhe find Fault with us her Commiſſioners here, in yielding that beſides the entertainment of 5000 Footmen and 1000 Horſe, ſhe ſhould be burthened with the preſent payment of the Garriſons in the Cautionary Towns: I hope, notwithſtanding the ſaid Miſlike, ſhe will ſee the ſame accompliſhed, both for her own Honour, and the Credit of her Commiſſioners.

And as touching the two Principal Things you do deſire to have Haſte made in, the one in ſending over the Governours, the other of Treaſure, in both theſe Points there is that Order taken, as the Neceſſity of the Service requireth, and, as I doubt not, will fall out to your Liking. And as touching the preſent Lack of Money, wherewith you find fault, the ſame hath grown upon two Cauſes: The one, for that the Under-Treaſurer made no Defalcation of ſuch Preſts, as were made here to the Captains and Soldiers, according to the Directions given him by the Treaſurer here; and the other, for that the 2000 *l.* promiſed by the States, to have been paid unto Collonel *Norris* upon the Muſter of the 2000 Voluntiers, was not anſwered according to Promiſe, wherewith her Majeſty is not a little offended, ſeeing how little Care they have to yield her Satisfaction, which ſhe imputeth rather to proceed of Contempt, than of any Want or Neceſſity; which if it ſhould fall out to be ſuch, as by them is pretended, then doth ſhe conceive her Bargain to be very ill made, to join her Fortune with ſo weak and broken an Eſtate. And ſurely, Sir, it is a thing greatly feared indeed, that the Contributions they bear us in Hand they will yield, will fall out more true in Paper than in Payment, which if it ſhould ſo happen, it would turn ſome to blame, whereof you, amongſt others, are to bear your Part, as not exempted of their Number.

The Money taken up by you upon Credit is ſatisfied, which will make their Merchants more ready to lend their Money, when they ſhall be aſſured of Payment. To prevent that no Inconvenience may come for lack of Pay, eſpecially in the Cautionary Towns, there ſhall be Order taken hereafter with the Merchants Adventurers, to ſee the two Governours furniſhed with Money for the Pay of their Soldiers. And although there be no Reaſon that her Majeſty ſhould yield to the Allowance of the preſent Entertainment of 1000 Horſe, and 1000 Footmen more, before the Expiration of the three Months, as ſhe is now urged by the ſaid Ratification; yet we hope to procure, that ſhe ſhall be content to yield preſent Entertainment to the 1200 Men placed in the Cautionary Towns, for whoſe Contentment there ſhall be Order given unto the Treaſurer, to make Payment accordingly.

According to your Advice, there are Letters of Thanks written unto the Count *Hollock*, for the readineſs which he hath ſhewed to bring into her Majeſty's Hands the Poſſeſſion of the Town of *Fluſhing*; and in caſe he ſhall continue his Diſpoſition to repair Help, I will doe my beſt to procure that he ſhall be uſed with that Honour that appertaineth, though of late years we do not carry that regard to the well Uſage of Strangers, that heretofore we have done. There alſo are Letters of Thanks written to the young Count *Maurice*, in reſpect of the Conformity and Readineſs that you have found in him, to farther the Delivery of the Town of *Fluſhing*.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Lords of the Council.*

All Duty to your Lordſhip's moſt humbly remembred,

UPon the 16th of *May* I received your Letters dated at the Court in *Croiden* the 29th of *April*: and according to your Pleaſure therein expreſſed, I did in the ſame 16th day diſpatch a Meſſenger to Sir *John Norris* with a Copy of your Lordſhip's ſaid Letter, ſent by me unto him, he then being gone from *Doesburgh* towards the Town of *Barkes*, upon the uttermoſt Confines of *Guelderland*, being moſt ſorrowfull, that the coming over of thoſe 2000 Men, for the ſupply of the decayed Bands here, a thing ſo needfull, even with all Expedition to have been furthered, doth now by this Order receive ſo great Protraction, ſith the ſaid Number might, as I conjecture, both have been levied and tranſported hither, before that thoſe Lieutenants or Serjeants of Bands, (which yor Lordſhips for their Conduction will have to be ſent from hence,) can by any likelihood be arrived with you, and ſpecially ſith theſe Bands here being diſperſed into ſo many places, and ſo far aſunder, cannot chuſe but require a good ſpace of time before they can have knowledge to prepare themſelves for this Journey; aſſuring your Lordſhips withall, that the univerſal Want of Money is here ſo exceeding great, as I doubt theſe poor Lieutenants and Serjeants are hardly able to ſuſtain their Charges, for this their Repair to *England*, the Wind being ſo incertain, and the Price of all things ſo unconſcionably dear at *Fluſhing*, where for the moſt part they are forced to embark; beſides which it cometh really to paſs, that ſuch Lieutenants or Serjeants which now are marching with Sir *John Norris* in the Field, ſhould thus ſuddenly be called away from their Charge, to a Journey of ſo many hundred Miles, and at this time of the Year, when their Employment and Service is moſt needfull to be uſed, and ſo likewiſe from *Berges*, *ap Zome*, and *Oſtend*, where Siege by the Enemy is daily doubted and looked for: So as if it might pleaſe your Lordſhips to countermand the ſending of the Lieutenants and Ser-

jants, or at the leaſt to cauſe the Levy of the ſaid 2000 Men to be preſently made, and tranſported hither, (without attending for the coming of our ſaid Lieutenants and Serjeants from hence,) and that they may be brought under the Conduction of ſome of our Captains there, of whom (a thing lamentably to be ſuffered) your Lordſhips have choice more than is convenient, it would, no doubt, be a great help and furtherance to the Service here. Nevertheleſs I have ſent to Sir *John Norris*, to whom the direction of theſe things appertaineth, that preſent Order may be given for the accompliſhing your Lordſhip's Commandment in that behalf. I have ſo often and ſo earneſtly written for Money to relieve the poor Soldiers here, and ſo plainly ſignified the great Poverty and Penury that they endure, with the fearfull Danger that ſeemeth to approach us all, by mean of this woefull Want of Pay, as if the ſame do not allready move, neither can I think that writing more will move. Yea, ſo long have I upheld theſe Provinces with the painted Pillars of Hope and Expectation, (whom I found in manner deſperate, and as it were believing certainly that her Majeſty would abandon them,) as if neither Mean be eſtabliſhed how to govern their Eſtate, nor Men tranſported to defend the Enemy, nor Money ſent wherewith to pay the Soldiers; although the wonderfull Work of God, by that general Famine which at this preſent over-ſpreadeth the whole Countries of our Adverſaries, doth as yet preſerve us from the Force and Fury of our mighty Enemy, (and yet we hear that great ſtore of Corn is lately brought, as well to *Calis* as to *Dunkirk*, for their Relief;) yet have we certain Intelligenee, that the Fruits of their Harveſt coming, which will be ripe and ready before the midſt of *July*, give ſuch abundant Hope unto them, to miniſter all means of Plenty for their Army, as, except it pleaſe Almighty God of his mercifull Goodneſs towards us, even ſuddenly to riſe up, and by ſome Miracle to defend us, it is without the Compaſs of Man's Reaſon to believe, how it is poſſible for this Eſtate in any ſort to ſuſtain the Force and Fury of ſo reſolute and ſo potent an Enemy; for when the Hope in her Majeſty to relieve the Wants here doth once begin to ſink, which (by your Lordſhips moſt aſſured) hath been the onely Prop and Foundation whereon this State hath ſtood ſo long, (as a thing moſt cunningly and continually by the Heads and Rulers here underhand let fall, and planted in the Peoples Hearts, and without belief of which they would never have endured the Burthen of ſuch intolerable Taxes as they do daily pay,) if that hope, I ſay, ſhall once fail and fall, ſurely, if God ſtretch not forth his Hand from Heaven to defend them, it is no ways poſſible for their own Power, and theſe contracted Forces of her Majeſty, any long time to preſerve them, whereof, in mine own poor Judgment, I being ſo certainly perſuaded, do think my ſelf in duty bound to declare the ſame unto your Lordſhips, ſpecially ſith my Conſcience telleth me how greatly the good or bad Succeſs of this Cauſe importeth both her Majeſty and her whole Realm of *England*, moſt humbly beſeeching your Lordſhips to pardon this my rude and plain writing, which with all humbleneſs and ſincerity I recommend unto your Lordſhips, even in the abundance of my Loyal Love and Duty both to her Majeſty and my Countrey.

Hague, May 20th, 1587. *Your Lordſhip's moſt humble to command,*

T. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

Sithence the writing hereof her Majeſty's Treaſurer is arrived here, to the great Comfort of the poor Soldiers, and Prevention of many Dangers, even hard at Hand. Now reſteth only that her Majeſty will pleaſe preſently either to ſend hither my Lord of *Leiceſter*, their Governour, or elſe ſuch other as her Majeſty ſhall like, or to reſolve to ſend none, and ſo to leave it to themſelves; for this Irreſolution is of all other the worſt, and will be their utter Confuſion, their State now being governed neither by her Majeſty's Authority, nor their own, but ſtanding ſtaggering without Government and Preparation of all Things: They fearing on the one ſide, by doing things to be interpreted to prejudice his Lordſhip's Authority; and on the other ſide, by doing nothing the State runneth to Confuſion. Touching the 2000 Men your Lordſhips muſt alſo pleaſe with all Speed to ſend them over, to ſupply the great Weakneſs of the Bands here, and for the returning of the Lieutenants and Serjeants from hence for their Conduction, it is ſo full of Difficulties, and by Sir *John Norris*'s Letter to me, ſo greatly dehorted, as a thing for the ſaid Reſpects neither fit nor fecible, as I truſt your Lordſhips will allow our Reſolution to ſtay them ſtill here; and that the ſaid 2000 Men may have onely Swords and Daggers, and furniture of Apparel in *England*, and to be armed here.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Secretary* Walſyngham.

SIR,

BY the Contents of your late Letter unto me, I ſee how much and how affectionately you love me; for the which if I knew how to be ſo thankfull as you deſerve, or as my Heart deſireth, I ſhould then ſufficiently ſatisfie both you and my ſelf too, now not being able I ſatisfie neither; ſo as what to ſay, or what to write I know not, (if not onely this,) that more yours than allready I am,

am, I cannot be, and ſurely leſs I will never be. The ſtrange and ſharp Letter which her Majeſty lately ſent me, ſignifying her ſo great Miſliking of my Proceeding here, hath not a little grieved me, not for the matter, her Majeſty being therein either wrong fully miſ-informed, or elſe utterly miſtaking the ſame, (as I doubt not but e'er long her Highneſs ſhall fully underſtand from her ſelf,) but onely for that her Majeſty hath ſo ſuddenly and ſo grievouſly, *inauditâ Cauſâ*, condemned me; ſo that now if for all my Cares, Pains, Travels, and daily Expences, wherewith here continually I waſte both my Mind, my Body, and my Subſtance, I may yet receive ſo much Favour, as not to be condemned unheard, methinks as my Caſe ſtands, I muſt eſteem it for a ſpecial Grace; So hard is my Misfortune, and ſuch, for the moſt part, are the Fruits of our Service in Court, where to deſire to come to anſwer, ſtands for a Suit, and Reconcilements for the Reward. God bleſs her Majeſty and her Affairs, and ſend her no worſe meaning Servants than my ſelf, and then ſhe ſhall be ſure to be ſerved with all Fidelity, and that without reſpect of any particular Perſon whatſoever; and yet thus to grieve a faithfull Heart unjuſtly, might perhaps in ſome impreſs a deeper Diſcomfort, than all the Comforts of her Majeſty can remove again; wherein her Highneſs may doe well to have regard towards others, though for my ſelf it skilleth not how ſoon my Days were ended, being altogether an unprofitable Servant, and far too ſimple to prove worthy to be a Scholar in the School of ſo rare a Miſtreſs. Fare you well, good Mr. Secretary, and let me ſtill dwell in your happy Love and Favour, which I do aſſure you I do reckon among the Number even of my chiefeſt Comforts.

Hague, May 12th. 1587. *Your moſt aſſured for ever,*

T. Buckehurſt.

Beſides the Teſtimony of your own Letter, by Letters from my Lord Admiral, and other my good Friends, I did likewiſe underſtand of your great good Love unto me.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Queen.*

May it pleaſe your ſacred Majeſty,

IMmediately upon my Return from *Utreicht* to the *Hague*, I did addreſs my ſelf to the Accompliſhment of your Majeſty's Commandment, touching the Matter of Peace, wherein, for my better Inſtruction and Aſſiſtence, communicating the ſame firſt to Dr. *Clark*, and after to Mr. *Wylkes*, I made my choice of Monſieur *Bredro*, of the Chancellour of *Guelders*, and of *Valk*, three perfect Patriots, wiſe and well affected; and did ſeverally aad with Conjuration of Secrecy, impart the ſame unto them, as in the Name of your Majeſty, without doing which it had been ſo far from hope of any good Succeſs, as even with the help and Authority of your Name, it will not be without great Difficulties effected. And after long Conference and Debate of this Matter with thoſe three ſeverally, one after another, and never two together, (for that they ſeem to fear and tremble to have their dealing therein known, except I had firſt proponed it to the States or Council of Eſtate in publick; and that alſo, without great good Order and Reſpect, had been a thing of all other moſt dangerous,) I thought good to impart the ſame unto Count *Maurice*, as the moſt principal Perſon in particular, whom the ſame doth moſt concern, and expecting his coming ſome few days in vain, and underſtanding in fine that there was no hope of his Return by a long while; I brake therein with ſuch a one here at the *Hague*, as by whom the ſaid Count, as I am informed, is with great Affiance directed: To him I declared, that your Majeſty had ſpecially commanded me to make Overture of the ſaid Matter to the Count firſt of all other; but his Lordſhip not being at the *Hague*, and I expecting his Lordſhip's Return, even to that preſent, had now made choice of him to perform the ſame, to the behoof of his Lordſhip, from whom your Majeſty deſired to know what Requeſts he the ſaid Count would make for the Benefit of his particular, to the end that your Majeſty might to the uttermoſt farther the ſame to his Behoof; and prayed him therefore ſpeedily to advertiſe the Count thereof. This done, I did alſo communicate the ſame to *Barnevelt*, a moſt principal Man among them; and laſt of all to *Vandermile*, a Man likewiſe of great Wiſdom and Account, with both whom, above the reſt, I had a very long and effectual Diſcourſe, and in concluſion do find it a Matter full of all Difficulties, Doubts, and Dangers: For the Common Wealth of theſe Provinces conſiſting of divers Parts and Profeſſions, as, namely, Proteſtants, Puritans, Anabaptiſts, and Spaniſh Hearts, which are no ſmall number; it is moſt certain, that dividing theſe in five Parts, the Proteſtants and the Puritanes do hardly contain even one part of five. And although at this preſent the Proteſtants and Puritanes, by having the Rule and Sovereignty in their Hands, do wholly wage and command the Captains and Soldiers; and ſo by means of them poſſeſſing the Towns with Force and Gariſon; and having thoſe Captains and Soldiers at their Pay and Devotion, they do thereby onely hold and keep under all the reſt in ſuch Awe and forced Obedience, as that they Impoſe and Tax, give Laws and Orders, and finally doe and execute whatſoever for the neceſſity of their Eſtate is thought moſt expedient; and finding the dangerous Conſequence which hereunder is declared moſt like to follow, if at any time Peace ſhould publickly be brought in Speech amongſt the Multitude; for that the far greater

greater paat thereof, being Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, and Spaniſh Hearts, do ſo wonderfully affect it, have therefore ſpecially provided, that no man, upon pain to be moſt grievouſly puniſhed, ſhall either procure, attempt, or execute any manner of Dealing for Peace, except thereto by the States he be firſt Licenſed and Authorized. Yet if once it ſhall be openly proponed by your Majeſty, ſo as under the ſhadow and Authority of your Name, it may paſs in common Speech, and be diſperſed among the Multitude, it is wonderfully feared, leſt being once ſet on foot, the Multitude will ſo ſuddenly, ſo greedily, and ſo univerſally embrace it, as by no means it will be poſſible to reſtrain them within due Bounds, either to attend Time, Order, Vantage, or good Conditions for their Benefit; but running headlong with Deſire of that which they would have, and without Reſpect of how or what were good for them to have, they will lay theſe Countries ſo wide open to the preſent Practice and Vantage of the Enemy, as it cannot but endanger the whole Eſtate thereby. Beſides this is doubted that the ſweet name of Peace thus openly bruited and brought amongſt them, will divert and ſecure the People Hearts ſo much from providing for the Charges and Maintenance of the War, as being glad to be delivered from thoſe their intolerable Taxes and Contributions, which they have ſo long endured, while ſome are Obſtinate, others Careleſs, ſundry Negligent, divers fed with Hope, many with Security, a number thirſting after Change to better their Eſtate; theſe carved with Superſtition, and thoſe even with *Spaniſh* Hearts, againſt their Countrey. Finally, while the Bit of Obedience is thus generally ſhaken out of the Mouth of the Multitude, the Taxes and Contributions will begin to ſlack and fail in their due Levy, the Soldiers thereby ſhall remain unpaid, Order and Government ſhall thus begin to ſtagger, and either Treaſon, Mutiny or Revolt, or all three together, ſhall preſently bring all to Miſchief and Confuſion. Laſt of all, their Governours and Captains, being for the moſt part mercenary Strangers, and many of them great in Degree, poor in Ability, and waſtefull in Expence, yea, having nothing to maintain their Prodigality but the onely Wage and Benefit of this Woefull War; yea, divers of them having the Charge and Cuſtody of ſundry Towns of Importance, when they likewiſe ſhall hear of the name of Peace, to them ſo hatefull as an Enemy, and Overthrow to their Profeſſion and Profit, it is greatly to be feared, that before the Concluſion thereof may come to its Perfection, they will ſell for Money ſome Towns, if not all, unto the Enemy.

So thus finding this Propoſition of Peace beſet with ſo many Doubts, Difficulties, and Dangers; and conſidering how we might beſt prevent ſo many Miſchiefs and Inconveniences, we have finally reſolved upon this courſe herein.

Firſt, That this Overture thus made by me in the name of your Majeſty, touching this Treaty of Peace, ſhall be made and kept with as much ſecreſie as poſſible can be, and to that end all ſuch to whom the ſame hath been or ſhall be proponed, ſhall by Oath be bound not to utter it, other than to ſuch as by Order ſhall be limitted.

Next, That beſides ſuch of the States, and thoſe of the Council of State, to whom allready the ſame is imparted, there ſhall be one of the principal Magiſtrates within every of the chiefeſt Towns named unto me, with whom, as need requireth, I may privately deal to perſuade him to the furtherance of this Cauſe, to the end that he alſo may the rather perſuade the reſt of the Magiſtrates of the ſame Town, as namely, for the Town of *Dort*, *Menin* was by the ſaid *Barnevelt* ſpecially named unto me for that purpoſe.

Thirdly, That within ſix days, by God's Grace, this matter ſhall be by me proponed in the States Houſe to the general Aſſembly of the States there, having firſt miniſtred an Oath unto every one then preſent, that they ſhall hold the ſame ſecret, and not utter it to any other than to ſuch Magiſtrate within every Town, as they ſhall be directed to. The Effect of my ſaid Propoſition ſhall be none other but according to the Tenour of this incloſed Letter, which I deviſed as fit to be ſent to every particular Town from me, in the Name of your Majeſty, as after ſhall appear.

Fourthly, That to every Town the ſaid Propoſition ſhall be imported and recommended, not onely by ſuch of the ſaid States General, as ſhall be thereto among themſelves aſſigned, but alſo by ſeveral Letters from me, of the like tenour as this encloſed doth contain.

Now though it may ſeem to your Majeſty, that when ſo many Perſons ſhall be privy to this Purpoſe, that it will be a thing impoſſible to have it held in ſecret; yet thus it is by ſome of the graveſt and chiefeſt of them deviſed and deſired, to the end, that though it cannot altogether be ſuppreſt, yet by this mean they hope, that if any Speech thereof ſhall hap to grow more rife than is convenient, they may then be the bolder to ſeek to puniſh ſuch as ſhall with danger ſpread it, having no lawfull Author from whom they may derive it; ſo, in ſome ſort, to keep in the overlaviſh Speech and ſpreading thereof.

Farther, your Majeſty muſt know, That before the Magiſtrates of the Towns can return Anſwer to the Deputies of the States here, either of their Conſent or Refuſal to theſe Propoſitions thus made by me unto them, there will be ſpent 7 or 8 Weeks at the leaſt: So as if your Majeſty ſhould not proceed to treat with the Duke before their ſaid Anſwer be returned here, there will be three Months ſpent before, by any likelihood, the ſame can be ſignified to your Majeſty. Wherefore if your Majeſty ſtand reſolved to proceed with the ſaid Treaty, being indeed a moſt happy thing, both for your Majeſty, and for this Eſtate, (ſo as it be founded upon good Surety, and good Conditions

and

and ſo as ſpecially both your Majeſty and theſe Countries, notwithſtanding this Treaty, do ſtill advance your Power and Forces ſtrongly to the Field.) Conſidering then that to expect ſo long a time, were not onely a Matter like enough to overthrow the ſame, by reaſon of ſo many Accidents as might happen in the mean time, but alſo might thereby bring ſundry Perils to this Eſtate, and give divers Vantages to the Enemy, it ſhall be moſt expedient, (under humble Correction,) that with all poſſible ſpeed your Majeſty pleaſe to appoint the Time, the Place, and your Deputies to undertake the ſaid Treaty, eſpecially the ſame being by the Duke himſelf ſo much deſired, as by the Letters of *Di Lo* to me it is ſo often ſignified; whereby beſides the Hope of a bleſſed Peace in the End, there may be propoſed even now at the firſt beginning a Surceaſe from Arms, which undoubtedly ſhall not be the leaſt good unto theſe afflicted Countries, conſidering how they are now at this preſent altogether unprepared for Defence of the War. And to the end your Majeſty might have the better ground for your Proceeding in that ſort, I have allready taken this courſe, that as well unto all thoſe to whom this matter hath been by me privately propoſed, as alſo unto the States, when to them likewiſe it ſhall be generally propoſed, I have and will publiſh and declare, that for the Reaſons aforeſaid they muſt of neceſſity be content, that your Majeſty, after ſuch general Propoſitions made by me, as is aforeſaid, may preſently enter into Treaty with the ſaid Duke, conſidering how they ſhall be aſſured, that your Majeſty will never make any final Concluſion therein, before that the Articles and Conditions, which ſhall be ſet down and propoſed on both parts, ſhall be firſt communicated to all the Provinces United, that ſo by Advice and Conſent publiſhed, as well of your Majeſty as of the ſaid States, the ſaid Articles and Conditions may be confirmed and ratified; which thing I have been the bolder to promiſe unto them, as well for that the ſame might approve your Majeſty's honourable Intention and good meaning towards them, as alſo and ſpecially for that ſuch is your Majeſty's Contract and Agreement with them. There is one great Difficulty which cannot be removed; namely, That your Majeſty now entring preſently into this Treaty, there cannot be any Deputies appointed for the States to join with the reſt on their Behalf: for before Anſwer from the Towns, they have no Power to depute any, and as I have ſaid, it will be two Months at the leaſt before their Anſwer can come unto the *Hague*; ſo as herein there is no other Remedy, but by private Conference with *Leonimus* and *Vandermile*, who have ſtill been the chiefeſt Deputies for them in all their Treaties, and ſo to receive their Advice and Counſel therein, as from private Men, ſince they cannot give it as publick Perſons, nor as to bind the States thereby.

This Courſe, by God's Grace I mean to take in this matter, and accordingly to proceed therein, untill by your Majeſty I ſhall be otherwiſe countermanded, truſting in God, that this my continual Care of Mind, inceſſent Travel of Body, with mine humble and earneſt Deſire to doe all things for the beſt Service of your Majeſty, ſhall yet at length find Acceptation in your Royal Sight, whereof in my next Letters, under your Majeſty's Gracious Permiſſion, I mean to write more at large; and in the mean while, doubting leſt my continual Miſhap ſhould to my Diſgrace miſturn every thing to the worſt, methink it not amiſs to inform your Majeſty, that the cauſe why I make this Diſpatch unto you, before my Propoſition to the States accompliſhed, and their Anſwer received, is this; for that beforehand I know their Anſwer will be onely this, That they will write to their Towns, and hereafter give me Anſwer: So as to defer this Diſpatch ſo long, were by ſo much to prolong it, without any End or Purpoſe at all.

It will be yet four days before the States can aſſemble, ſo as till then I cannot deliver the Effect of your laſt Letters unto me. I beſeech the Eternal God for ever to preſerve you in all Royal State and Felicity, even to your own Heart's Deſire.

Here incloſed your Majeſty ſhall receive a Copy of that Letter which I drew to be ſent to every particular Town; Mr. *Wilkes* doth put it into *French*. And I do alſo ſend your Majeſty herewith a late Letter, which I received by way of *Berges* from *Andrea di Lo*, and a Copy of my Anſwer likewiſe returned unto him. If there ſhould be any thing therein to your Majeſty's Miſlike, ſurely I know not how to help it; for methinks I ſhould not be ſorrowfull for doing my beſt to pleaſe you, and not to be ſorrowfull for your Diſpleaſure ſhould again diſpleaſe me. Therefore God keep me in your Majeſty's Favour, and that ſhall make me happy once more again, or rather for evermore. The Almighty God preſerve you.

Hague, May 27th. 1587.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithfull Servant.
T. Buckehurſt.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Mr. Secretary* VValſyngham.

SIR,

TOuching the Matter of Peace I have written at large to her Majeſty, and not doubting but that you ſhall ſee the ſame, I forbear to recite it here: If her Majeſty mean to proceed with preſent naming of Deputies, the Time, and the Place, I have thought good to ſignifie unto you; That having conferred here for the fitteſt Place, we can find none ſo apt as ſome middle Village between

between *Berges*, *ap Zone*, and *Steurbergen*, or elſe between *Sluyſe* and *Damme*; for that all the Villages between either of theſe, are as it were equally ſubject to both: For if the Treaty ſhall be any farther off, the continual cauſe of imparting the courſe of Things to her Majeſty and the States, will breed infinite Delay of Time.

I perceive by Mr. Doctor *Clerk*, that Mr. *Harris* his Adverſary doth wonderfully preſs to have the Cauſe betwixt them two to come to a Hearing now in his Abſence; which being a matter of 2000*l.* weight, may, by default of thoſe that are not well inſtructed therein, turn to his Undoing: Wherefore his humble Suit, and mine in like ſort alſo for him, unto my Lords is thus; that as the ſame was put to compremiſe to be heard and decided by Midſummer, before which time we hoped certainly to have returned; ſo now growing doubtfull, that your Lordſhip will interpoſe your Authority to aſſign ſuch farther day as may be thought fit. And ſo leaving farther to trouble you, I commend you to Almighty God.

Hague, *May* 27th. 1587.

Yours moſt aſſured,
T. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

Sir *John Conway* writes, That he doth certainly look for a Siege. The States have aſſured to furniſh him with all neceſſaries; but I cannot build upon their Word.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Queen.*

Moſt ſacred Sovereign,

AFter my late Diſpatch to your Majeſty, touching the Matter of Peace, I did continue my Conference with thoſe ſpecial Perſons whom in my laſt Letters I mentioned to your Majeſty, having likewiſe by Advice of them imparted the ſame to *Menin*, the Penſioner of *Dort*; ſo as now being ſeven in number, Monſieur *Bredro*, the Chancellour, and *Valk*, did willingly embrace it, the other four did greatly miſlike it, dehorting me continually with the Terrour of thoſe many Doubts and Difficulties allready ſignified to your Majeſty. The Enemies to this Peace are the Men of War, all the Puritans, and a great part of the Proteſtants; but the principal Impugners, above the reſt, are ſuch of the States here, as, being for the moſt part Men of meaneſt Wealth and Calling, but moſt ſubtile and cunning in their Deeds and Actions; and having now the Government in their hands, do enrich themſelves, and rule and tax the poor People even at their own Pleaſure; which Gain and Authority they ſhould loſe, if once there were a Peace, and muſt leave to be Sovereigns, and fall to their old homely Occupation again. Thoſe, on the other ſide, that deſire the Peace, are the far greater number; as, namely, ſundry good Proteſtants, in a manner all the Nobility and Gentlemen, the greateſt part of the beſt Patriots, divers of the States and Magiſtrates, all the Papiſts and Anabaptiſts, and the *Spaniſh* Hearts, which are no ſmall number: So as this Diviſion muſt needs be the cauſe of many Difficulties and Dangers; among which the Doubt of ſome ſudden Practice with the Enemy, for particular Gain, by thoſe Commanders and Captains, to whoſe Devotion ſundry Towns of great Importance are commited, did moſt of all perplex me in my Proceeding here, that being therewith ſtaggered what to do, ſo ſuddenly I was preſented with this encloſed from the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour, as an Advertiſement of certain Truth, recommended unto him from the King his Maſter, which from ſtaggering hath now alltogether ſtayed me: Whereupon conſidering with my ſelf, that if this News ſhould fall out to be true, it is greatly to be feared, leſt after ſo violent and ſo extreme an Hoſtility committed, the King would rather bend himſelf to ſeek Revenge, than yield to treat of Peace, and then, in ſuch caſe, if either the Commanders of the ſaid Towns, ſhould practiſe their Profit with the Enemy, or the People over-greedily and inconſiderately apprehend the Deſire of Peace, and ſo the Duke to make hereby his Advantage, to the great Danger of this Eſtate, I thought it not unfit to retire my Proceeding in this matter for a while, untill from your Majeſty I might receive farther Direction; wherein, if your Majeſty ſhall find it expedient that I go on to propone the ſame, yet I beſeech your Majeſty to give me leave in all humility to remember thus much unto you, That as at all times the Increaſe of your Majeſty's Forces, to advance an Army in the Field, is the chief Defence of theſe Provinces; ſo at no time can the ſame be found ſo much available to the Cauſe, as even now while the Treaty of Peace endureth; not onely for that thereby we ſhall make our Conditions far the better, and prevent the Fraud and Deceit of the Enemy, if at the leaſt any ſuch diſguiſing be intended; but alſo for that the ſame would eaſily keep in Awe and ſuppreſs all ſudden Motions tending to Alterations, Tumult, and Revolt: And though there were a Surceaſe from Arms; yet to prevent all ſuch Miſchiefs and Inconveniences, the Maintenance of ſuch an Army, during the ſaid Treaty, were, in my Opinion, a thing of all other for this preſent moſt neceſſary. I am given to underſtand, that the Enemies of this Peace here, do intend by all means poſſible, to practiſe to divert your Majeſty from the ſame: But the eternal God, I hope, will guide and direct your Heart, to the Accompliſhment and Perfection of ſo bleſſed a Work; ſo as allways it be builded upon good

Surety

Surety and Conditions, without which Foundation we may juſtly fear the Ruine of the whole Work even to fall ſuddenly on our own Heads, ſith it can neither dure, nor bring forth good Succeſs, without a good Ground to ſtand upon.

Of my Proceedings with the States, and their final Reſolution in Anſwer of your Majeſty's laſt Letters unto me, and of ſuch other Matters as are therein contained, I truſt, within very few days, to inform your Majeſty fully: And in the mean while I thought beſt to diſpatch this Meſſenger to your Majeſty for your ſpeedy Direction touching this matter of Peace, and for ſuch other Advertiſements as I have written to Mr. Secretary.

Thus I beſeech the Eternal God to bleſs and preſerve your Majeſty for ever in all Royal State and Felicity among us.

Hague, *June* 2*d.* 1587.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithfull Servant,
T. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

Even at the writing hereof I am told, That ſome of thoſe to whom I have allready in private debated and perſuaded the Matter of Peace, have ſecretly informed the whole States thereof, and that the Enemies to this Peace do therefore ſtudy and labour all ways and means to hinder it; therefore if your Majeſty will have it proceed, you muſt ſo advertiſe ſpeedily, *quia Mora trahit Periculum.*

Mr. Wylkes *to Secretary* Walſyngham.

May it pleaſe your Honour,

BY my Letters of the 15*th.* and 16*th.* of the laſt Month you were advertiſed of my poor Conceipt and Opinion of the State of Things here; ſithence which time we have received her Majeſty's Letters of Anſwer to the Petition of the States for the Loan of 50000 *l.* which hath been imparted unto them, according to the Direction given, to their ſmall comfort. They have ſignified to my Lord, that as the extraordinary Contribution of 100000 *l.* for this year required, is more than ever hath been granted by the Provinces in any one Year, ſithence the beginning of their Wars, and now with much Difficulty aſſented to; it was to be feared, (becauſe the ſame is yielded unto but upon Condition, which is, if her Majeſty ſhall vouchſafe on her part to lend the 50000 deſired,) leſt the Provinces having knowledge of her Majeſty's Refuſal, would alſo make ſtay of the Levying of ſo great a Summ, conſidering that the ſame alone, without the other 3*d.* part from her Majeſty, will not work that Effect that was expected: And that ſith they ſhall not be able therewith to put into the Field a ſufficient Army to make Head againſt the Enemy, that they ſhall be conſtrained to reſt onely upon their Defenſive, by ſtrengthening their Towns with Gariſons, whereunto will nearly ſuffice their monthly Contribution, with ſome Encreaſe of 2 or 300000 *Guilders* extraordinary. Howbeit they truſted her Majeſty would be good and gracious unto them, and not ſuffer ſo notable an Opportunity as was now offered, by the Weakneſs of the Enemy, at this time to be overſlipped, by taking the Benefit whereof, they might hope to have ſhort End of their bloody and troubleſome Wars.

Thus much of their Anſwer I thought good to impart unto your Honour, leaving the reſt unto the Report of my Lord Ambaſſadour, becauſe you might perceive upon what Terms they ſtand with us, as not willing to enlarge themſelves, unleſs they may be extraordinarily relieved by her Majeſty. They do now begin (ſeeing the Delay of my Lord's Return, and that her Majeſty giveth no Direction for the managing of their Government according to the Contract) to ſay, that they muſt be conſtrained to take ſome other Courſe for the Preſervation of the Eſtate, by eſtabliſhing another in my Lord's Place, if he come not ſpeedily, or her Majeſty ſend not ſome other: To which effect they have written both to her Majeſty and his Lordſhip, and to ſay the truth, it is almoſt impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt, if they ſhould continue but one Month longer without the preſence of a Governour, or ſome better Order to be had, conſidering the Flaws and Confuſions of this Common Weal, their Diviſions among themſelves, and the Diſobedience in their Men of War; together with the ſmall Regard had of the Authority of the Council of Eſtate, by whom the Affairs are chiefly to be managed; who having been choſen but for a Year, and the ſame expired about the 14*th.* of *January* laſt, have been continued onely by the Intreaty of the States, as a voluntary Magiſtrate without Authority, refuſed to be obeyed by the Province of *Utreicht*, and others in that reſpect; and cannot be renewed but by his Excellency, unleſs the States ſhall revoke his Commiſſion: Which if they ſhall doe, (as of Neceſſity they muſt, if he return not ſpeedily,) your Honour will conceive how great a Diſgrace it will be unto him, and to her Majeſty a Diſcontentment. I truſt your Honour will therefore take ſome ſpecial Care thereof, as you tender the one and the other.

Although I have little Cauſe, in reſpect of mine own particular, to grieve at any Error that is committed by *Themiſtocles*, yet am I ſorry to ſee that upon ſo ſleight an Information as was given by *Atey* unto him, of a Bruit of ſome Speeches, ſaid to be uttered by Count *Hollock*, affirming that *Themiſtocles* ſhould have appoſted certain Perſons to murther him, he hath thereupon, without any

farther Ground thereof to have been given from hence, written divers Letters, not only to the States and Council of Eſtate, but to *Vtreicht*, *North-Holland*, and other Places, alleadging the ſame to be a Practice to terrifie him from returning hither; expreſſing withall that Monſieur *de Villiers* ſhould be ſent of purpoſe to the Lord *Buckehurſt* and me, to declare the ſame from Count *Hollock*, which (under Correction) is not ſo, as ſhall appear by my Lord *Buckehurſt's* own Letters to her Majeſty teſtifying the ſame. I am greatly deceived if the purpoſe of *Themiſtocles*, in naming my Lord and me, were not ſome Device, either to ſet Count *Hollock* and us together by the Ears, or to work us ſome Miſchief from the People, whom he ſuppoſeth to be greatly devoted to him; wherein, if I be not deceived, he will fail of his Expectation: But, Thanks be to God, we are hitherto ſafe. He knew that the Report thereof was firſt delivered to Doctor *Clerke*, who indiſcreetly (before he had learned any good Ground of Matter) would needs impart it to *Atey*, and that neither my Lord nor I were advertiſed of the ſame, as in his ſeveral Letters is expreſſed. But, to conclude, we have, upon diligent Enquiry (after the publiſhing of *Themiſtocles's* Letters here) found out, that Count *Hollock* hath uſed ſuch Speeches as were delivered by *Villiers*, and ſome Perſons are produced to offer to avouch the ſame to Count *Hollock*, as your Honour ſhall farther underſtand by the next.

My Lord hath made ſtay of propounding the Peace to the States General, in reſpect not onely of the Difficulties and Dangers like to enſue thereof, which are many, but alſo of the Advertiſement received of the Exploit of Sir *Francis Drake* upon the *Spaniſh* Navy, doubting that if the ſame be true, the King will alter his Humour of Peace, to a Reſolution of Revenge; and ſo the Peace not ſucceeding, might encreaſe the Dangers foreſeen to be like to follow at the Overture and Propounding thereof at this time. The haſty Departure of this Bearer will not permit me to ſet them now down to your Honour, as I deſire; and therefore I am conſtrained to defer that Labour, untill my next Opportunity. I think I may undertake to aſſure your Honour, that the States and Principal Perſons here, will never yield to accept a Peace, conſidering how impoſſible it is to find any Aſſurance that way; and rather than to hazard their Eſtate by a diſſembled Peace, they of *Holland* and *Zealand* do reſolve to abandon their Neighbours, to be the better able to make their Defence apart, who in effect are now conſtrained to bear the whole Burthen of the Wars, and the Defence of the reſt of the Provinces. And ſo for this time, with the remembrance of my moſt humble Duty, I take my Leave.

Hague, June 3d. 1587. *Your Honour's moſt Bounden,*
Tho. Wylkes.

POST-SCRIPT.

I beſeech your Honour not to be unmindfull of me, concerning my Revocation, in Caſe *Themiſtocles* do return; as alſo of my other Poor Petitions contained in my laſt Letters: And that it will pleaſe you to let me underſtand from you certainly (if it may be) whether he do return or not, that I may prepare my ſelf accordingly.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Sir* Francis Walſyngham.

SIR,

BY Letters of the 5th of *June* from *Fluſhing*, we hear that the Enemy hath gotten a certain Sconce, and that Sir *Roger Williams*, and a Company with him, and four Companies from *Berges*, are entred *Sluyſe*, and that the Place is well victualled, and ſupplyed with all Wants; wherein Sir *William Ruſſel* hath, with great Pain and Diligence, moſt carefully travelled.

I moſt heartily beſeech you, even with all Earneſtneſs, to become a moſt humble Suitor on my behalf unto her Majeſty, for my Return from hence; for being ſo unfit and unable, both in Body and Mind, as I am, I ſhall but prejudice the Service, give Offence to her Majeſty, and diſgrace and conſume my ſelf beſides, which are ſo bitter Fruits for ſo miſerable Toils and Travels as I do here endure, that I beſeech the mercifull God, by your good Means, to deliver me right ſoon from the ſame.

The like Suit doth Doctor *Clerk* alſo moſt humbly beſeech you to move on his behalf, who hath a Cauſe of 2000 *l.* depending betwixt him and *Harris*, which by this his Abſence may grow to his undoing, having already ſuffered great Hurt thereby: And ſo I recommend you to God, and my ſelf unto your good Love and Favour.

Hague, June 8th. 1587. *Yours moſt aſſured,*
Tho. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

By the Form of this Letter you may ſee that my Wits are ſcarce mine own, and being loth to new write it, I truſt you will thus accept it.

The

The Lord Buckehurſt's *Agreement with the States concerning the better Pay of the* Engliſh *Soldiers under their Pay, in their Service.* June 9th. 1587.

WHereas the Lord *Buckehurſt*, at the importunate Suit and Inſtance of the Captains and Companies *Engliſh* in Pay with the States, ſhewing the Miſery and Want of themſelves and their Companies, for lack of Pay and Relief, did this day earneſtly move the States General, and Council of State, that they would, in Conſideration of the Poverty of the ſaid Companies, and that moſt of them were immediately to be employed in the Field, be contented to give them ſome preſent Pay; lying before them the uncharitable and ungratefull Dealing towards her Majeſty and her Nation, in ſuffering the poor Men to endure ſo great Want and Miſery, who had ſo faithfully and valiantly adventured their Lives in their Service. It was anſwered by *Barnavelt*, (after Conference firſt had apart with the reſt of the States then aſſembled,) that they had no Means to content them, being at this preſent altogether unfurniſhed; alleadging, that as they had often preſſed his Lordſhip to give Orders, that out of her Majeſty's Treaſure the ſaid Companies might be ſatisfied; in reſpect that her Majeſty's auxiliary Numbers had not been compleat by the ſpace of many Months before; ſo did they at this time think it fit to intreat his Lordſhip thereunto again. Whereunto the Lord *Buckehurſt* replied, that he had no Authority to diſburſe her Majeſty's Treaſure to others than to ſuch as were in her own Pay; adviſing them earneſtly to have better Regard to the ſatisfying of their ſaid Companies, and eſpecially to thoſe that remained in Garriſon in *Lochem*, *Deuxburgh*, and other Towns upon the Frontiers, who, if preſent Order were not taken for their Pay, might endanger their Eſtate, being forced, even for very Famine, to deliver their Towns to the Enemy. To this Speech they anſwered, that unleſs her Majeſty would be pleaſed to reimburſe unto them ſuch Money as they had impreſted to her Gariſon at *Brill*, and for Victuals delivered out of their Magazines to other Companies in her Majeſty's Pay, as well in *Bergen ap Zome*, as in other Towns, *&c.* they could not deviſe how to relieve the ſaid Companies *Engliſh* their Pay. My Lord *Buckehurſt* for Anſwer hereunto alleadged, that the States were in her Majeſty's Debt, to the Summ of 20000 *l.* at the leaſt, diſburſed by the Earl of *Leiceſter* extraordinarily to the Troops, during the time of his being in theſe Countries: And that therefore it was good Reaſon that the Impreſt and Victuals aforeſaid delivered to her Majeſty's Companies, ſhould be converted towards the Payment of the ſaid 20000 *l.* The States replyed again, denied directly that they owed any ſuch Summs to her Majeſty as were pretended by his Excellency, having by Apoſtill, upon the Account of the late Treaſurer Mr. *Huddleſton*, taken exception againſt the Summ: Saying farther, that in Caſe it were true, that the ſame Summ pretended by his Excellency were owing by them; yet would it appear by the Accounts of their Impreſts of Money, Victuals, *&c.* delivered to her Majeſty's Forces, that it did ſurmount by much the ſaid 20000 *l.* Thus after long Debating on either ſide, the States were contented, that of their Moneys to be defaulked upon her Majeſty's Companies, for the Impreſts and Victuals aforeſaid, there ſhould be delivered by Proviſions to the ſaid Companies *Engliſh* in their Pay, the Summ of 800 *l.* Hereupon the Lord *Buckehurſt*, with the Advice of us hereunder written, having Commiſeration of the Miſery and Poverty of the ſaid Companies, and conſidering how diſhonourable a Thing it would be, both for her Majeſty and the whole Nation, if through Want they ſhould be ſuffered to follow the Example of *Stanley* and *York*, in delivering the Towns to the Enemies, which the Soldiers themſelves had ſeemed to threaten, and how dangerous the ſame would be to the State of theſe Countries, did for her Majeſty's better Service, and the rather for that there is no Order from her Majeſty, or my Lords, for any ſtay of Payment to be made of the ſaid Money due to the Town of *Brill*, other than by the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* himſelf, in reſpect of the Debts ſuppoſed to be due by the ſaid States unto her Majeſty, adviſe and agree, That out of the Money to be defaulked of the Gariſon at *Brill* for the weakly Impreſts lent by the Town to theſe Companies, there ſhould be taken the ſaid Summ of 800 *l.* to be delivered to the Receiver General of the United Provinces, to the uſe of the Companies aforeſaid, receiving ſo many Bills of the Captains in Gariſon in the *Brill*, as ſhall make the ſaid Summ of 800 *l.* And therefore we do pray you, to whom the ſigning of Warrants doth appertain, to give Warrant to the Treaſurer for the ſame accordingly.

Tho. Buckehurſt.
Tho. Sherley.
Barth. Clarke.

J. Norreys.
Tho. Wylkes.
Edmund Hunte.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to Mr. Secretary* Walſyngham.

SIR,

I Send you herewith a Warrant made by my ſelf and the reſt, for the Payment of 800 *l.* to the *Engliſh* Soldiers in the States Pay, out of the Money due by her Majeſty to the Town of *Brill*. The Reaſons and Circumſtances that moved us to doe the ſame, are expreſſed in the ſaid Warrant, for which Cauſe I ſend the ſame unto you to help to defend our Doings here, which I ſee are ſubject to many Conſtructions: And I muſt alſo add to the Reaſons in the ſaid Warrant contained, that after making of the ſaid Warrant, and before Payment of the Money, a Lieutenant of one Band, and a Captain of another of thoſe Companies that are in *Locum*, came Poſt, and declared, That the Companies there enduring great Want and Miſery, through lack of Pay from the States, had put themſelves in Arms, and took a Port of the Town, and kept it untill the Return of the ſaid Lieutenant and Captain, who had promiſed within 4 Days to return, or elſe not having Satisfaction from the States, they affirmed that they would yield the Town to the Enemy; whereupon we have cauſed ſuch Portion of the ſaid 800 *l.* as was allotted to the Three Companies there, to be ſent with all ſpeed; ſo as we hope this Mutiny will be pacified. I perceive plainly, That the States will not be brought to make Pay to their Engliſh entertained, but do only relieve them with Victuals, and that but barely, God knows; our Soldiers being no ways able to endure the hard fare which theſe *Dutch*-Men do. But they ſeem the moſt dehrous in the World to come to that Agreement, of paying 2000 *Engliſh* after the Queen's Rate, and to put their part of the Money into the Queen's Majeſty's Treaſurer's Hands; whereof I have briefly advertiſed you, and do verily think there was never a better Device for the compleating of the Bands, and good Pay to the Soldiers. I pray you, Sir, let us know whether we may conclude in that ſort, or not; for it is ſo good a way, both for her Majeſty, and for the help of the poor Soldiers, as I would be glad to bring this to paſs before I go hence, though I deſire my Departure infinitely.

Count *Maurice* being their new Governour for the War Proviſional, did greatly preſs Sir *John Norris* to be Marſhal of the Field, but he utterly refuſed the ſame. Upon his Conference and mine, whether it were fit that he ſhould join her Majeſty's Forces with theirs in this Service, for the Succour of *Sluyſe*, by diverting the Enemy, we found ſome Difficulties. On the one ſide we conſidered, that Sir *John Norris* (as he aſſureth me) being heretofore her Majeſty's General of her Forces here, had ſpecial Warrant to yield himſelf ſubject to ſuch Governour for the War as they ſhould chuſe. We found alſo, that to refuſe this Service ſhould be a Breach to the Contract of her Majeſty's part, being agreed to aid them againſt the Enemy. Likewiſe that to refuſe Employment in their Service, being by way of Reimburſement Forces of their Pay, had been a Matter both againſt Juſtice and Reaſon: And laſtly, a thing dangerous to be imputed to us, if by expecting my Lord of *Leiceſter's* coming, and we thereupon refuſing to join our Forces with theirs, if in caſe Count *Maurice*, wanting the Aid of our Forces, ſhould thereby forbear to go forward, and ſo the Town of *Sluyſe* to be loſt; or going forward without them, ſhould prove too weak for the Enemy, and ſo to be defeated, This Matter might lie heavily upon us. On the other ſide, there want not thoſe here which give out, that it is greatly derogatory to my Lord of *Leiceſter's* Authority; and therefore ought not to be done, but deferred till his Lordſhip's coming; That this is to take the Honour and the Army out of his Lordſhip's Hands, and out of thoſe Officers Commandment that are by his Lordſhip allready appointed, whereof for my part I know none, but onely my Lord *Willoughby*, of whom you wrote unto me: Unto whoſe Exceptions the great Neceſſity of the preſent Service, which admitteth no deferring, and that all this is but proviſional, untill his Lordſhip's Return, doth not ſuffice to ſatisfie them: Wherefore I have thought good to write unto you, both what is done, and what hath moved us to doe the ſame; which I truſt ſhall anſwer all overthwart Interpretations.

Sir, I beſeech you infinitely, as you reſpect the hard Caſe of me your poor Friend, and the great Loſs and Hinderance which I endure at home by mine Abſence, ſo to become a moſt humble Suitor to her Majeſty for my Return; for being ſo far wearied in Body, and ſo afflicted in Mind as I am, I find my ſelf, God knows, far unfit for this Service here.

We are far from *Sluyſe*, but as yet we cannot hear that it is battered; but the *Haven* is ſtopped, and all his great Artillery there with him. They are Victualled for four Months, well munitioned, and have about 1600 Solders, and 300 fighting Burghers; ſo as with the help of God's Favour, it ſhall be nobly defended. Thus recommending you to the Protection of God, and my ſelf into your good Favour, I remain for ever yours.

From the Hague *this* 13th *day of* June, 1587.

Your moſt aſſured,
T. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

Sir, you may ſee how for lack of a Secretary, and oppreſſed with ſo much Buſineſs, I am fain to ſend you my firſt Copies thus blotted and interlined; which I truſt you will pardon.

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The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Queen.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I Did, according to your Highneſs's Letters, declare unto the States, how they had not onely greatly injured my Lord of *Leiceſter*, but alſo much abuſed me, in naming to me that Letter Piquant, which his Lordſhip (not long before the receipt of theirs of the 4*th.* of *February*) had written unto them: And after I had heard the ſame Letter openly read, (whereof as yet I have received no Copy from your Majeſty,) I did, in Performance of your Majeſty's Commandment, maintain it againſt them; namely, That it was a Letter full of Gravity, and gentle Admonition, and ſuch as deſerved a kind and thankfull Anſwer. And I did likewiſe ſharply charge them with the Points of their ſaid Letter of the 4*th.* of *February*, which I delivered unto them in writing briefly collected, in ſuch ſort as from my Lord of *Leiceſter* himſelf I had received it, telling them, according to the tenour of your Majeſty's Letter unto me, That it was a proud and preſumptuous Letter, and that they had alleadged nothing for their Defence therein, that being well weighed, could yield Satisfaction. As to the Letter ſent from his Lordſhip unto them, they ſaid that they doubted not but to ſet down in Writting the parts thereof ſo plainly, as that it ſhould evidently appear to be Piquant. And to that other Letter written by them to his Lordſhip, They affirmed that all the Points thereof were true, as by their Anſwers in writing they would alſo make it manifeſt: Both which Wrintings of Anſwer, being now by them exhibited unto me, I do herewith ſend unto your Majeſty.

And, were it not that ſuch was your Majeſty's expreſs Commandment, I would have been very loth to have entred into this ſecond Expoſtulation with them, doubting very much, leſt this opening of the Wound anew, might procure a freſh Bleeding, which before was ſo well ſtayed and ſettled; hoping nevertheleſs, that God, who bleſſeth and guideth all your Majeſty's doings, will alſo conduct your Proceeding in this Cauſe unto ſome happy End. And ſo beſeeching the Eternal God for evermore to proſper and preſerve your Majeſty, I moſt humbly take my Leave.

Hague, June 13th. 1587.

Yours Majeſty's moſt humble and faithfull Servant,
Tho. Buckehurſt

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Lords of the Privy Council.*

All Duty to your Lordſhips moſt humbly remembred.

I Perceive by your Lordſhips Letters your good Allowance of the Device mentioned by the Eſtates, for entertaining of ten Companies *Engliſh*, at ſuch rate of Pay as her Majeſty giveth, allowing 150 to every Company, which, as I gather from your Lordſhips Letters, you underſtand to be offered, over and beſides thoſe eleven Companies *Engliſh*, which allready they have in their Pay; which is true, allowing that the ſaid eleven Companies be firſt transferred into her Majeſty's Hands, to fill up their Decays, as they deſired; but otherwiſe that is not their meaning; for they ſay expreſly, that more *Engliſh* Companies than they have already they are not able to entertain; which being but 1800 compleat, I have of late brought them to agree, that they ſhall be to the number of 2000; and thoſe being diſtributed into ten Companies, of 200 to a Company, do make up the number of 2000, and thoſe to be paid by the States at the Queen's rate, according to the Device proponed; for more than theſe 2000 *Engliſh*, and but with this Device, they ſay they are no ways able to pay and entertain, conſidering the great number of Soldiers which at this preſent they have in Pay, in ſuch ſort as with the number of her Majeſty's Auxiliary Forces for the Field, and thoſe Rutters already waged out of *Germany*, the whole number will amount to 32000 Footmen, 5000 Horſemen, and 1000 Pioniers, and 4000 over in ſurpluſage, as by their Muſter Rolls appear. And your Lordſhips know, that to maintain the ſaid 32000 Footmen, 500 Horſe, and 1000 Pioniers, they want 150000 *l.* beſides her Majeſty's ordinary Contribution and their own. So that to bring over more Men, upon hope to be paid by the States, who are ſcarce able to pay little more than a half of thoſe which are here in their Pay already, were but to bring Mutiny and Miſery among the poor Soldiers, and Danger and Confuſion to the State here; and having heretofore adviſed the ſame to Mr. Secretary, I truſt your Lordſhips will have conſideration thereof accordingly. And touching the 2500 to be ſent over for the repairing of the Queens Bands, thus much alſo muſt be underſtood, That Sir. *John Norris* having heretofore Order, as he ſaith, for the reinforcing of the ſaid cautionary Gariſons with 500 more than their ordinary Companies, which were extracted out of the 5000 Auxiliary Forces, doth conceive your Lordſhips Mind to be, that the ſaid 500, in this ſo doubtfull Time, are to remain ſtill within the ſaid Gariſon, Towns Cautionary, and not to go into the Field to complete the ſaid 5000 Auxiliary Forces: Upon which ſuppoſition the ſaid Advertiſement of 1500 Men, for Repair of her Majeſty's Bands was made, and ſo alſo to Mr. Secretary, heretofore advertiſed, which being by your Lordſhips likewiſe ſo intended, then is the ſaid Summ of 1500 neceſſa-

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ry, otherwiſe 1000 will ſupply the Wants of her Majeſty's Bands, as upon a like Conference with Sir *John Norris* and the Muſter Maſter, having the ſight of the laſt Muſter Rolls, did appear. And ſith the Muſter of the *Engliſh* in the States Pay, doth diſcover that their Want amounteth alſo but to number of 400, and ſome odd, and that when they are full, they are but 1800, it followeth, that of the 6000 which her Majeſty reſolveth to ſend over, there will onely fall into the States Pay, (yea, though we account with the moſt,) as of 2000, to compleat their 1800 *Engliſh* to 2000; and of 400, to ſupply the *Engliſh* Wants in their Pay, *viz.* in all, to the number of 600; and then for filling up of her Majeſty's Bands 1500, and ſo remains 3500 to be paid and maintained with the extraordinary Grant of her Majeſty's 15000 *l.* And whereas your Lordſhips willeth that the former Order, ſignified by your Lordſhips Letters, for the expending of the Treaſure by the way of Lendings, ſhould be ſtill continued, your Lordſhips need not to doubt thereof, conſidering that otherwiſe, in reſpect of the ſmall Summ of Treaſure here, in reſpect of that which is due, that were not poſſible to preſerve the State of things here; and yet what with the Diſcontent of the Captains and Soldiers, for lack of a full Pay, and of infinite Burghers, and others, that have truſted and victualled them before theſe Lendings; there is great Lamentation made on every ſide, and our Captains and Soldiers ſure in the mean while of this, that if from henceforth they bring not ready Money, they ſhall have neither Meat nor Cloths upon Credit. And thus recommending my ſelf humbly unto your Lordſhips good Favours, I take my leave, *&c.*

POST-SCRIPT.

Touching the filling up of her Majeſty's Companies with the *Engliſh* in the States Pay, I do ſtay to proceed therein, conſidering that Sir *John Norris*, without whoſe Order and Adviſe I would not have done the ſame, is now revoked, and that my Lord of *Leiceſter* is alſo upon his preſent Arrival.

From the *Hague*, this 22*d. June*, 1587. *Your Lordſhips humble to command,*
T. Buckehurſt.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Earl of* Leiceſter.

ACcording to the Contents of your Lordſhip's Letter, I dealt earneſtly, both with the States, and Council of State, to make their preſent Repair to *Middleborough*, for a common Conference to be had there with your Lordſhip, touching the Proviſion of all things fit for the ſupply of the preſent Neceſſities. The Council of State have thereupon reſolved to go to morrow to *Middleborough*: The States have not yet determined touching the manner of their going, being in Diſpute amongſt themſelves, as I hear, whether they ſhall go all, or but a certain of them. Concerning the Proviſion of Armour and Victuals, they promiſe to prepare Store-houſes of the one, and Magazines for the other, to your Lordſhip's Contentation, having ready Payment for the ſame, without which I can by no means perſuade them, for that they proteſt they are not able to provide it otherwiſe; and ſo hath Mr. *Web* promiſed them they ſhall have. The Count *Maurice*, as I hear, is gone into *Zealand*; ſo as your Lordſhip by him may have full knowledge for the number of Soldiers that are to be had towards the Army. And touching all other Things, the Council of State, who, I think, your Lordſhip will find at *Middleborough* before your Arrival, will be able to ſatisfie your Lordſhip therein, and to take Order for all Neceſſities. I my ſelf do ſtay behind for ſome few days, as well to procure the States with me all, if I can, as alſo for that I left off my Phyſick but yeſterday, and am as yet not perfectly well, having not come forth of my Lodging till to day theſe ten days. And thus I take my Leave of your Lordſhip.

From the *Hague* this 23*d. of* June, 1587. *Your Lordſhip's to command,*
T. Buckehurſt.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Queen.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

HAaving this Remonſtrance by the States General exhibited unto me, I thought it my part to ſend the ſame unto your Majeſty, finding by Proof how hardly my retaining of Remonſtrances here hath been taken and interpreted, which yet I did with a pacifying Mind, (God can witneſs with me,) and becauſe I would rather have quenched, than to have kindled matters of Unkindneſs. And I would to God it might have pleaſed your Majeſty to have liked the placable Courſe I take, which I am ſure did and would very much avail to the Good and Benefit of this Cauſe; (I pray God the contrary Courſe may do ſoe;) yea, and without the which things ſtanding as they did at my Arrival here, I dare boldly ſay all had run to Ruine and Confuſion; which Matter, if I might obtain

obtain but two days of Leiſure here, (as hitherto I could never have one hour,) I would then make moſt plain and manifeſt to your Majeſty. In the mean while (moſt juſt and gracious Sovereign) condemn not your humble and faithfull Servant abſent and unheard, ſo inceſſantly toiling in your painfull Service here, who both can and will fully ſatisfie your Majeſty, and who eſteemeth your Royal Love and Favour ſo greatly, as without the ſame he deſireth not to live any longer here. And ſo Almighty God for ever bleſs and preſerve your Majeſty.

From the *Hague* this 28*th.* of *June*, 1587. *Your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithfull Servant,*
Tho. Buckehurſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to grant my ſpeedy Revocation, having left my State at home ſo rawly, upon hope of ſhort Return, as otherwiſe my Things will come to great Confuſion. And I can aſſure your Majeſty that knowing the State of Things here in ſuch ſort as I do, I could doe your Majeſty much better Service preſent than abſent from you.

After I had written this Letter, the States ſent me alſo this ſecond Remonſtrance, which I thought good to encloſe to your Majeſty.

The Lord Buckehurſt *to the Earl of* Leiceſter, *or to Sir* Francis VValſyngham, *Secretary.*

JUdging that your Lordſhip is in your way to the Sea-ſide, or rather there, I have thought beſt to addreſs theſe my Letters to your Lordſhip, and by you to be ſent to her Majeſty, if you think fit.

Yeſternight late Captain *Hart* brought theſe Advertiſements out of *Sluyſe*; he deſerveth immortal Praiſe and Reward, for both to enter the Town in reſpect his Company was there, as alſo now to come forth for the Succour and Relief of the Town, being a ſervice of ſo great Importance; he did hazard his Life in ſuch ſort, as it was an hundred to one he had been taken. I refer your Lordſhip to theſe incloſed, whereby you may perceive the ſtate of the Town, and the Neceſſity which is advertized.

I did thereupon procure a Meeting of the Council of State, and of ſome of the States; this *Sunday* Morning by ſix of the Clock, where thus much is reſolved, That *Valk* ſhall preſently go into *Zealand*, and there, with the Advice and Conference of ſuch Captains, and Shipmen, and others, (as are likelieſt to know moſt,) to conſider and conſult, whether ſending in more Men, Victuals, and Powder, by way of the Haven, be fecible; for that the ſaid Council of State have been certainly informed, that the ſaid Haven is piled up and ſtopped. To this Conference *Valk* is to call a Mariner that came out of *Sluyſe* with Captain *Hart*, and is now at *Fluſhing* with Sir *William Ruſſel* there, who affirmeth that Ships may go into *Sluyſe* through the Haven, for all their Piling. They have alſo concluded, that *Bardoſius* ſhall preſently go to the Camp, there to conſult with Count *Maurice*, *Hollock*, and Sir *John Norris*, and thoſe other Captains there, whether the Exploit of raiſing the Siege, by defeating *La Mote*'s Companies, be fecible, which Captain *Hart* proponeth and aſſureth, by reaſon the Water ſo divides them from the reſt, as in eight hours they cannot be ſuccoured; and therefore doth alſo go with the ſaid *Bardoſius* to Count *Maurice*, and the reſt, to declare his Opinion and Proofs therein; and if they ſhall not find that Exploit fecible, without too great a danger, in reſpect that all our Army, as far as I can perceive, will not amount to above 6000 in all, and the Duke's, as it is certified out of *Sluyſe*, is about 1200 or 1300 Men; then that the ſaid Count *Maurice*, and Sir *John Norris*, do give order for 600 Men more to be preſently ſent into *Sluyſe*, in caſe that *Valk*, upon his Conference and Conſultations in *Zealand*, ſhall find it fecible to ſend them into the Town by the Haven; for otherwiſe they muſt ſtand to that they have, and commit themſelves to God, except by an Army the Siege be levied. I may not forget to inform your Lordſhip, that the Council of State do ſeem in a manner to aſſure themſelves, That *Grunevelt* hath received already Corn enough to maintain 2000 Men for four Months, and more, and Powder a reaſonable Store to defend the Town, but yet not ſo much as they wiſh, and will ſend if they can: Cheeſe and Butter they think he may want, except it came unto him by the Proviſion of Sir *William Ruſſell*, by whoſe means they heard he had good ſtore ſent; whereas now we hear, that his two Ships laden therewith came back, with opinion that the Haven was piled up: So as for Powder and Cheeſe they will ſupply, if poſſibly it may be ſent into the Town. I perceive that the States and Council of State do wonderfully miſlike with Monſieur *Grunevelt*; for he ſeemeth to be a very honeſt Gentleman, and doth plainly ſpeak and write againſt them ſomewhat too ſharply, which maketh great Miſlike towards him, and ſpecially for that as they ſay, he hath grievouſly complained againſt them to the Queens Majeſty; for which cauſe, in giving them a Copy of his Letter to me, I left out that which is interlined, becauſe it would but have exaſperated them againſt him, and done perhaps hurt to the Cauſe, eſpecially being allready ſo much bent againſt him

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as I ſee they are. Thus much I thought good to let your Lordſhip know, to the end, that if there be ought elſe that your Lordſhip thinketh fit to be done for the Succour of this Town, and which may be advanced by your Lordſhip's means, that you may alſo accompliſh the ſame the better, knowing the courſe of our Proceedings here. The Ship of Victuals, and other Things which her Majeſty ſent for *Sluyſe*, upon the opinion conceived that the Haven was piled up, is gone again to *Fluſhing*, from whence it may eaſily be had, and ſent into *Sluyſe*, if the Haven prove to be open, and ſo we mean to doe.

This day the States ſhewed unto me by Mouth the effect of a Letter written unto them from *Ortell*, whereby he ſignifieth, that your Lordſhip required them to prepare Victual for 5000 Men, and Armour likewiſe, and that 1500 of thoſe ſhould be in their Pay. They complain greatly of their Inability to perform any of theſe Things, and do ſtill affirm, that by their late Muſters they find, that with the *Rutters* allready entertained, and with her Majeſty's Forces, they have to the full of the projected Number, both to the Gariſon and Army, being 3200 Footmen, 5000 Horſe, and 1000 Pioniers; and have alſo 4000 in Surpluſage: But not having ſufficient Mean to pay a great part of th[illegible] they are not able to advance them to the Field, but are ſubject to daily Mutinies, as of late Sir *John Norris* going to *Weſell*, and having divers Companies aſſigned unto him of theirs, very few came, and three Companies of *Friſe* fell to Mutiny, and ſpoiled the Countrey for lack of Pay. I did ~~advertiſe, that~~ 1500 might be ſent over for the Supply of her Majeſty's Bands, and the *Engliſh* in their Pay, and ſo may be very well; but *Ortell*, writes as though 1500 ſhould be newly put into their Pay, beſides the eleven Companies *Engliſh* which they pay allready, and that they do utterly refuſe to doe; and ſo likewiſe for the Proviſion of *Victuals* and Armour for the reſt, being a new Charge of Money to be raiſed for the ſame, they ſay alſo they are not able to doe; but there is no doubt but that for ready Money your Lordſhip may be ſure to find both Victuals and Armour for that number, and for many more. Thus much I thought good to advertiſe your Lordſhip, leſt truſting upon theſe things, and not finding them here according to your Expectation, it might make great Confuſion and Trouble. Thus having nothing elſe to advertiſe, I take my leave of your Lordſhip in great haſte, as by this interlined and blotted Letter may appear.

From the *Hague* this 28*th.* of *June*, 1587.

Yours to command,
Tho. Buckehurſt.

POSTSCRIPT.

Although I doubt not, Right Honourable, that you are advertized, in ſome ſort, of the Eſtate of this Town, yet I thought it appertained to me, as well in reſpect of my dutifull Affection towards your Lordſhip, as alſo for the neceſſity of the Service, more particularly to give you Intelligence thereof.

The Prince's Army, by the Judgment of all our Captains, which may well view the ſame from the Caſtle, conſiſteth of twelve or thirteen thouſand, with whoſe Opinions the Advertiſements of our Eſpialls concur, who ſay that he hath 4 Regiments of *Walloons*, 4 of *Almaigns*, one of the *Italians*, one of *Burgonians*, 52 *Enſigns* of *Spaniards*, and 24 Cornets of Horſemen.

The Prince himſelf encamped in *Caſſand*, with his greateſt Forces, and beſt Men.

La Mote on this ſide of the River in St. *Anne*, with about 3000 *Walloons* and *Almaigns*, and not above two Cornets of Horſe. He hath entrenched himſelf very near our Fort, where he hath allready placed four Cannons, which have beſtowed upon the Town and Fort 200 Shot.

The great number of *Gabions* which he hath brought thither, makes us think that he meaneth to Batter, which I dare aſſure your Lordſhip will coſt him very dear.

The general Opinion of our Captains, is, That if 3 or 4000 Men were landed over againſt *Caſſand*, they might eaſily defeat *La Mote's* Troops, by reaſon that the Prince's Camp on the other ſide of the Water, is not able to ſecond them in ſix or ſeven Hours.

If Benefit be made of this opportunity, much Honour, no doubt, will enſue thereof.

The 4*th.* of this Month in the Evening we loſt 3 *Huyes*, paſſing to *Fluſhing*, which, by the negligence of the Mariners, were run on Ground.

The next Morning, either by the Treaſon or Cowardlineſs of the Admiral, two Men of War, lying at Anchor, were taken by Footmen; a thing, as I think, never before ſeen; I aſſure your Honour he never did ſo much as attempt to ſuccour us, which might all that time very eaſily have been done.

The greateſt Difficulty yet is the two Men of War, which are placed on both ſides the Chanel, although they have employed much labour upon the piling up of the ſame.

We have 2400 on another, which feed upon the *Magazine* of the Town.

I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip, if there be any that ſhall tell you it is not neceſſary and high time to look towards us, give them no credit.

Since I began this Letter, they have won our Counterſcarſe, not without their great Loſs; and this Night we look to encounter them within our own Fort.

The Original Captain *Hart* deſired to have with him to the Camp, to Count *Maurice* and Sir *John Norris*.

The

The Memorial ſigned by *Grunevelt*, (which the States here have,) contained theſe Things:
There wanteth Powder of both ſorts, of the one and the other.
There wanteth 52 Laſt of that which the Letters of thoſe of *Zealand* did contain.
There wanteth an Enginier, and ſix Cannoniers.
Their Butter and Cheeſe is all ſpent.
There is need of 7 or 800 Men more; for, as Captain *Hart* ſaith, they are but 1000 ſtrong.
Captain *Hart* confeſſed, laſtly, unto me, that they are furniſhed with Corn for two Months.

Thus leaving it to your Lordſhip's Diſcretion to determine what is moſt meet to be done, I commit my ſelf to your Diſpoſition, and your Honour to the Tuition of the Almighty.

Sluyſe, June 14th. 1587.

Secretary Walſyngham *to Mr.* Beale.

AFter my hearty Commendations: Your Proceedings in ſuch Services as you have dealt in ſince your being on that ſide, is very well accepted, both by her Majeſty and my Lords of the Council, whereof there hath been very favourable Report made by my Lord of *Leiceſter*, and alſo by the Lord Admiral; and yet her Highneſs is very much diſquieted with the Succeſs of Things here, eſpecially ſince the loſs of *Sluyſe*, and with the manner of Dealing of the States; from whom becauſe you ſignifie in your laſt Letters, that within three or four Days you were to receive Anſwer to ſuch things as you had propounded unto them concerning the publick Service, my Lords have deferred to take any Reſolution in the Affairs of thoſe Countries, untill Report ſhall come from you of their ſaid Anſwers.

By Letters which are now written from her Majeſty to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, whereunto I know you ſhall be made Privy, you ſhall perceive that her Highneſs, is in a ſort, reſolved to proſecute the Matter of the Peace, being out of Hope of good ſucceſs in the Wars, as well in reſpect of the preſent Diſunion and Partialities reigning among the States; as alſo for that ſhe findeth their Means to fail, whereupon they have grounded the Maintenance of the Wars, which ſhe ſeeth not how they can long ſuſtain, unleſs ſhe ſhould encreaſe her Aſſiſtance to ſome larger Proportion than ſhe is either well able or willing to bear; and although ſhe ſhould be content to yield unto a greater Charge, yet hath ſhe no hope to work any good Effect thereby, in reſpect of their Diviſion, and lack of Care of their own Safeties which cauſeth her to conceive that it will be better, both for her Honour and their Surety, to proceed in the ſaid Overture of Peace, as you ſhall perceive more at large by the Letters written by my Lord of *Leiceſter*, to whom I have delivered my particular Opinion, touching the Danger I fear the Overture of the Peace will work here; and yet if a Peace with Surety could be brought to paſs, conſidering how unapt both they and we are for the Wars, it were to be deſired.

Such Letters as you ſhall write hither hereafter, concerning the Proceedings and the Charge, you ſhall doe well to direct them to my Lords of the Council, and not to me in particular: And ſo I bid you heartily farewell.

From the Court at Thebalds, *Auguſt* 7th. 1587.

Your very loving Friend,
Francis Walſyngham.

Secretary VValſyngham *to Mr.* Beale.

SIR,

FInding by your Letters that you have forborn to deal with the States in the Matter contained in the *French* Letter; for that the ſame Things were oft before declared unto them on her Majeſty's Behalf, and that Matters were brought to a reaſonable good Order and Agreement between my Lord of *Leiceſter* and them; wherewith having made her Majeſty acquainted, ſhe doth reſt very well ſatisfied therewith. And touching the new Charging of the States with my Lord of *Leiceſter's* Griefs, ſeeing my Lord ſeemeth now to be ſatisfied, I think it not fit thoſe Matters ſhould be reviewed again; for that it is not good to awake a ſleeping Dog.

For the Matter of the Peace, I do think that no Opportunity could have proved more Advantageous than the ſame would doe to the Enemy, to make him Maſter of thoſe Countries, and do concur with you in Opinion, that her Majeſty ſince her Reign, never ſtood in the like Peril as ſhe doth now. Beſides the backward and evil Proceeding there, we do daily look to hear of the Diſperſing of the Army gathered for the Retrieve of the King of *Navarre*, without the Performance of any thing; whereupon followeth the Ruine and Overthrow of that King.

Touching your Revocation I have very earneſtly written to the Lord General, that he will be pleaſed to ſend you over with the States Anſwer and Reſolution touching the Treaty of Peace, or upon ſome other like Occaſion; which I do wiſh were with the ſooneſt opportunity: For that I find her

jeſty hath an Intent to uſe you in the Treaty, and therefore would be glad you were returned before it be proceeded in, that ſome good Means might be made for your ſtay here: And ſo I commit you to God.

From the Court at Otelands, *September* 2d. 1587.

Your very loving Brother, and aſſured Friend, Francis Walſyngham.

Mr. Diggs *to Secretary* VValſyngham.

Right Honourable,

AS I would moſt willingly recover again the happineſs of my former private Eſtate, ſo I would be glad to doe it without Diſgrace, having ever ſo carried my ſelf, as I hope rather for Favour than Rebuke any way: And therefore humbly beſeech your Honour, if Sir *John Norris*, or any other, have any way accuſed me of any Matter, that may touch me in Honeſty, that the Examination thereof may not be delayed; whereunto I urged and preſſed him alſo before my Lord *Buckehurſt*, where he confeſſed plainly he had nothing in the World to charge me with, but onely a Matter againſt my Brother, *James Diggs*, whereunto he ſhewed Seven Captains Hands; but the ſame alſo ſo falſe and untrue, as himſelf acknowledged my Brother had great Wrong, and that he would puniſh the Parties that firſt raiſed the Slander of him; and yet, as I hear, hath ſithence ſhewed the ſame in *England* under thoſe Captains Hands, himſelf knowing it moſt falſe. The 100 *l.* your Honour hath received of Sir *Thomas Sherley*, I will allow, as parcel of my Entertainment, hoping of your Honour's Favour to my poor Brother, who is otherwiſe like to be a loſer greatly by that Leaſe, which I made him for his Benefit and Advancement. And thus relying confidently upon your Honourable Favour, in all my honeſt Service, to be protected from the Malice of ſuch as are become mine Enemies, onely for doing my Duty faithfully to her Majeſty, without reſpect of Perſons, very dutifully take my Leave.

Hague, Sept. 18th. 1587.

Your Honour's humbly at command, T. Diggs.

Copy of her Majeſty's Letter to the Earl of Leiceſter. *Sept.* 2. 1587.

Right Truſty, &c.

FInding by your late Letters written unto the Lord Treaſurer, and a Note ſent to him therewith, containing what hath been diſburſed of the 30000 *l.* delivered unto you at the time of your Departure, that ſome part of the ſaid Summ hath been iſſued for the Payment of our Subjects, ſerving in the States Pay, We cannot reſt well ſatisfied therewith; conſidering how ill (as it is not unknown to you) We have been anſwered of the former Summs, which by your Order hath been diſburſed to their Uſe; and that you promiſed unto Us, before your Departure hence, that no part thereof ſhould be iſſued out, more than for the Levies and Impreſts of the new Bands, untill ſuch time as upon your Arrival there, you ſhould find that the extraordinary Contributions promiſed to be levied for the raiſing of an Army, ſhould be committed to your Charge, as was required by Us; and therefore do look, that out of the Summs growing out of the ſaid extraordinary Contributions, or at leaſt ſo much thereof as may remain uniſſued about the extraordinary Charges, promiſed to be delivered into your Hands, you ſhall reſerve ſo much to Our Uſe, as may anſwer the Summs laſt by you diſburſed, for the Levying, Impreſting, and weekly Pay of the ſaid new Bands; which Bands Our Pleaſure is ſhall be diſcharged out of Hand, in caſe they be not already diſcharged according to Our former Direction, given unto you, unleſs thereſhall be delivered unto your Hands by the States, ſo much Money as may ſerve as well to repay unto Us the Money allready by you diſburſed, as alſo to ſatisfie them duly for their Entertainment, ſo long as the ſaid new Bands ſhall continue in their Service. And hereafter Our Pleaſure is, You ſhould forbear to direct any Warrants unto the Treaſurer, for the iſſuing of any Summs out of the Treaſure, that ſhall be ſent into thoſe Countries, otherwiſe than for the Payment of the 5000 Footmen, and 7000 Horſe that are in our Pay; and of the Bands ſerving in the two Cautionary Towns. And for the better avoiding of Confuſion of Accounts, We do alſo think meet that ſo much of the ſaid Summ of 30000 *l.* as ſhall remain undiſburſed, ſhall be delivered into the Hands of Our ſaid Treaſurer, together with a perfect Account of the reſt that hath been iſſued, that the whole may be paſſed in his Account. We cannot alſo but put you in Mind, conſidering the late Attempt of Count *Hohenloe* at *Camphire*, and how near a Neighbour the Enemy is to the Town of *Fluſhing*, by having the Poſſeſſion of the Town of *Sluyſe*, as alſo the Diſlike that ſome of the People of thoſe Countries are by Practice wrought to have of our Subjects ſerving there, that there ſhould be an eſpecial Care had, both of that Town, and of the Town of *Brill*; and therefore we think it convenient, that ſuch Bands as are now placed in the ſaid Towns, ſhould not be removed from thence: And for the better Maintenance and Contentment of the ſaid Bands, Our Pleaſure is, That you ſhould give Order unto Our Treaſurer

of

of the Wars, to apportion out of the ſaid Treaſure that ſhall be ſent from hence into thoſe Countries, from time to time, ſo much as ſhall ſerve to make the Weekly Pays unto the Soldiers; as alſo ſome convenient Impreſt unto the Governours of the ſaid Towns, and Captains of the ſaid Bands; for that Our Meaning is, that there ſhall be an extraordinary Care had of them, above the reſt of the Bands ſerving in thoſe Countries. And whereas of late We have been given to underſtand, that the Town of *Camphire*, at ſuch time as the Count *Hollock* would have placed certain Soldiers there, refuſed the ſame, unleſs they might receive Direction from you Our Governour there, offering, as We are farther informed, to receive any ſuch Gariſon as We ſhould be pleaſed to place there; ſo as they might be paid in ſuch ſort as Our Gariſon in *Fluſhing* is: We have therefore thought good, conſidering how greatly it importeth Us to be poſſeſſed of that Town, for the better aſſuring of that whole Iſland of *Walkering*; eſpecially conſidering the late Practice held by the ſaid Count, That you ſhall doe your beſt Endeavours to induce the Burghers and Inhabitants of that Town, to receive ſome of the Bands to be gariſoned there. And for the better inducing of the Burghers of the ſaid Town to yield thereunto, We have thought good to write Our Letters of Thanks unto them; and withall have prayed them, that they would be content to receive ſome of the Bands of our Soldiers, ſerving in thoſe Countries, to be gariſoned within that Town, as by the Copies of the ſaid Letters you may perceive. Given, *&c.*

The Lords of the Council to the Lord Willoughby. Nov. 7. 1588.

AFter our hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip. Whereas the Chief Commiſſary of the Muſters, *James Diggs* Gent. hath of late exhibited unto Us, certain Requeſts concerning the better ordering of the Muſters of her Majeſty's Forces in thoſe Countries, which he hath deſired might be by us recommended to your Lordſhip, to be put in execution, to all which we have made our ſeveral Anſwers by way of *Poſtills*, which we ſend you here incloſed: The moſt part of the ſaid Requeſts being ſuch, as in our Opinions, are meet for the Advancement of her Majeſty's Service to be obſerved. We are to require your Lordſhip, to yield the ſaid Commiſſary the beſt Aſſiſtance for the due Obſervation thereof. Some others we have thought convenient, to refer to your Lordſhip's Conſideration to be put in execution, ſo far forth, as by your Lordſhip ſhall be thought expedient, as you may perceive by our Poſtills made unto the ſaid Requeſts.

We have farther conſidered of certain Requeſts exhibited unto us in your Name, by your Servant *Colman*, whereunto we have alſo thought meet to yield our ſeveral Anſwers.

And we have alſo thought meet, to make Anſwer to certain other Requeſts of your Lordſhip, contained in divers of your Letters directed unto us; and firſt, Touching the Requeſt preſented unto you, by the Captains of the Horſe Bands, for Allowance to be made unto them, for refuriſhing of their Horſes loſt in Service, your Lordſhip ſhall receive Anſwer thereunto in the Poſtills, made by us to the ſaid Requeſts, exhibited by your Servant *Colman*.

Touching another Letter of your Lordſhip's of the 24th of *Septemb.* whereby you ſeem to complain of certain Inconveniencies, grown by the making over of Monies by Exchange, and namely, that the ſame was not made over with that ſpeed, as was convenient, and as the neceſſity of the Soldiers requireth, and that they are delivered oftimes in light Monies, to the Loſs of the Soldiers; There is Order given to the Treaſurer, to have regard, as well to the goodneſs of the Money, that it may hold out weight, as alſo, that the ſame may be ſo ſeaſonably made over, as may be for the neceſſary Relief of the Soldiers.

According to our Recommendation given, of the Gentlemen recommended by your Lordſhip, *Grimſter* and *Redhead*, for the late Service done by them at *Berghes*, her Majeſty hath been moved therein, as well inreſpect of your Lordſhip's commendations, as the Deſert of the Gentlemen, and meaneth to have very gracious Conſideration of them, as ſurely your Lordſhip ſhall perceive by the Effects.

Laſtly, Touching your Requeſt for the raiſing of the 10th Company of Horſe, being under Captain *Tho. Knolles*, and the Offer made by Captain *Savage*, for the raiſing of the at his own Charge, your Lordſhip hath underſtood by our former Direction, that her Majeſty's meaning was, That 300 of the 1000 Horſe ſhould be converted into Foot-Bands, which your Lordſhip was directed to communicate to the States, whereunto her Majeſty hath yet received no Anſwer; and therefore cannot reſolve touching the ſaid Offer made by *Savage*: But upon knowledge received of the States Reſolution therein, in caſe they ſhall Aſſent to the converting of the ſaid Horſe Bands into Foot, your Lordſhip may, in reſpect of the Gentlemen's Sufficiency, and the good Recommendation made of him, beſtow one of the ſaid Foot Bands upon him, that ſhall be at your Lordſhip's Diſpoſition, or otherwiſe expect her Majeſty's farther Pleaſure touching the ſaid Band of Horſe, upon the Anſwer to be received by you from the States touching the ſaid Motion.

Lord Buckehurſt *to Sir* Francis VValſyngham.

SIR,

I Perceive that her Majeſty hath had ſome Advertiſement given, That becauſe thoſe of *Zealand*, would not admit Count *Solmes* to the Charge of the Regiment there, that therefore means have been found to beſtow the ſame upon Count *Maurice*, who hath made Count *Solmes* his Lieutenant, greatly to the hindrance of her Majeſty's Service; and that her Majeſty layeth alſo ſome blame upon me, becauſe I have not urged the States more effectually, for the accompliſhment of her Majeſty's Deſire therein. Good Lord! If her Majeſty did know, how far this Matter is from Truth, and they from underſtanding the State thereof, that thus injuſtly have informed her Majeſty, yea, and how earneſtly and carefully I have travelled in the ſame, her Majeſty would then undoubtedly give no longer Credit to theſe ſo vain, and ſo ſudden Informations. The Office of Collonel of the Regiment of *Zealand*, which Sir *Philip Sidney* had, doth of right belong to my Lord of *Leiceſter* to beſtow, as Governour General, and ſo by the States acknowledged: But becauſe that during his Lordſhip's Abſence, the States do hold, That the onely Name and Honour of their Governour, doth reſt in his Lordſhip's Perſon, but not the Authority or Direction of their Government; therefore they ſought, during this his Abſence, proviſionally to have placed the ſaid Count *Solmes*, which at my being at *Middleborough*, I ſtayed and ſuppreſſed. Sithence which time, Count *Maurice* being, long before my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s coming over, conſtituted their particular Governour, during his Life, both of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Weſt-Frieſe*, and being alſo by his Lordſhip confirmed in the ſame Authority, did by virtue thereof ſeek to appoint the ſaid Count *Solmes* his Superintendent of certain Towns within the ſaid Province of *Zealand*, a thing which of mere Right pertaineth unto him as particular Governour; wherein nevertheleſs, to content her Majeſty, I procured him alſo to make ſtay from his Proceeding in that Matter; whereupon, as I have heard, he ſaid, That he would be his own Superintendent, upon which words, as it ſeemeth, this Information is grown: Whereas at my earneſt Solicitation and Deſire, he hath forborn to grant the ſame either to Count *Solmes*, or to any other.

I perceive likewiſe that there is ſome fault found with the Contents of my Letters directed to the ſeveral Towns within the Provinces, for that I ſeem thereby to excuſe and juſtifie the Actions and Proceedings of the States ſince of *Deventer* and the Fort, as if the ſaid Accidents happened had given them juſt Cauſe to offer thoſe Indignities to her Majeſty which they have done. Whereunto now ſhortly thus I ſay, and hereafter by the Grace of God at full length I will approve, that there were no ſuch Indignities offered to her Majeſty as were ſurmiſed; but contrary wiſe her Majeſty, with all due Reſpect and Reverence greatly honoured; whereby her Majeſty was, and yet is, therein wonderfully abuſed, and I for my good and faithfull Service, moſt injuriouſly accuſed.

So that finding my ſelf and my Travels here ſubject to theſe continual Criminations, I wot not whether I ſhould more lamanent mine own Imfortune, or the Fault of thoſe that ſo untruly inform her Majeſty againſt me; for I ſee that my Calumniations are made great with the lofty voice of mighty Men; but when their ſubſtances ſhall be ſeen and ſifted, they will be found, I doubt, a vain ſound of Words, and no better.

Upon Advertiſement received from you, That her Majeſty hath ſome diſpoſition to put in a preſent readineſs 300 Footmen to be ſent over; and having ſome Cauſe heretofore to doubt the Aſſent of the States unto the Allowance of their Entertainment, I thought it beſt to propound the ſame unto them, leſt they being ſent over and refuſed, there might thereby follow great Inconveniences; whereto, in fine, they did abſolutely anſwer thus: That they could not poſſibly accept into their Pay any more *Engliſh* Companies, beſides theſe eleven Companies which they allready waged; For they ſay, that which this extraordinary Contribution of 150000 *l.* they can maintain no greater Number of Army and Gariſon, than the 32000 Footmen, and 8000 Horſeman, and 1000 Pioniers, in the Project ſet down, accounting therein alſo her Majeſty's Forces; and ſith at this preſent by their Muſter-Rolls it appeareth, that they have allready in their Pay above 24000 Footmen, and 2000 Horſemen, joining alſo thereunto the 2000 Rutters, 3000 Launs Knights, and 1000 Pioniers, which allready by the Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Aſſent, are contracted for, and in part waged; and adding thereto likewiſe her Majeſty's Forces, they have then not onely their full number, both of Army and Gariſon, in the Project mentioned, but alſo 4000 Men of Surpluſage; whereby they conclude, That they are no ways able to accept any more new ſupplies of Soldiers, either *Engliſh* or other.

And upon this Reckoning alſo it fell out in conſideration betwixt Sir *John Norris* and me, that you ſhall not need to ſend over above 1500 of theſe 2000, which we wrote for to ſupply the Bands here, except her Majeſty will allow thoſe 800 Soldiers parcel of the 8000 which are now joined to the cautionary Gariſons, to remain ſtill with them in Gariſon; for then it is requiſite for the completing of her Majeſty's 8000 for the Army, and of the *Bands* likewiſe in the States Pay, that there be ſent 2000 over. I ſend you herewith alſo an Act made by the States, touching their Eſtabliſhment of Count *Maurice* to be their Governour proviſionary for the War, during my Lord's Abſence, which they ſuddenly proponed to the Council of State, I being then preſent; for which cauſe I required

that

that my Proteſtation, by way of Apoſtile, might be alſo thereunto joined; and though unto them I did not ſo acknowledge it, yet in my Heart methought I could not gain-ſay it, but that the ſame is a thing moſt neceſſary at this preſent, and to your Lordſhip's Authority no whit prejudicial.

They do mean preſently, under the Leading of this their new Governour, to put an Army into the Field of 6000 Footmen, and 2000 Horſe; and by ſpoiling the Countrey of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, to ſeek to divert the Enemy from the Siege of *Sluyſe*. The matter of politick Government they proponed alſo at that time to be committed alſo proviſionally, during my Lord's Abſence, unto the Council of State.

One thing I muſt needs advertiſe you, That while I was in Treaty with the States, and labouring to prepare them to take in good part my onely Promiſe to procure her Majeſty to lend them 15000 *l.* and had alſo declared unto them, that I had no Commiſſion from her Majeſty to promiſe my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Return, in reſpect they would not truſt his Lordſhip neither with the Choice of their Treaſurer, nor with the iſſuing of their Money, without the Aſſent of the States General to the one, and of the Council of Eſtate to the other. Behold his Lordſhip's Letters to the States, and Council of Eſtate, were ſuddenly, ſolemnly, and openly read, aſſuring his preſent Coming with good Contentment of ready Money from her Majeſty, quite different from that which I, her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, had formerly proponed; which Reſolution of her Majeſty, if it had been firſt delivered unto them by me, her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, and not thus foretold by the private Letters of his Lordſhip to States and Council of Eſtate ſo generally, that had been, in my opinion, accompliſhed with more Honour and better Order, than as now it is handled.

I have withall earneſtly moved and urged the Requeſt of the King of *Portugal*, but what ſupply may be expected from thoſe to others, who are ſo far unable to ſupply themſelves; Nevertheleſs I do continually urge them to give a ſhort and a reſolute Anſwer, which I fear will be his beſt Advancement; and yet I will not fail inceſſantly to ſollicite his Requeſt to my uttermoſt.

A Draught of a Preamble to the Accord with the States, by the Lord Buckehurſt, *Auguſt* 8. 1589.

WHereas it hath pleaſed the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty, having Compaſſion of that great Extremity whereunto the Provinces United of the Low Countries were brought, and in regard alſo of divers other juſt and reaſonable Cauſes moving her Majeſty thereunto. By Treaty made at *Nonſuch* the 10*th.* day of *Auguſt*, in the Year of our Lord 1585. betwixt her Majeſty on the one part, and the Deputy States of the ſaid Provinces United on the other part. To conclude and agree certain Points and Articles touching their Aſſiſtence againſt their Enemies, Strangers, Malecontents, and their Adherents, under the Allowance and Approbation of the Queens Majeſty on her Part, and of the States General of the ſaid Provinces United on their Part, as by the ſaid Treaty and Concluſion more at large may appear.

Which ſaid Treaty was afterwards ratified, as well by Mr. *Daviſon* in the Name of her Majeſty, as alſo by the ſaid States General in their Aſſembly at the *Hague* in *Holland*, by an Act declaratory there made and concluded the 2*d.* of *October* in the ſaid Year of our Lord, 1585.

Sithence which time, even unto this preſent, her Majeſty, with the infinite Expence both of her Tereaſure and Subjects, hath given them Succours and Aſſiſtence for their Protection and Defence, in ſuch royal and bountiful ſort, by the Maintenance and Continuance of ſo many years Wars for their ſake, as neither Memory nor Hiſtory can teſtifie the like.

And although her Majeſty's good Brother, the French King, by Treaty made and concluded in the Year did likewiſe enter into League Offenſive and Defenſive with her Majeſty and the States General; yet now, foraſmuch as notwithſtanding the ſame, her Majeſty's ſaid good Brother finding it neceſſary for the good of his own Eſtate; and the Weal and Quet of his People, to ſurceaſe Arms and Hoſtility, hath not only concluded a Peace for himſelf; but alſo without any manner of Motion in that behalf from her Majeſty, (being carried thereunto, as it ſeemeth, with particular reſpect to bring like Beneſit and Repoſe to her Majeſty and People, as he pretendeth to have done to himſelf,) hath procur'd not onely the willing Aſſent of the King of *Spain* to come into the Treaty with her Majeſty, and liberty for acceptation thereof to her Majeſty, by the ſpace of forty days; but alſo hath ſithence enlarged that time unto ſix Months, with free Power to her Majeſty, to nominate as well Commiſſioners, as likewiſe Time and Place of Meeting, for the Commencing of the ſaid Treaty.

Whereupon the Queen's Majeſty by Letters to her good Brother the French King, in that behalf addreſſed, hath long ſince ſignified her Aſſent for Acceptation of Treaty, as well moved thereunto for ſundry juſt and reaſonable Cauſes, as ſpecially in reſpect of the ſmall time left unto her Majeſty (for as then the ſix Months were not enlarged,) to return Anſwer thereof to the *French* King within the time preſcribed.

And yet to the end that nothing therein ſhould be either attempted or done, before knowledge thereof firſt given to the States General from her Majeſty, her Majeſty ſent immediately a Meſſenger of good

good Credit unto them, notifying by him the ſaid Offer of Treaty made unto her Majeſty, and thereupon inviting them to ſend their Deputies to conſider and conſult thereupon.

So as now after long and ſerious Deliberation, and often Conferences had betwixt Her Majeſty and the ſaid Deputies; foraſmuch as they on the one ſide, for many urgent Cauſes by them alleadged, can by no means as yet be induced to embrace or enter into Treaty with the King of *Spain*: And that her Majeſty on the other ſide, upon good and great Reaſons likewiſe moving her, cannot at this preſent be perſuaded to reject or refuſe the ſaid Treaty offered; and yet for ſundry juſt and important Conſiderations, doth think it very fit to defer the ſame.

Therefore it is now firmly and finally agreed upon, betwixt the Right Honourable *A. B. C.* Commiſſioners appointed by her Majeſty for the ſaid Cauſe, on the one Part, and the ſaid Deputy States, ſufficiently authorized by the ſaid States General, on the other Part. That for the avoiding of all farther Diffidence, Difficulties, and Dangers, which otherwiſe might fortune to ariſe betwixt Her Majeſty and the ſaid States General, a perfect and friendly Accord may be made and concluded in Manner and Form following.

Firſt, That all former Treaties, Leagues, and Entercourſes, ſhall ſtand and continue in their full Power and Vigour, except in ſuch Points and Matters onely wherein either by way of Explanation, Addition, or Dimunition, the ſame ſhall in any ſort be changed or altered by force and virtue of theſe Preſents.

And whereas by the former Treaty made in the Year 1585. it is, among other Things, concluded, That the Provinces United ſhall bind themſelves, as well in general as in particular, to reimburſe unto her Majeſty within the City of *London*, (after that by the mercifull Goodneſs of God, and the Succours of Her Majeſty, they ſhall be reſtor'd unto Peace and Tranquility,) all ſuch Summs of Money as ſhall juſtly appear to have been employed and diſburſed by Her Majeſty for the Levy, Tranſportation and Pay of Soldiers in their Defence, to be repaid to Her Majeſty within four Years after the end of the ſaid War, the Accompt whereof would ſpend a long time, and might now raiſe unſeaſonable Diſputes and Differences, before the ſame could be brought to Equidation and Certainty.

Therefore the ſaid Deputies, to avoid ſuch Inconvenience, do in all Humility, and in lieu and in full ſatisfaction of the ſaid Summs of Money, ſo employed and diſburſed by Her Majeſty for their Defence ſince the Concluſion of the ſaid Treaty, acknowledge one whole and entire Summ of 800000 *l.* of lawfull Money of *England*, as a mere and clear Debt, due and owing to Her Majeſty by the ſaid Provinces United; the ſame to be reimburſed unto Her Majeſty in Manner and Form following.

That is to ſay, four hundred thouſand Pounds thereof to be paid to Her Majeſty within the ſaid City of *London*, by 30000 yearly, ſo long as her Majeſty ſhall continue in War againſt the King of *Spain*, whereof 15000 *l.* ſhall be paid within three Months after the day of this Accord, and other 15000 *l.* within three Months after that; and ſo from thenceforth, accounting from the end of the laſt three Months, to pay at the end of every Year than ſucceſſively following, the Summ of 30000 *l.* yearly, untill the ſaid Summ of 400000 *l.* be fully and wholly paid and reimburſed as aforeſaid.

But if Her Majeſty, before ſuch Reimburſement made, ſhall conclude a Peace with the King of *Spain*, then ſo much of the ſaid 400000 *l.* as at that time of ſuch Concluſion ſhall remain unpaid, ſhall be reimburſed to Her Majeſty, her Heirs and Succeſſors, at the Place and Time before ſpecified, by 20000 *l.* Yearly, untill the ſaid Summ of 400000 *l.* be fully ſatisfied and paid.

And as touching the other 400000 *l.* being the reſidue of the ſaid 800000 *l.* before reimburſed, it is accorded between her Highneſs and the ſaid Deputies, That the ſaid Provinces United ſhall bind themſelves, as well in general as in particular, to reimburſe the ſame unto her Majeſty, (after that by the mercifull Goodneſs of God, and the Succours of her Highneſs, they ſhall be reamiſed into Peace and Tranquillity,) within 4 Years then next enſuing, by equal Portions, paying in every Year 100000 *l.* unto her Majeſty.

But if her Highneſs, before ſuch time of Reimburſement be come, ſhall conclude a Peace with the King of *Spain*, then it is farther accorded, That her Majeſty ſhall nominate on her Part, and the States General on their Part, ſuch Commiſſioners as to them ſhall ſeem good; to the intent that upon mature and deliberate Conſideration thereof, ſuch farther and final Agreement for Reimburſement of the ſaid 400000 *l.* may be accorded, as both her Majeſty may be juſtly ſatisfied, and all Cauſe of Difference betwixt her Highneſs and the ſaid States General wholly removed, and fully cleared thereby, otherwiſe the precedent Article to ſtand in full force.

And whereas by the ſaid former Treaty, made in the Year 1585. Her Majeſty, for the publick Good and Maintenance of the Affairs of the ſaid Low Countries, was contented to conform her ſelf to the Terms and Limits of the Requeſt and Power of the Deputies then authorized: That is to ſay, That her Majeſty ſhould aſſiſt the ſaid Eſtates with 5000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, paid at her Majeſty's Charge during the War, beſides the Entertainment of three Enſigns of Foot, allowing 150 Heads to every Enſign, for the ordinary Garriſon of the *Brill* in *Holland*, and the two Forts

Forts thereunto adjoining, and 700 Foot for the Gariſon of *Fluſhing*, and of the Guard of the Caſtle of *Ramekins* in the Iſle of *Walcheren* and in *Zealand*, the which her Majeſty then choſe for her Caution and Aſſurance. And after the War finiſhed, then all Summs of Money ſo paid and defrayed by her Highneſs to be reimburſed to her Majeſty within four years enſuing, by the payment of one fourth part thereof in every year: And yet with a ſpecial Proviſion in the ſaid Treaty contained, That the ſaid States General ſhould anticipate the ſaid Terms and Payment, in Caſe they ſhall have means to perform the ſame.

Now therefore it is farther accorded betwixt Her Majeſty and the ſaid States, That Her Highneſs, after the end of 20 Days enſuing this Accord, ſhall be no farther charged with Pay of the ſaid Forces auxiliary; That is to ſay, of the ſaid 5000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, nor any part thereof, but that ſuch, and ſo many of the ſaid Foot and Horſe as Her Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed not to uſe for her own Service, ſhall be received into Entertainment and Pay of the ſaid States General, in caſe they ſhall be found capable by their Muſters, and themſelves alſo willing to be entertained by them.

Likewiſe, that after the end of the ſaid 20 days Her Majeſty ſhall be alſo no farther charged with Pay of the ſaid Forces cautionary; that is to ſay, of the 3 Enſigns of Foot in the *Brill*, or of the ſaid 700 Men in *Fluſhing*, or any part of them.

And it is farther accorded betwixt her Majeſty and the ſaid Deputies, That the Article in the former Treaty of the Year 1585. contained, which doth concern the Aid of Shipping, by the ſaid States General to be provided for the common Defence, in caſe that the Enemy ſhould bring any Fleet into the Chanels which are betwixt *England* and *France*, or betwixt *England* and the Low-Countries, ſhall be now explained and cleared, and the Agreement in that behalf preſently enlarged and concluded to the Effect following.

That is to ſay, That whenſoever any Fleet or Navy ſhall be prepared by the Enemy, to invade or aſſail her Majeſty in any part of her Dominions, and that her Majeſty thereupon ſhall in like ſort prepare or ſet forth a Fleet or Navy to reſiſt the ſame, That in ſuch caſe the ſaid States General, having timely notice thereof given unto them, ſhall put in a readineſs to join with her Majeſty's ſaid Fleet againſt the common Enemy, and to go under the command of her Majeſty's Admiral, the number of 30 or 40 Ships of War, whereof the one half ſhall be of the Burthen of 200 Tun, or upwards, and the other half of the Burthen of 100 Tun, or upwards: Provided that all Priſals ſhall be diſtributed as well for the Profit of her Majeſty, as of the ſaid States General, having regard to the Defrayments and Charges of the one and the other reſpectively.

And ſo in like manner the ſaid States General ſhall be bound to furniſh the like number of Shipping to join with her Majeſty's Fleet, whenſoever her Highneſs ſhall deſign any Exploit or Invaſion againſt the Enemy, either in *Spain* or *Portugal*, or in the Iſles or Indies.

And ſo in like ſort when any Army ſhall be prepared by the Enemy, to invade or aſſail her Majeſty, in any part of her Dominions; and that her Highneſs ſhall thereupon arm and prepare her Forces to reſiſt the ſame, That in ſuch caſe alſo the ſaid States General, having timely notice thereof given unto them, ſhall put in a readineſs to be tranſported into ſuch part of her Majeſty's ſaid Dominions, as into which the Enemy ſhall make his Deſcent and Landing, the number of 5000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, to be paid and entertained by them, untill the Enemy ſhall be either utterly defeated, or elſe expelled, and driven out from her Majeſty's ſaid Dominions.

A Collection of ſuch Points as have been miſliked in the Lord Buckehurſt's *Negotiation; with the Anſwer of the ſaid Lord to the ſaid Points, and the Reply of the Earl of* Leiceſter *to the ſaid Anſwers.*

The Firſt Point.

HIs accepting of the States Anſwer in ſatisfaction of ſuch Things as he was by his Inſtructions directed to charge them with.

The Lord Buckehurſt's *Anſwer.*

He ſaith, That by her Majeſty's Inſtructions he was commanded not to charge the States with any Matters but ſuch as were juſtifiable: And by the Earl of *Leiceſter* himſelf he was likewiſe ſpecially required not to bring in queſtion thoſe particular Griefs which the ſaid Earl delivered unto him, either by way of Charge to the States in particular, or to the Count *Hollock* or *Maurice*, for ſuch reſpects as did paſs betwixt the ſaid Earl and him; but to take that Courſe which the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* did always like beſt, which was to compound all Differences with Agreement betwixt the ſaid Earl and him, he is ſure the ſaid Earl in Honour and Conſcience neither can nor will deny.

And yet to make it appear unto the States, that in reſpect of ſo many Advertiſements as were brought unto her Majeſty of their bad Proceedings towards her, Her Majeſty had juſt Cauſe to diſmiſs their Deputies without Anſwer, untill ſhe might, by the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* be truly informed of the

the ſtate of Things there, there were ſet down by Conferences and conſent of Mr. Doctor *Clerke*, Mr. *Wilkes*, and Mr. *Atie*, 41 Articles, ſupplying Want of Matter with Plenty of Number; determining withall to charge them verbally, and not by Writing, becauſe they ſhould take the leſs hold of their Inſufficiency, the Weakneſs of which Articles, with the Sufficiency of their Anſwers, and yet not without our Replies, doth appear in a Book thereof ſet down at large under the Hands of the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, Sir *John Norris*, Doctor *Clerke*, and Mr. *Wilkes*, whereunto he referreth himſelf.

The Reply of the Earl of Leiceſter.

What my Lord's Charge was I know not, but as I underſtood it, both by her Majeſty and Mr. Secretary, it allways ſeemed to me to be very effectual, and yet none otherwiſe than ſuch as ought to be juſtifiable; and my Lord *Buckehurſt* had Matter both ſufficient and juſtifiable to charge the States withall. Touching the Requeſt of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, that he ſhould deſire him not to bring in queſtion any particular Matter between the Count *Maurice* or *Hollock*, for ſuch Reſpects as did paſs betwixt my Lord *Buckehurſt* and the ſaid Earl, and to take that Courſe, which was to compound all Differences betwixt the ſaid Earl and them, as the ſaid Lord ſhould think meet, Your Lordſhips ſhall here find out my Lord's evil Dealing, both with her Majeſty firſt, and with me her poor Miniſter after: His own Anſwer doth ſhuffle off the firſt Point, That he was commanded not to charge the States but with Matters juſtifiable; but he ſaith not at all, that he had no Matters juſtifiable, but he runs to another ſecond Point of ſecret Argument between him and me, wherein I will refer my ſelf to your Lordſhips Judgment, whether it be likely or no, that the Cauſes he had for me to deal with the States, as alſo with thoſe Lords, being very weighty to me, That I would, before my Lord had dealt in them, or examined them, pray him to wrap them up and compound them; I do not think that ever your Lordſhips found that ſimplicity in me; ſpecially making ſuch earneſt Suit to have my Lord go over, as I did, to examine and ſee whether thoſe Accuſations were true or falſe the States had ſet down againſt me, and the Count *Hollock* eſpecially named an Adverſary to me, that I ſhould deſire ſuch Matters to be compounded unheard, or unſatisfied; and therefore moſt faithfully I do anſwer to your Lordſhips, That I never meant, or had ever thought, but to have the matter fully heard. Thus far I will acknowledge and confeſs to be true, That I ſaid to my Lord, that if he found they dealt honourably, to diſcharge me of thoſe wrong Conceits, and ſeemed to be deſirous of Reconciliation, I would no ways refuſe or be againſt it; for I had promiſed her Majeſty I would doe it, but firſt, I would have my Purgation made above all things; and for proof thereof he wrote to me, and told *Atie* to tell me, That the Count was very deſirous of my Favour, and that he had ended all Things by the Term of Pacification; and *Atie* brought me Letters from the Count *Hollock* at that time full of Courteſie; and the like Letters my Lord wrote to her Majeſty, or ſome of your Lordſhips, and till my Lord had taken another kind of Counſel in theſe parts, he ſeemed to follow earneſtly his Inſtructions; but afterwards it fell out otherwiſe, as your Lordſhips do well know, That his own Letters do ſhow how cold he was to anſwer or reply at all to the Eſtates: And I have likewiſe Doctor *Clerke's* Letter to the ſame Effect, but not to this, as though they wanted Matter, or had not that was juſtifiable to deal with the States; but that they were deſirous to have all things quietted and ended, without farther ſtirring the Coals, for the Good of the common Cauſe; and that both the States and Count *Hollock* were very deſirous to have not onely Friendſhip with me, but my coming to the Place I had before among them: And therefore I will leave to your Lordſhips to judge, whether in this firſt point my Lord is to be believed or no, That I had agreed with him, before his going over, to do that which was moſt contrary to that for which I did ſue and ſeek for his going over; as alſo did follow unto her Majeſty, as all your Lordſhips may remember, in ſuing ſtill to her Majeſty to have that Charge proſecuted, when my Lord could any ways come over.

For the ſecond Clauſe of this Point I leave to your Lordſhips to conſider, whether he anſwer well for her Majeſty's Honour or no, at leaſt for Mr. Secretary's Credit, who I ſuppoſe drew his Articles; and if they were ſo frivolous and inſufficient as my Lord ſetteth down, they were not onely frivolous, but tedious; for he was fain to make 41 Articles of them, to ſupply with number that which wanted in matter: And therefore did not charge them by Writing, but verbally, to avoid the Advantage of the Inſufficiency. How my Lord's Wiſdom was encreaſed on this ſide the Seas I know not; but ſure I am, That not onely he had daily and oftentimes Conference with Mr. Secretary, and with her Majeſty's own ſelf alſo, beſides many times with my ſelf; but told me alſo allways, That he had Matter, and Matter enough, and doubted not to make them all aſhamed of it, when he came to them; but after his Illumination here, all were but Dregs, and inſufficient. The Weakneſs whereof he alſo ſaith, doth appear in a Book under the hand of himſelf, Sir *John Norris*, and *Wilkes*, which is not unlike that they have ſet down ſuch a Book, and yet no more truth in that Book, than in the reſt of the three Anſwers beſide, which your Lordſhips ſhall ſee greatly diſproved.

Here is to be noted, That my Lord knowing of Sir *John Norris*'s ill Will towards me, uſed him allways as a Commiſſioner and Counſellour in thoſe Matters of mine, which I leave to your Lordſhips Conſideration.

The Second Point.

That he ſent not over ſuch Grievances as were delivered unto him in writing, by the Count *Maurice* and *Hollock* againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter*.

The Lord Buckehurſt's *Anſwer.*

In a Letter from the Lord *Buckehurſt* to her Majeſty of the 8*th.* of *June*, 1587. among other Matters this is contained.

I ſend unto your Majeſty herewith the Dolances of Count *Maurice* and Count *Hollock*, exhibited unto me, which I did hitherto retain, not onely in reſpect of the daily Expectation of my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Return; but chiefly for that between their Lordſhips and me it was agreed, That the ſame ſhould not be ſent into *England*, but reſerved untill his Lordſhip's Return, and then a perfect Reconcilement to have been wrought betwixt them, *&c.*

This Matter is teſtified in Writing, under the Hands of D. *Clerke*, and the Lord *Buckehurſt*, the ſaid D. *Clerke* being Truſhman betwixt the ſaid Counts and the Lord *Buckehurſt*, wherein is ſet down the whole Speech that paſſed betwixt the ſaid Counts and the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, at the time of the Delivery of the ſaid Dolances to the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, unto which Writing he doth refer himſelf.

My Lord of Leiceſter's *Reply to this Anſwer.*

To the Second Point, how far ſoever it was agreed between the Counts and him for ſtay of their Information, I know for certain, and ſhall be proved moſt clearly, That my Lord *Buckehurſt* hath procured one of the Counts to give his Dolances, and lay three Weeks allmoſt, perſuading and uſing Means to the States, to make and ſend to her Majeſty that laſt new Accuſation, which he calleth their Explanation; and when they had denied it him, he cauſed his principal Factors anew again to preſs them, and promiſed upon his Honour, there ſhould none but her Majeſty ſee it; for that he ſeemed he duſt ſcarce return without it, as a matter that would greatly like her, ſaying theſe words: That they had fully ſatisfied him, and he was her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, and thereby her Majeſty would (they need not doubt) be ſatisfied; and he aſſured them to ſatisfie her too, he would bring her Reaſon to be ſatisfied withall. Theſe Words, or more plain to this Effect, did he uſe; and of the report I have very good Teſtimony: By which your Lordſhips may conceive of my Lord's good and indifferent Dealing towards me, That not onely would never reply or anſwer for me, but ſeek this at their Hands who had ſo touched me, to encourage them to go forward in it, as in a Matter that would not miſlike her Majeſty, as alſo of his meaning of a perfect Reconciliation, who extorted from them, by urging her Majeſty's Authority, Matter of new Suſpicion and Offence; yea, and declared plainly, That if I did come, yet he would not deal in any thing at all with me, but would carry all to her Majeſty; and the ſame Speech did he uſe himſelf to me, in the preſence of the Lord Admiral.

The Third Point.

The recommending of the State's Requeſt, for the Loan of 50000 *l.*

The Lord Buckehurſt's *Anſwer.*

He ſaw that the Ruine of the Cauſe, was the apparent Danger of her Majeſty, and that the Inability of the States of themſelves, not being able to ſupply ſuch Maintenance of the War, as might make Defence againſt the Enemy, it reſted, That her Majeſty muſt ſupply the Want; or elſe the Enemy, being ſuperiour in force, muſt prevail as Victor, and ſo the Cauſe overthrown.

Therefore not onely as her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, but alſo as a Counſellour to her Majeſty, he adviſed her to that which he thought beſt, both for the Preſervation of the Cauſe, and for her Majeſty's Surety and Defence.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply to this Anſwer.*

For this Point I have not to doe; he affirmeth it, and ſheweth the Cauſe of his Doing, whereof it may pleaſe her Majeſty to conſider.

The Fourth Point.

His cold urging of the States, for the beſtowing of the Regiment of *Zealand*.

The Lord of Buckehurſt's *Anſwer.*

He referreth himſelf to his Letter of Anſwer therein, to Mr. Secretary, of *June* 8. 1587.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply to this Anſwer.*

It is moſt certain he never dealt in this, as it is credibly reported unto me, or ſo ſlightly as it came, not either to any Debate or Anſwer among them; yet was it a ſpecial Point of his Inſtructions, and a Matter of ſuch Importance for the ſafety of *Fluſhing*, as your Lordſhips may eaſily judge; howſoever it be interpreted to be done proviſionally, Count *Maurice* ſtill executeth it, notwithſtanding my being here; and more eaſily might the Lord *Buckehurſt* have letted it before it was done, than I ſhall be able, now to revoke it, being done, and the Count in poſſeſſion of it.

The Fifth Point.

Miſlike of a Letter of his written to the States of *Holland*, ſeeming to allow of their Dealing, after the Loſs of *Deventer.*

The Lord Buckehurſt's *Anſwer.*

He ſaith, That after the Loſs of *Deventer*, he found that all was brought into Fears, Confuſion and Danger of Revolt, which grew not onely by means of the ſaid Loſs of *Deventer*, but alſo in reſpect of a Doubt conceived, That her Majeſty would abandon the Cauſe; for that the Deputies of the Sates, after ſo long a time, were ſent away both unſatisfied and unanſwered.

And laſt of all, by means of a dangerous Letter diſperſed among the People, a little before the coming over of the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, whereby it was ſpread, That of all the Noblemen of *England*, there was no one, but the Earl of *Leiceſter*, that had procured the Good and Benefit of the Countrey, and that of late the Parliament, had made offer to her Majeſty, to furniſh and entertain, at their proper Coſt 20000 Men, without one Penny of Coſt to her Majeſty, over and beſides her Majeſty's Succours, and that with this Reſolution, her Majeſty was determined, to have ſent over the Earl of *Leiceſter*; but fatal Deſtiny had now overturned all, by reaſon of the Letter of the 4th of *February*, Written from the States, to the ſaid Earl of *Leiceſter*, for the better underſtanding of the Premiſſes, the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* referreth himſelf to both the ſaid Letters.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply to this Fourth Anſwer.*

Firſt, The Earl of *Leiceſter* proteſteth, in all truth, he never heard of any ſuch Letter written, till he had peruſed this Article, and now he hath ſeen it, weighing from whom it was ſent. He doth not find how it was, or could be dangerous to her Majeſty, or her Service, ſeeing the Party meant the Credit of him, that had and was appointed to ſerve the States, and nothing elſe; if my Lord *Buckehurſt*, had in modeſt ſort, ſought the like Credit to the Earl, as he did all he could to the contrary, he had ſhewed more Judgment for her Majeſty's Service, than Wit or Diſcretion, in making a Matter of Offence for this Letter, which in no condition toucheth me, how malitiouſly ſoever he brings it in againſt me: For, as I am informed, this Letter ſhould be written by Monſieur *Buſinual*, to ſome here of his Acquaintance, in reproving them, for uſing the Lord of *Leiceſter* as they had, being a Man, that had done more for them, than all the reſt in *England* of his Calling, and, as it ſeems, was very earneſt in that kind of dealing, to advance my Doings towards theſe Countries, and to reprove the States. I would fain know, what Danger was in ſuch a Letter; or what can my Lord infer upon the Letter, if there were no Matter touching her Majeſty therein, but onely, as it ſeems, an Intention through Zeal to this Cauſe, to commend me above other Men, for that he ſaw I was to have the managing of theſe Cauſes here; if he did ſay more than I deſerved, to farther my Credit, and to reprove the unthankfull Dealings of thoſe Men here, is there any ſuch Collection in Reaſon to be made, as my Lord's Pleaſure was to make of it? But eſpecially what was it to me, that never heard or knew of it, till upon this occaſion, as the Lord ſhall ſave me? But as my Lord's Goodwill appeareth therein towards me, ſo was it no fear of hurt wrought by this Letter, that cauſed his Lordſhip to deal ſo favourably with the States, and publickly to allow of their Dealings, clean contrary to his Inſtructions, but the good Intention he had to advance them, and to deface me, as in all his Actions hath appeared.

The Sixth Point.

His winking at *Villiers*'s cunning Anſwer to the Matter he was charged with, touching the Count *Hollock*'s Griefs againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter.*

The

The Lord *Buckehurſt*'s Anſwer.

He referreth himſelf to his Letter to Mr. Secretary of the 22d. of *June*, 1587. and to the Declaration both of D. *Clerk* and *Villiers*, therewith alſo ſent unto the ſaid Mr. Secretary.

The Earl of Leiceſter's Reply to this.

I do alſo refer your Lordſhips to the Conſideration of that Letter, with the reſt of the Circumſtances.

The Seventh Point.

His not dealing with the Earl of *Leiceſter* about the Letter written to *Junius*, whereby to have diſſuaded his Lordſhip from ſuch manner of Proceeding.

The Lord Buckehurſt's *Anſwer.*

He ſaith, That he had great Reaſon to think not onely that the ſame was written by the ſaid Earl, contrary to her Majeſty's Mind, and without her Privity; but alſo that it was a very perillous Courſe, and might endamage the whole Eſtate; and then being ſo wrought by the ſaid Earl without her Majeſty's Privity and Conſent, it was in the ſaid Earl a very great Offence.

And allways in caſes of ſuch Miſdemeanours againſt the Prince, it is neither uſual nor convenient to intimate the ſame unto the Offender; but either to her Majeſty, her Council, or to ſome lawfull Magiſtrate. Beſides, the ſaid Earl profeſſing ſo great miſlike againſt the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, there was no likelihood that he ſhould have prevailed in any ſort with his Advice unto him; but rather to have raiſed Choler and Quarrels.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply hereunto.*

I think my Lord's Law here failed him; for I will yet ſtand to the Letter as it is, and I will reſerve the Judgment thereof to your Lordſhips, whether there is any word in it to be drawn offenſive to her Majeſty, though I had writ it merely of my ſelf: But in troth, upon the coming of the Lord *Buckehurſt*'s Letters to her Majeſty of his proceeding with the States touching the Peace, and of his Purpoſe to write to all the chief Towns of the Provinces, his Letters to the principal Magiſtrates to proſecute the ſame; her Majeſty being grievouſly offended with my Lord's fond and raſh Proceeding, wiſhed me to write to ſome of my Friends here, to let them know of the Miſlike of that manner of Dealing of his; wherein I have exceeded no bond of Reaſon I truſt, and the Perſon to whom I wrote was my own Secretary. As for the words my Lord would cavil at of Sovereignty, it lieth too open and plain to all your Lordſhips to find any ſuch Conſtruction as his curious Head would make it; his Law ſerved him to be the Queen's Sollicitor or Attorney, perhaps his Good-will was good to draw the Caſe capital; but I think my Lord's Law will never keep him within better compaſs of Duty, than my natural Due Affections and Faithfull Service in all Allegiance hitherto hath made proof of towards her Majeſty. I would either his Law or Learning, matcht with ſuch Doctors and Sophiſters as he was, had taught my Lord better conſideration of his Duty and Service, who manifeſtly and willfully hath put in hazard (I will prove it) the whole quiet ſtate of the Countrey, contrary to his Duty and Inſtructions. But for the Letter, I hope your Lordſhips ſhall find in the full peruſal thereof, that there is nothing but an Advertiſement to ſuch as might be led too far in Conſtruction of my Lord *Buckehurſt*'s Dealing for the Peace, to think truly of her Majeſty's proceeding, which had required a fuller Declaration indeed than that was; for I muſt ſay it, and her Majeſty's Counſellours here will affirm it, That to this day that Propoſition of my Lord's is taken hold on, and remains to the great Trouble of the People, even generally through all the Provinces, how much ſoever I have done to ſatisfie Men, and to ſtop it. And that part my Lord would draw offenſive in me, touching Sovereignty, his Malice went before his Wiſdom; for your Lordſhips ſhall find the word Adminiſtration of Sovereignty joined with it, which is in every Viceroy, Governour, or Lieutenant of a Province, under his Sovereign: And it is the very word, and the due uſual Phraſe that all Men do uſe here; yea, the Council of Eſtate themſelves, when they have cauſe to ſpeak of my Authority, they term it ſo even to the States themſelves, by theſe expreſs words, *per ſon Authorite Sufferayne*, as both Mr. *Beal* and *Killegrew* can tell; and he that wrote the Letter I think can tell how to write his Terms within due compaſs, or elſe I would he ſmarted for it; and I have cauſed him to write a Copy of it, apoſtiled in his own Defence, which I ſend your Lordſhips herewith: And my Lord of *Buckehurſt* might have been able to tell your Lordſhips, if ever he had converſed with the Council of Eſtates, as indeed he never allmoſt did, nor uſed Conference with any of them, but allways with the moſt ſuſpected Men of this Eſtate, and the worſt affected to her Majeſty, as ſundry of the beſt Men here with Grief have told me.

But the worſt in the Letter is. That the States ſome of them may take hold of Words there that touch them, and as I can yet learn my Lord was cauſe thereof, having noted the Receipt of a Copy of this Letter to ſome of the States; whereupon my Secretary, to whom it was written, was taken, and my Letters taken from him, which, after that it was ſeen and peruſed, they deliver it to my Man again, and prayed him moſt earneſtly, and with humble Terms, that he would not make the worſt of it, for it was worſe reported of than they ſaw now there was cauſe, and ſo have they teſtified to me

The Eight Point.

He refuſed to inform the ſaid Earl of ſuch Matters as were neceſſary for him to have underſtood, for the Service of her Majeſty.

The Lord Buckehurſt's *Anſwer.*

His Lordſhip ſaith, That the Demand of the ſaid Earl was to have a Declaration of all ſuch Matters as had paſſed in the Negotiation of the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* ſithence his coming over.

Whereunto the Lord *Buckehurſt* anſwered, That he was no ways able at that preſent to make Declaration of thoſe ſo many Matters, which would ask both a better Memory than his, and a longer time than upon ſuch a ſudden to deliver it: But if the ſaid Lord would demand to be informed of any particular Matter for the Service of her Majeſty, he was ready to inform him according to his knowledge.

Whereupon the ſaid Earl did demand divers ſeveral Matters, and received therein his Lordſhip's ſeveral Anſwers, according to a Note, whereunto he referreth himſelf.

The ſaid Earl did likewiſe demand to have Declaration made unto him touching the ſatisfaction of the States to the Matters wherewith they were charged, upon the Lord *Buckehurſt*'s firſt Arrival.

The ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* anſwered, That all theſe Matters were allready ended and pacified, and therefore not fit to be again revived, whereof a great many concerned the ſaid Earl in particular: And therefore his Lordſhip thought it no ways reaſonable, nor indifferent, to make the ſaid Earl Judge of his own Cauſe. But as his Lordſhip moſt unjuſtly had therein brought her Majeſty's Diſpleaſure upon the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, ſo would he firſt ſatisfie her Majeſty therein, and next the Lords of the Council, and laſt of all his Lordſhip.

Nevertheleſs the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* did impart in that Afternoon to Mr. *Beal* and Mr. *Killegrew* the whole Proceeding of the ſaid Negotiation, becauſe the ſaid Earl ſhould have no Cauſe to ſay, that her Majeſty's Service was hindred for lack of the ſame.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply to this Article.*

My Lord Admiral, Mr. *Killegrew*, and Mr. *Beal* were preſent at this Speech, who can beſt tell, and to whom I will refer me, not onely for the Speeches, but for the manner of my Lord's Uſage towards me; wherein, if I had not had more regard to his Perſon, as her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, then he had to mine, being her Lieutenant General, (and ſo an Ace above his Lordſhip) I had taught my Lord other manner even for my Place ſake, than to be ſo uſed at his Hands: Yet thus much I will reply here for Troth's ſake. Indeed I uſed theſe words, or very near like: My Lord you have been here her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, and hath had the Dealing, a good while, of all Matters and Cauſes for her Service; you are now going away, and *Wylkes* I hear is gone, it is needfull that I be inſtructed by your Lordſhip how all things have paſſed for her Majeſty's part by you, and from the Eſtates to you; for that I am utterly ignorant of any thing. The very firſt word he ſpake, (his Cap being on, and yet my Lord Admiral's off, and I did put off mine when I ſpake to him,) was this: I do not mind to give you any Account of my Doings; I will firſt declare to her Majeſty that I have to ſay, and give her Account of my Doings; then to my Lords of the Council; and then, as ſhall pleaſe her Majeſty to appoint me; for ye have dealt unjuſtly in procuring her Majeſty's hard Letters towards me, and therefore I will give you no Reckoning of my Doings, with ſuch a Grace and Manner as the old Monarch was wont when he played the Emperour: At which indeed I was ſomewhat moved, as my Lord Admiral and the reſt can tell. So after a few Words to my Lord, I asked him again, if he would make me no other Anſwer; he ſaid, No. I then willed Mr. *Beal* to write his Anſwer, and the reſt to witneſs it; which was done by Mr. *Beal*, and my Lord fell to Expoſtulations, where indeed I had the Cauſe to doe it, and ſuddenly offered, (when he had bethought himſelf, and his princely Courage ſomewhat ſuaged; for you never ſaw my Lord *Buckehurſt* before this, I am ſure, in ſuch a Tune,) that if I would ask him any particular Queſtions for her Majeſty's Service, he would anſwer them: And there were a few Queſtions asked him, which he anſwered more ſcornfully than directly, and my Lord departed; but upon my Honour and Credit with your Lordſhips, there was neither Word nor Manner as he hath ſet it down, wherein doth conſiſt much; and I refer me to my Lord Admiral, who dealt moſt carefully and honourably for him: And here is the very Truth of this Article; wherein yet I pray your Lordſhips to mark this farther, how my Lord

doth

doth contrary himſelf in the 2*d.* Article, where he ſetteth down the Cauſe of the Counts Doleances to be, to make a more perfect Reconciliation, at my coming over, with thoſe Lords, and here he refuſeth to ſatiſie me touching thoſe matters; for that they were allready pacified and ended, and not fit to be revived, and yet himſelf (as is confeſſed by the beſt here, as well of the Nobility as of the States,) preſſed them to deliver thoſe Doleances, and greatly abuſed her Majeſty, by whom he was charged to ſeek my Purgation among them; and it ſhall be proved they did offer Satisfaction, at leaſt ſuch Qualification as would have implied a reaſonable Satisfaction; and my Lord perſuaded them that their Cauſe was good, and would undertake to ſatisfie her Majeſty with Reaſon from them; for he ſaw Matter enough for it, and ſo preſſed them, and encouraged them to ſend this laſt Replication, wherein he himſelf hath taken no ſmall Pains in Examinations, and receiving Accuſations againſt me, and ſet them down in Writing, whereof he hath good plenty of Papers of his Collection; ſo well did he diſcharge her Majeſty's Commandment in charging them, or replying for me unto them: So that I truſt your Lordſhips do ſee my Lord's good or indifferent Mind towards me, or his regard to her Majeſty's Service, both himſelf and *Wylkes* to depart, without declaring thoſe Things moſt neceſſary for me. And touching the Grief my Lord accepteth againſt me for her Majeſty's ſharp Letters to him, I doubt not but both her Majeſty and your Lordſhips know the contrary, that his own Deſerts, to her own Eye Judgment, and yours was Cauſe thereof. Albeit in all your Opinions theſe now his manifeſt malitious Dealings were apparent then to you all, touching me, and ſo both to bite and whine he can skill well of; for how he hath ſought me here, by what ſubtile and cunning Means, and how diſhonourably to her Majeſty, as well conſidering my Place here, as alſo his Words touching her Majeſty to abuſe Men here is too notorious to all Men.

The Ninth Point.

His ſending away of *Wylkes*, that might have informed the ſaid Earl of divers Things for the Service of her Majeſty.

The Lord Buckehurſt's *Anſwer.*

He anſwereth, That when the ſaid Letter of *Junius* was brought to his knowledge, the ſame being matter of ſo great Importance, he was moſt deſirous it might be carried unto her Majeſty by Mr. *Wylkes*, for that he could beſt inform her Majeſty of the great Danger that would enſue thereby. Which nevertheleſs he committed not to the ſaid Mr. *Wylkes*, before he had firſt underſtood from himſelf, that he had a Letter of Revocation, and that Mr. *Beal* was appointed in his place.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply to this Ninth Article.*

For the great Importance of this dangerous Letter I make bold to refer your Lordſhips to my Anſwer of the 7*th.* Point; but in the quickneſs of this Diſpatch appeareth the Nimbleneſs of my Lord and *Wylkes* to do me a good Turn, if it had lien in them; for that *Wylkes* was diſpatched with ſome Copy of that Letter, (gotten belike by ſome good means;) for in very Truth, the Letter it ſelf was taken from *Junius* after *Wylkes* was gone, and my Lord himſelf here at *Middleborough*; and then I refer me to your Lordſhips to conſider if it were a ſufficient Cauſe of *Wylkes*'s Departure. It is true that *Wylkes* did never mean to come at me, and did give proud Words of me, as others did alſo, as both my Lord, Sir *John Norris*, and *Wylkes* did all they could to abaſe both my Eſtate and Credit here among the beſt ſort; but I truſt I ſhall doe well enough for that with them in all places: Yet I think your Lordſhips will conſider, that ſuch Dealing muſt touch her Majeſty's Service, being placed by her, as I am. And for the laſt Excuſe for *Wylke*'s Letters of Revocation, whether that be a ſufficient excuſe either for him or *Norris*, I leave it to your Wiſdoms, hoping that theſe unjuſt and falſe Defences ſhall not remove your Honourable Conſiderations from due Proceeding with them. But, my Lords as thoſe Men thought to touch me capitally there with her Majeſty, as appeareth by my Lord's own Declaration; ſo I truſt, being once found to be without Cauſe, your Lordſhips will have that due and lawfull Conſideration; that the meaneſt that ſerveth her Majeſty in publick Place would look for; and I do humbly crave it at her Majeſty's Hands, and your Lordſhips furtherance therein, that if theſe Mens Doings appear malicious and falſe, as I truſt they will, I may receive ſatisfaction fit for my Place and Calling.

The Tenth Point.

He ſent three Letters with one Date of contrary Effect; *viz.* the firſt to Mr. Secretary, earneſtly perſuading the Coming of the Earl of *Leiceſter*; the ſecond to the Earl of *Leiceſter* himſelf, diſſuading his Coming; the third containing a Deviſe of Government in caſe the ſaid Earl came not; *viz.* That one of the Nobility having the *Dutch*, *French*, or *Latin*, to be ſent as Ambaſſadour from her Majeſty within 15 days, might be Preſident of the Council, with a Negative Voice, in whom, and in the ſaid Council, the whole Rule ſhould reſt: And that ſuch Ambaſſadour muſt be ſent out of *England* within 15 Days, whereby it plainly appears, that the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* meant the Place for himſelf.

The

The Lord Buckehurſt's *Anſwer.*

He ſaith, That he wrote the firſt Letter to Mr. Secretary, *viz.* upon the *Monday*, which was the firſt day after his coming to *Utreicht*, being not at that time ſo fully informed of the Miſlike of the Counts; which time of writing the ſaid Letter, his Secretary is ready to depoſe; and by the *Wedneſday* and *Friday* following he had ſuch Intelligence of their ſecret Miſlike, that now he held it certain, as by the Teſtimony of his ſaid Information in writing he will make it appear.

Hereupon he wrote a ſecond Letter to Mr. Secretary upon the *Saturday*, mentioning, That not two days before he had been informed of a ſecret Miſlike of the ſaid Counts againſt the Earl, which he found to be ſuch, as unleſs he came ſo well accompanied with the *Engliſh*, as might make him ſuperiour in force, farther Inconvenience might follow.

And that therefore he wiſhed, that both her Majeſty and my Lord of *Leiceſter* might be informed thereof.

And in the ſame Letter he certified likewiſe, that he had ſent the Project for the Government concluding with theſe Words, *viz.* So as now like as you have Reaſons and Arguments on both ſides, as well for the Return of his Lordſhip, as for ſettling of a new Government, otherwiſe ſo as if you do not preſently reſolve upon the one or the other, the Frame of this Common Wealth, which is onely ſtayed up upon the Pillars of Hope and Expectation from her Majeſty, will ſoon fail and fall.

At the ſame time alſo, in ſatisfaction of a Letter then written to him by Mr. Secretary to that end, he ſent likewiſe a Project of Government in caſe the ſaid Earl did not return.

At the ſame time alſo he wrote a fourth Letter to the Earl himſelf, advertizing him, That as he had great Cauſe to miſtruſt, he had diſcovered a ſecret Hate of the Counts againſt him; ſo as if he came not well accompanied, he doubted of his quiet Government.

That therefore he will neither encourage his Lordſhip to come, nor diſſuade him from coming; the end of Things being ſo uncertain, as he would beloth his Counſel ſhould be conſtrued by the Event, That he hath written to Mr. Secretary at large, to whoſe Letters he referreth him.

Theſe four Letters being well conſidered, and weighed together, what other Matter can be in them but onely this?

In the firſt he wrote what was his Opinion at the writing of that Letter, *viz.* That his Lordſhip's Coming was expedient.

In the ſecond he advertiſed what he was informed, *viz.* That the Counts did carry a ſecret Miſlike againſt him, and that therefore he ſhould come ſtrongly accompanied; which hath ſince been found true.

In the third he ſet down what he was required to doe by Mr. *Secretary*, viz. A Plot of Government in Caſe the Earl did not return.

In the fourth he wrote alſo to the ſaid Earl ſignifying the ſaid Miſlike of the ſaid Counts leaving now his Coming or Tarrying to his own Judgment, and yet referring him for his better Reſolution therein, to all ſuch Arguments and Reaſons on both ſides, as the ſaid Lord *Buckeburſt* had ſent to Mr. Secretary.

As to the Date of all theſe ſet down in one Day, it is anſwered, That as the ſaid Lord *Buckeburſt*, at divers of his Diſpatches wrote very many Letters together, and at this time by Mr. *Crofts* did ſend no leſs than 26; ſo the ſaid Letters being divers days in finiſhing, and Mr. *Crofts* being detained nine days, about the Diſpatch of the ſaid Letters, for that the ſaid Lord *Buckeburſt* kept his Bed, and ſo could not ſo ſpeedily diſpatch them, the Dates of the ſaid Letters were not put in till the Day of their ſealing and making up, which was never done till the Day they were all finiſhed, and then one Date was put into them all, *viz.* the Date of that Day, wherein the Meſſenger was diſpatched.

As to the Deſire of the ſaid Lord *Buckeburſt* to have the ſaid Place himſelf, he ſaith, That if he had been Ambitious, his Ambition would no doubt have carried him to have ſought the whole Government and not a part, and much leſs of ſuch a Part which maketh him no better than a Counſellor of Eſtate in *Flanders*, with a Negative Voice; which had been a very baſe Mind in him to have accepted, being a Counſellour to her Majeſty in *England*.

But leaſt of all is the ſaid Lord *Buckeburſt* ſo fooliſh, as if he had been ſo baſely Ambitious, yet would he never have ſet down ſo plain and ſo groſs a Plot for himſelf, as is pretended againſt him.

Laſt of all, There is not onely any word, meaning or mention in the Project, that ſuch Ambaſſadour ſhould be of the Nobility, but onely a Man of Quality; but alſo an expreſs Clauſe ſet down, that he muſt have the *Dutch*, *French*, or *Latin*, and that without the ſame it was not poſſible for him to deal in thoſe Affairs, wherein all the World knows that the ſaid Lord is ſo ignorant, as he was forced continually to treat by the Mouth of Doctor *Clerke*, and Mr. *Wilkes*.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply hereunto.*

For his Anſwer to theſe Three Letters I will not play my Lord *Buckeburſt's* part, being a good Lawyer, to draw theſe his own Collections againſt himſelf, but I leave them to your Lordſhips, for they

they be too apparent; otherwiſe comparing them with his own Letters, or elſe I am very forgetfull; and for the deferring of the Date to one Time, of divers being diverſly written, it is a courſe ſeldom uſed, either by Ambaſſadour or Intelligencers: Forreign Letters other Men uſe allways to write the Date as they be written, ſpecially being of ſo many and of ſuch Contrarieties; but all theſe I refer to your Lordſhips Conſiderations. And for the laſt Point, of his not being ambitious to ſeek this Place, I would your Lordſhips did but know what I do, he would both make you laugh, and pity the poor Man, being become ſuch a Metamorphoſis from that we have known him before.

And touching his Meaning for the Government look in his Project, as well touching the Perſon and Quality that muſt ſupply the Place, as alſo the time ſet down, which was, that he could have it ſettled in 15 days, if he received any ſpeedy Anſwer: And how was that poſſible to be by any other than himſelf that was there preſent, and ready to be placed in that ſhort time. As for his Excuſe for Language, all your Lordſhips did know his Language ſufficient, both his *Italian*, *French*, and *Latin*; and he can ſpeak *French* when he liſt, though not ſo well as other Tongues: But compare his Apologie with his Project, and then your Lordſhips ſhall ſee who he meaneth.

And laſtly, I do deſire this Note of your Lordſhips touching my Lord of *Buckehurſt*'s ill dealing with me, and chiefly with her Majeſty, he being ſent as he was, not onely for me, but as for a matter that did concern her Service alſo. That my Lord at his Arrival ſeemed to be my great Friend, and in every Place, till he came to the *Hague*, ſhewed it ſo openly; And then was the Count *Hollock* and Sir *John Norris* open Enemies, one going guarded each for other, within eight Days he brought them to be great Friends, and caſt all the Diſlikes towards me; and that Courſe did he maintain, till he departed hence, which your Lordſhips all know was contrary to the Cauſe of his ſending. This is ſo true, as your Lordſhips ſhall have it confirmed by Mr. *Beal* and Mr. *Killigrew*, That the States which be here did not onely openly before the Council in mine own Preſence tell me, that the laſt Declaration which my Lord *Buckehurſt* got againſt me, was Three Weeks laboured by the Lord himſelf, ſaying, it was a Matter muſt and would ſatisfie her Majeſty, as he her Ambaſſadour was therewith ſatisfied; but that he promiſed them faithfully, he would carry it and deliver it himſelf to her Majeſty, as a thing ſhould ſatisfie her, and no more Dealings to her Eyes thereof. Beſides this, my Lord *Buckehurſt* hearing that there were a couple of Fellows who had been with *Stanely*, and ſhould report, that they heard *Stanely* ſay, That he did not ſerve the King of *Spain*, but by my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Conſent and Knowledge, and that he had my Lord's Paſſport to ſhew to that end, which they had ſeen: He ſent for theſe Men; he uſed all Perſuaſions to them to declare the Truth, making them believe he was my dear Friend, and that *Stanely* did this to make Men miſlike with me; and he would have them ſet this down in writing, to ſend it to me, and ſo did take their Hands, thinking to have got ſome Matter againſt me; but I truſt my Lord's treacherous Heart ſhall be found out, or I ſhall give ſo villanous a Cauſe to be touched.

The Replies of the Earl of Leiceſter *to the former Anſwers of the Lord* Buckehurſt, *together with the Rejoinder of the ſaid Lord* Buckehurſt *to the ſaid Replies.*

The Reply of the Earl to the Second Point.

THat the Lord *Buckehurſt* ſhould procure one of the Counts to give unto him his Doleances.

The Rejoinder of the Lord Buckehurſt.

The ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* upon his Arrival at the *Hague*, earneſtly labouring to reconcile the ſaid Earl and the Counts; and in the 7th and 8th of *April* laſt, having brought it to paſs, did advertiſe the ſame Reconcilement both to her Majeſty and to the ſaid Earl, by his Letters of the 13th of the ſame Month, ſent by Mr. *Atie*, who departed by 8 of the Clock in the Morning of the next day following.

The Count *Maurice*, about four of the Clock in the Afternoon of the ſame next day, did deliver up his Doleances to the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* and Count *Hollock* the like within two days after that.

At which time there was no manner of Suſpicion or Thought in the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* of any Miſlike that ever would have grown againſt him from the ſaid Earl, he then being moſt friendly and faithfully bent towards the ſaid Earl, and aſſuring himſelf of the like from him again.

Now how likely or poſſible is it, That the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* having laboured and made a Reconcilement upon the ſaid *7th.* and *8th.* day, and having advertiſed the ſame upon the *13th.* day following, ſhould either in the very next day after, (if Count *Maurice* be meant,) or elſe within two days after that, (if Count *Hollock* be meant,) procure any one of them to doe an Act quite contrary

to

to his own Work of Reconcilement before made, and contrary to that which he had advertiſed both to her Majeſty and to the ſaid Earl, and in a matter tending ſo greatly to the hinderance of her Majeſty's Service, and Hurt of the Cauſe, which ſo many hundreds can witneſs with him, he ſought ſo infinitely to advance, and no manner of Doubt or thought of Miſlike being then betwixt the ſaid Earl and him, how likely or poſſible his Accuſation is, or can be true, let all the World be judge.

And as to the Objection of the ſaid Earl, he ſaith,

That the Charge is general and uncertain, not naming which of the Counts meant; and it is alſo without proof, not ſetting down any Teſtimony to juſtifie the ſame: Nevertheleſs for Anſwer he ſaith, That the Matter is utterly falſe, and imagined and forged againſt him, ſo far from all Truth, as when the ſaid Earl ſhall ſet the ſame in Certainty, and ſhall produce for Proof ſuch as have been nformers thereof, the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* then doubteth not, but with ſuch Matter and Circumſtances as he hath to ſhow, ſo fully to diſcover their falſe Accuſation therein, as it ſhall be made plain and evident to the World, what great Wrong and Injury is hereby done unto him.

The Reply of the Earl to the 5th. *Point.*

That the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* did in a ſort charge the Earl of *Leiceſter* with the Diſperſing of a Letter written by *Buzenual*, dangerous for the preſent State there, as a Thing procured by the Earl, wherewith the ſaid Earl proteſted he was never made acquainted.

Whereby he inferreth, That the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* had more Care to defend the States, and to allow of their Dealings, clean contrary to his Inſtructions, than to procure his Juſtification touching the wrong Imputations he ſtood charged withall by the States.

The Rejoinder of the Lord Buckehurſt.

This Charge is alſo general and uncertain, neither ſetting down in what ſort, nor to whom the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* did ſo charge the ſaid Earl, with diſperſing of the ſaid Letter: And it is likewiſe without Proof, no Teſtimony being alleadged that may juſtifie the ſame: Nevertheleſs for Anſwer the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* ſaith, That the Matter is merely falſe and untrue; for that neither directly nor indirectly he did ever charge the ſaid Earl with diſperſing of the ſaid Letter: And when the ſaid Earl ſhall ſet down his Charge in Certainty, and ſhall produce for Proof ſuch as have been Informers thereof unto his Lordſhip, the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* then doubth not, but that he ſhall eaſily diſprove their ſaid falſe Accuſation.

The Reply of the Earl to the Seventh Point.

That the Lord *Buckehurſt* dealt malitiouſly with him, in that he collecteth out of a Letter written by the ſaid Earl unto his Secretary *Junius*, by the which he ſeeketh to charge him, contrary to her Majeſty's Mind, and without her Privity to have ſought the Sovereignty; whereas the Words themſelves do import no ſuch Matter, being as followeth; *Que je retourne par de la ſoubs ceſte Confidence que ils feront ceſſere dore ſenaunt les Difficultés paſſez & cederont une Auctoriſe legitime telle que il convient pour adminiſtrer la Souverainté deduct Pays:* Whereby it appeareth, that the ſaid Earl ſought not the Government, but onely the Adminiſtration of the Sovereignty, without which there could be no form of Government eſtabliſhed in that Country.

Secondly, That the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* was the cauſe that the States took Exception againſt the ſaid Letter for ſo much as touched them.

The Rejoinder of the Lord Buckehurſt.

To the firſt he ſaith, That by his Collection ſent to her Majeſty, upon the ſaid Letter to *Junius*, he dealt moſt faithfully and dutifully towards her Majeſty, and ſincerely and not malitiouſly towards the ſaid Earl, for he neither did nor meant therein any other Thing but to inform her Majeſty of the great Perils and Dangers, which in his poor Judgment would bring moſt certain Ruine to that Eſtate, if the Effect of that Letter ſhould be put in uſe.

But on the other ſide he ſaith, That he hath juſt Cauſe rather to charge the ſaid Earl with moſt hard dealing towards him; for that he collecteth out of the Letter of the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*. That which in the ſaid Letter is neither contained nor mentioned, as namely, that the ſaid Earl ſought the Sovereignty, whereas the expreſs Words of the ſaid Letter do onely ſpecifie the Adminiſtration of the Sovereignty, and not otherwiſe; for due Proof whereof he referreth himſelf to the Words and Contents of his ſaid Letter.

To the ſecond he ſaith, That if the Lord *Buckehurſt* had given knowledge to the States of the ſaid Letter to *Junius*, (as in Truth he did not,) and had thereby been the Cauſe that the States did take Exception to the ſame, if ſuch be the meaning of the ſaid Earl, he would then boldly have juſtified his Doing therein, as that which he might well have maintained, both to have tended to the

the Advancement of her Majeſty's good Service, and alſo to the Preſervation of the Common Cauſe; for weighing the great Inconveniences which by effecting the Courſe and Contents of the ſaid Letter, muſt needs have endangered that whole Eſtate, and conſidering that *Junius* was even then in preſent Action of executing the ſame, which (by over long expecting her Majeſty's Anſwer, being not in time prevented,) might perhaps have made a beginning to ſuch a Flame, as both her Majeſty and the States could after hardly have quenched.

The ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* thinketh, That if any Miſchief had enſued thereby, her Majeſty might then have imputed great fault unto him, as well for not timely advertiſing the States, as alſo for not conjoining with them in deviſing preſent and ſpeedy Remedy to prevent the ſame; ſo as the Fault of the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, (if any were,) was rather for not informing the States of the ſaid Letter, and conjoining with them to ſuppreſs the ſame, than for any ſuch Cauſe or Matter as the Earl would have it: Wherefore it ſeemeth to the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* to be a very ſtrange Example, and tending to no ſmall hurt and hinderance of her Highneſs's Service hereafter, that the ſaid Earl in reſpect of his particular, ſhould in this ſort be received, to call the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* in queſtion for ſuch his good and faithfull Information given to her Majeſty, and for the which he thought he ſhould rather have been favoured and protected; wherein nevertheleſs, like as he then did, ſo whatſoever may befall, he will for ever proceed to the advancement of that unto his uttermoſt, which he ſhall think to be for the Service of her Majeſty, without either Affection or Fear of any particular Perſon whatſoever.

And as to the Objection of the ſaid Earl, he ſaith,

That this Charge is alſo general and uncertain, not ſetting down any particular Matter, or Mean whereby to induce the ſame.

And it is likewiſe without Proof, not alleadging any Teſtimony to juſtifie the ſame: Nevertheleſs for Anſwer the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* ſaith:

That the Matter is merely falſe and untrue; and when the ſaid Earl ſhall ſet down his Charge thereof in Certainty, and ſhall produce for Proof ſuch as have been Informers thereof unto his Lordſhip, the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* then doubteth not but that he ſhall eaſily and plainly diſcover the Fraud and Falſhood of their unjuſt Accuſation.

The Reply of the Earl to the Ninth Point.

That the Lord *Buckehurſt*'s Allegation in the diſpatching of *Wylkes* with a Copy of *Junius*'s Letter is untrue; for that the orginal Letter was taken from *Junius* after *Wylkes*'s Departure.

The Rejoinder of the Lord Buckehurſt.

The Party *Junius*, to whom the ſaid Earl wrote the ſaid Letter, did, long before Mr. *Wylkes*'s Departure out of *Holland*, give forth divers Copies thereof to ſuch as he thought would further and advance the Effect of the ſame; by which means one of the ſaid Copies came to the hands of the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, ſo as the ſaid Objection is as eaſily Anſwered, as it is frivolouſly alleadged.

New Objections of the ſaid Earl of Leiceſter *againſt the ſaid Lord* Buckehurſt, *ſet down among the Replies of the ſaid Earl; together with the Anſwers to the ſame, of the ſaid Lord* Buckehurſt.

The firſt Objection of the Earl.

THat the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* lay three Weeks almoſt, perſuading and uſing means to the States, to make and ſend to her Majeſty that laſt Accuſation, which he calleth their Explanation; and when they had denied it him, he cauſed his principal Factors a-new again to preſs them, and promiſed upon his Honour, there ſhould none but her Majeſty's ſelf ſee it; for that he ſeemed he durſt ſcarce return without it, as a Matter that would greatly like her; ſaying theſe Words, That they had fully ſatisfied him, and he was her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, and thereby her Majeſty would, they need not doubt, be ſatisfied; and he aſſured them to ſatisfie her, for he would bring her Reaſon to be ſatisfied withall.

The Anſwer of the Lord Buckehurſt.

This Allegation, in manner and form as it is here ſet down, is altogether wreſted and perverted from the ſimple Truth of the Proceedings of the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*; for plain Declaration whereof it is requiſite that the whole Circumſtance thereof be ſet down, which was as followeth:

The ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* having to his great Grief received Letters as well from her Majeſty, as from the ſaid Earl of no ſmall Miſlike conceived againſt him, for his acceptation of ſo weak and ſlender an Anſwer from the States, (as to her Majeſty it was pretended;) and being alſo in her Majeſty's ſaid Letters ſignified, That ſhe did not think it fit that they ſhould be let ſlip with ſo light a Charge, having offered ſo great Indignities to the ſaid Earl, ſupplying the place of her Majeſty's Governour there: Therefore the ſaid Lord *Bukehurſt* to obey her Majeſty's Commandment, but utterly againſt his own Heart and Mind, did accordingly perform the ſame, charging them as well with their abuſe of naming the Letter of the ſaid Earl Picquant, as alſo with twenty one ſeveral Articles, which to that end by Mr. Secretary in writing had been delivered unto him, and requiring them likewiſe, that for ſo much as neither her Majeſty, nor the ſaid Earl did receive for ſatisfaction that which verbally had allready paſſed; That therefore they would by their ſufficient Anſwer yield ſuch farther ſatisfaction as were convenient; whereunto they anſwered to this Effect:

Hereby it appeareth, that the urging of the States to make new Anſwer, was done not onely by her Majeſty's expreſs Commandment, but alſo by means of the ſaid Earl himſelf, and not any ways proceeding from the Lord Buckehurſt, *or done with his liking, whoſe Honour was greatly touched thereby.*

Injuſtly therefore in the Objection is the ſame inſinuated and wreſted againſt the ſaid Lord Buckehurſt, *as though that of himſelf he had lain three Weeks perſuading and uſing means to make and ſend the ſame unto her Majeſty.*

That moſt ſorrowfull they were to perceive that theſe Matters which they thought had received their final End, ſhould now be ſought to be ſtirred up again; they did think that her Majeſty had been long ſince therein fully ſatisfied; ſith by the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, it was both ſo pronounced and promiſed unto them: They prayed therefore that they might be forborn to make any farther Anſwer, or to raiſe up matters of new Unkindneſs again. To this the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* replied, That it was grievous unto him to renew the ſame unto them, in that for his own part he muſt confeſs, that he was fully ſatisfied; but her Majeſty and his Excellency not being ſo, he was by her Majeſty's Letters commanded to urge them anew, to ſome better ſatisfaction of that wherewith they had been charged; and therefore prayed them by their ſufficient Anſwers, to perform the ſame accordingly: Whereupon the ſaid Articles being thus by the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, delivered to them in their publick Aſſembly at the State-houſe in the *Hague*, (D. *Clerke* and Mr. *Wylkes* then alſo preſent,) they received the ſame, and promiſed to make their Anſwer thereunto by Writing.

This ſhall be teſtified by D. Clerke *and Mr.* Wylkes, *and is ſo notorious, as neither it will nor can be denied by the States themſelves; whereby it appears how falſe that part of the Objection is, which ſaith that the States denied to Anſwer.*

And becauſe the ſaid Lord did conſider that the States being daily buſied with great Affairs, and the Number of the ſaid Articles being twenty one, (beſides their Declaration to be made upon their Picquant Letter, muſt needs enlarge the Anſwers thereof to great length; Therefore he ſuffered a Fortnight and more to paſs, before he called upon them for their ſaid Anſwers.

D. Clerke, *whom the ſaid Lord* Buckehurſt *uſed herein, can teſtifie the Truth hereof, and the States themſelves neither can nor will deny it; whereby it appears how falſe that part of the Objection is, by which it is inſinuated, that he lay three Weeks almoſt, perſuading and uſing Means to procure their Anſwer; whereas in three Weeks, and more, he ſent but twice unto them; and by a fortnights ſpace thereof was ſilent, and ſent not at all.*

About which time demanding the ſame, they declared the Matter required a long time to perform, that they had other great Affairs in hand, that the ſame was in ſetting down, but as yet not finiſhed; and that ſo ſoon as it could be done, it ſhould be brought unto him.

And when five or ſix days more were ſpent, and the ſame not come unto his Hands, he ſent again unto them, requiring them very earneſtly to haſten their ſaid Anſwers; for that he doubted much, leſt her Majeſty in all that long while not receiving the ſame, might thereby conceive ſome farther Diſpleaſure againſt him.

This ſhall be teſtified by D. Clerke, *who was the Meſſenger unto them; whereby it appears how unjuſtly in the Objection the words of the Lord* Buckehurſt, *touching her Majeſty are wreſted and perverted, as namely, ſeeming that he durſt ſcarce return without it, as a matter that would greatly like her.*

Whereupon within two days after the ſaid States ſent their Deputies, who then delivered unto him as well their Writing of Explanation upon their Letter of the 4th. of *Febr.* as alſo a Writing touching a Declaration of the Reaſons and Cauſes they had to term the ſaid Earl's Letter Picquant, being a work of that length and greatneſs, and doth contain twenty one Leaves in Folio, written in a very cloſe Hand.

And for that aſwell the Speech of the ſaid Deputies, at Delivery of the ſaid Writings, as the Anſwer of the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* thereunto made, is not only to be teſtified by an Act thereof, made and ſet down in Writing; but alſo both by Sir *John Norris*, Dr. *Clerke*, and Mr. *Wylkes*, who all three were preſent; therefore the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* referreth himſelf to the words of the ſaid Act, which are as followeth:

June 12. 1587.

1. THis day there reſorted to the Lord *Buckehurſt* certain of the States General, deputed by their whole College, to the number of ſix Perſons, beſides their Grieffier; who by the mouth of Monſieur *Barnavelt* declared to his Lordſhip, That as they had to deliver unto him an Explanation of their Letter of the 4*th.* of *Febr.* laſt written to his Excellency, and a Declaration of the Reaſons and Cauſes they had to term his Excellency's Letter Picquant, which they ſaid to be partly the Ground and Cauſe of the writing of theirs; ſo they were ſorry that Occaſion forced them to perform the ſame: For they were in hopes that all the Matters had been fully buried, and ſhould never more have been remembred, as well for that his Lordſhip being her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, had not onely ſignified unto them that himſelf was fully ſatisfied with that which they had therein for Anſwer allready delivered unto him; but alſo had promiſed to ſatisfie both her Majeſty and his Excellency in that behalf: They beſought him therefore to believe, that their Purpoſe therein was not to ſtir humours, or to move Diſpleaſure, either in her Majeſty or in his Excellency, but had done the ſame to explain the Truth, and rather to ſatisfie her Majeſty and his Excellency, than for any particular Reſpect; and prayed his Lordſhip that in ſending this their Writing to his Excellency, they might be excuſed of any ill Intent therein.

Hereby it appeareth how unjuſtly the ſaid Earl inſinuateth, as though it had been the ſaid Lord Buckehurſt *that did call it their Explanation, whereas it was firſt ſo termed by themſelves, not onely by their Speech, but alſo in the very Writings which they exhibited.*

2. They alſo declared how ſorry they were to perceive that the Diviſions and Diſſentions of *Utreicht* were ſuch as did receive no End, *&c.*

Anſwers of the Lord Buckehurſt *to the Propoſitions verbally delivered to his Lordſhip by the Deputies of the, States in the preſence of Sir* John Norris, *D.* Clerke, *and Mr.* Wylkes.

1. TO the firſt his Lordſhip anſwered, That he had not urged the Explanation of their ſaid Letter of the 4*th.* of *Febr.* nor their Declaration upon the Picquant Letter from his Excellency, as of himſelf, but by the ſpecial Commandment of her Majeſty, and to ſatisfie his Excellency, who thought himſelf injured by the ſaid Letter, and his Honour as yet not ſufficiently repaired. He proteſted unto them, that for his own part it was grievous unto him to revive the Memory of thoſe unpleaſant Things again, which he wiſhed might have ſunk in perpetual Oblivion. But her Majeſty being perſuaded that Matters were not yet ſo well ſatisfied as was requiſite, had ſo commanded him, whom he muſt obey: Nevertheleſs he acknowledged, that for his own part he was fully ſatisfied, and doubted not at his Return unto her Majeſty, but that with ſuch Reaſons as he had to ſhew, he ſhould fully ſatisfie her Majeſty alſo; for being her Ambaſſadour, he truſted, that in that reſpect her Highneſs would vouchſafe to give Faith and Credit to him, unto whoſe royal Hands his Purpoſe was in the mean while to ſend the ſaid Writings, and not unto his Excellency: For that being her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, he was to ſend his Diſpatch unto her Majeſty, and not to any other.

Onely this part of the Objection is true; and he doth ſtill remain in the ſame hope and Opinion.

Hereby appeareth how falſly in the Objection things are wreſted againſt him; as, that he promiſed upon his Honour that none ſhould ſee it but her Majeſty, whereas his words were only as within appeareth; which Anſwer then alſo he did the rather make, for that in reſpect of the Miſlike betwixt the Earl and him, he did forbear to ſend or write unto the ſaid Earl.

2. Concerning the Diſſentions at *Utreicht*, he had been very lately informed, that all things were come to reaſonable good Terms, *&c.*

By the Circumſtances of theſe Proceedings, it doth appear how unjuſtly the ſaid Objections do pervert and wreſt the Truth to a far other Courſe and Bent, than was either in Action or Meaning of the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, or the States; and if the States themſelves, having this Declaration in Writing ſent unto them, ſhall refuſe to juſtifie the ſame for Truth, the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* will then confeſs himſelf guilty in all that the ſaid Earl will charge him withall.

The Second Objection of the ſaid Earl.

That he received Accuſations againſt the ſaid Earl, and ſet them down in writing, contrary to her Majeſty's Commandment, being directed to charge the States, and to reply unto them in Defence of the ſaid Earl.

The Anſwer of the Lord Buckehurſt.

This Objection containeth two Points: The firſt, That the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* did receive Accuſations againſt the ſaid Earl contrary to her Majeſty's Commandment, being directed to charge the States in defence of the ſaid Earl. The ſecond, That he did ſet down the ſaid Accuſations in writing, contrary to her Majeſty's Commandment. For Anſwer whereunto he ſaith:

That at his firſt Arrival at the *Hague*, he then following that courſe of Proceeding which himſelf thought beſt both for Majeſty, for the ſaid Earl, and for the Cauſe, and that alſo not without good Warrant by his Inſtructions; for that the ſame was thereby referred to his Diſcretion, did charge the ſaid States verbally, and not by writing, as well for that he had no ſufficient Matter by Proof to ſet forth againſt them, as alſo becauſe no Records of Unkindneſs ſhould remain regiſtred againſt them, and did likewiſe then forbear to urge from them particular Anſwers to the Points of their Letter of the *4th.* of *Febr.* as well for that they offered then to juſtifie that they all were true, as alſo for that the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* himſelf did ſee apparently that divers of them were true indeed. And finally, that the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* ſeeking to end and extinguiſh all former Diffidences and Differences grounded in place thereof, then eſtabliſh an Agreement of Amity and good Correſpondence on all ſides.

But this Courſe taken did utterly miſlike the ſaid Earl.

And the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* farther ſaith, That at a ſecond time he having received Letters, as well from her Majeſty as from the ſaid Earl, of no ſmall Miſlike conceived againſt him, for his Acceptation of ſo ſlender and weak an Anſwer from the States, (as was to her Majeſty pretended,) and being likewiſe in her Majeſty's ſaid Letters, then ſignified unto him, that her Highneſs did not think it fit that they ſhould be let ſlip with ſo light a Charge, having offered ſo great Indignities to the ſaid Earl, ſupplying the place of her Majeſty's Governour there, did by writing, and not verbally charge the States again, delivering unto them that ſelf ſame Note of Articles, under the Points of the Letter of the *4th.* of *February*, which the ſaid Earl himſelf had ſet down, and were by Mr. Secretary given to the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, requiring them alſo at that time, that by their ſufficient Anſwers they would yield ſuch farther ſatisfaction as were convenient; which after ſome Proteſtation made of their unwillingneſs to revive thoſe Picques a new, in the end they promiſed to do, and did accordingly perform the ſame by two ſeveral Writings exhibited to the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* both which he ſent unto her Majeſty.

But this Courſe taken doth now likewiſe utterly miſlike the ſaid Earl.

Wherefore ſith neither Charging the States verbally, and not by writing, nor yet charging the States by writing and not verbally, doth ſatisfie the ſaid Earl, it is beyond the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*'s reach of underſtanding, to conceive what other way might have contented him. Nevertheleſs this is ſufficient Comfort and Warrant to the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, that by the firſt he did that (being left to his Diſcretion) which in his own Heart and Conſcience he judged beſt, both for her Majeſty, the ſaid Earl, and for the Cauſe; and by the ſecond he did that which was her Majeſty's expreſs Will and Pleaſure ſhould be done, and by all likelihood not without the good liking and procurement of the ſaid Earl himſelf.

And as to the Points of the ſaid Objection, he ſaith, That the Matter in them contained is utterly untrue.

For as to the firſt Point, he denieth that he did ever receive any Accuſations againſt the ſaid Earl, the one Writing to him delivered being a Declaration of the Reaſons why they termed his Letter Picquant, and the other being an Explanation of the Points of their Letter of the *4th.* of *February* in particular, which before they had written to the ſaid Earl in general, and both ſo called by themſelves in their ſaid ſeveral Writings thereof delivered; and they, as touching both, being enforced thereunto by reaſon of that new charging, and urging them to farther Anſwers, by virtue of her Majeſty's Letters to that end unto the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* addreſſed.

And as to the ſecond Point, he likewiſe utterly denieth that he did ſet down the ſaid Accuſations in Writing, marvelling not a little whereupon the ſaid Earl ſhould ſurmiſe ſo unlikely and ſo vain a thing; for that it cannot be to him unknown, but that the ſame were ſet down by the States themſelves, and by the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* onely received from them, as Anſwers unto thoſe Things wherewith by her Majeſty's Commandment he had before time verbally charged them.

Finally he ſaith, That he neither did nor doth underſtand his Inſtructions to contain any ſuch direction as not to receive Accuſations againſt the ſaid Earl, if at the leaſt any ſuch had been by the States exhibited unto him.

For firſt he had no ſuch ſpecial Direction or Commandment in the Negative within his Inſtructions.

But, on the other ſide, by the ſame Inſtructions he was commanded, that according to his own good Diſcretion, he ſhould doe any thing that he might conceive upon Accidents occurring to be like to redound to the Advancement of her Majeſty's Service.

Now if the ſaid States, by their Remonſtrances in Writing unto the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, (as their manner is to ſhew their Grievance,) would have accuſed the ſaid Earl that he had violated the Contract betwixt her Majeſty and Them, and for Redreſs thereof would have appealed unto her Majeſty, as

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their Sovereign, Protector, and Patron, and to the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, as to her Highneſs's Ambaſſadour, to have received the ſame, and to have ſent it to her Majeſty, had it been in the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, a point of good Diſcretion, or like to have redounded to the Advancement of her Majeſty's Services, to have denied receiving of their ſaid Remonſtrances, appealing to her Majeſty for Juſtice and Redreſs of any ſuch Errour committed by the ſaid Earl, when their own Kings, and *Charles* an Emperour, have graciouſly received their Remonſtrances, exhibited even againſt themſelves unto them?

True it is, That the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* was directed to charge the ſaid States on the behalf of the ſaid Earl, but yet by the ſame Inſtructions likewiſe onely with ſuch Matters as ſhould be found juſtifiable againſt them. And ſo likewiſe was he directed to reply unto them in defence of the ſaid Earl; but that alſo in Reaſon, Honour, and Juſtice, muſt be intended to be meant in Caſes where there was good Cauſe and Matter to reply: For to reply and defend apparent Wrongs in the Perſon of her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, had been a Proceeding moſt indiſcreet, and diſhonourable, and unjuſt: Wherefore it is plain and evident, that the ſaid Objection is frivolous and untrue.

The Third Objection of the Earl.

That the Lord *Buckehurſt* hearing there were a couple of Fellows who had been with *Standley*, and ſhould report that they heard *Standley* ſay, That he did not ſerve the King of *Spain*, but by my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Conſent, and that he had my Lord's Paſs-port to ſhew to that End, which they had ſeen. He ſent for theſe Men; he uſed all Perſuaſions to them to declare the Truth, making them believe he was the Earl's dear Friend, and that *Standley* did this to make Men miſlike with him, and that he would have them to ſet it down in Writing, to ſend it him; and ſo did take their hands, thinking to have got ſome Matter againſt the ſaid Earl.

The Anſwer of the ſaid Lord Buckehurſt.

This Objection is both falſe and frivolous, and directly againſt the courſe of Juſtice: for if the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, being her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour, and hearing that ſuch a Report was given forth, had ſent for the Reporters, and uſing unto them all Perſuaſions to declare the Truth, (as in the Objection it ſelf it is confeſſed he did,) had found them fearfull or unwilling to diſcover the ſame, and that thereupon to induce them the rather thereunto, he had made them believe (as in truth he never did) that he was the Earl's dear Friend, and that *Standley* did this to make Men miſlike with him, and that he would have them to ſet it down in writing, to the end to ſend it to him, and had by this means won them to declare the Truth: So long as onely Truth was ſought by the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* and that the Matter which he ſought to know was both of Importance, and ſuch as greatly touched in Honour both her Majeſty and the ſaid Earl, this had been none Offence at all in the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, ſuch kind of Means and Policies being often uſed in Examinations to procure the Parties to bewray the Truth: And therefore in Juſtice he ought not to be called to queſtion for that which if it had been by him done, had been by him both lawfully, dutifully, and diſcreetly done.

Nevertheleſs for farther Anſwer to the ſaid Objection he ſaith, That the ſame in manner and form as it is here ſet down, is utterly untrue; for plain declaration thereof it is requiſite that the whole Circumſtances of his Proceedings therein be ſet down; which are as followeth:

Within a few days after the Arrival of the ſaid Lord at the *Hague*, there came unto him one *Benloes*, a fellow of ſmall Account, (but to the ſaid Lord then utterly unknown,) declaring how he had been employed by the ſaid Earl, in certain urgent Affairs concerning her Majeſty, and withall offering unto the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* to doe a ſpecial Service for the ſurpriſe of *Deventer*, and to intimate himſelf the rather to be able to perform the ſame, he declared that he had great Credit with Sir *William Standley*, and in that Diſcourſe diſcovered what the ſaid *Standley* had reported touching a Paſs-port granted by the ſaid Earl, both for him and his Soldiers, to ſerve where he would, and that he hearing the Terms, and Talk of the ſaid *Standley*, to touch the Honour and Credit of his Excellency, he could not omit, as being mindfull of his Duty, to declare the ſame unto the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, at which time the ſaid Lord, not thinking it convenient to proceed in any ſort with him, before he had firſt enquired farther of the State and Credit of the Man, and alſo giving ſmall belief to that which he told of the Paſs-port from the Earl, he diſmiſſed him for that preſent.

And afterwards conferring with Sir *John Norris* touching his Offer of Surprize, and of the Credit of the Man, by him I underſtood that he was fled out of *England* for a Murther, and that he had been with the Enemy, and was vehemently ſuſpected to be a Spy for the Duke; and withall that he had no great Wit, and was far unfit to conduct the handling of ſo great a Matter. Nevertheleſs it was thought good by the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* and Sir *John Norris*, that ſith he ſaid he had been employed by his Excellency, that therefore the Matter ſhould be entertained with him, untill the coming over of the ſaid Earl, and then to refer it to the farther Direction and Order of his Excellency.

After this the ſaid *Benloes* came divers times unto the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, continuing the Offer of his Service for the ſaid Surprize, whom the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* entertained with good Words, according

cording to the former Reſolution betwixt Sir *John Norris* and him; and when the ſaid *Benloes*, at one of thoſe times amongſt the reſt had again renewed Speech of the ſaid Report of *Standley*, touching his Paſs-port from the ſaid Earl (which the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* ſtill ſeemed not to believe,) and that he pretending ſtill that he uttered the ſame in Diſcharge of his Duty, hearing ſuch Terms and Talk to touch the Honour of his Excellency, and did offer, that in Teſtimony thereof, and that the ſame was true, he would put the ſame in writing, and deliver it under his Hand to the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, thereupon the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* willed him ſo to doe, the which he did accordingly perform.

And within a while after the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* being likewiſe informed, that one *George Laſſels*, a Gentleman of good Account, did give forth a like Report touching the ſaid Paſs-port, granted by the Earl to *Standley*, and thinking it his Part and Duty not to ſuffer ſuch Bruit to ſpread without due Examination of the ſame, he cauſed two Perſons of very good Credit to be preſent with him; and after he had called before him and them the ſaid Gentleman, and had charged him very ſtraitly to take heed that he did utter nothing but the Truth, for that it was a Matter that did touch both her Majeſty and his Excellency in Honour, which he would advertiſe; he heard what he could ſay in that Matter, which being declared, and ſeeming very ſtrange unto the ſaid Lord, he asked him if he would juſtifie it under his Hand, the which he ſaid he would; and did accordingly perform it in the Preſence of the ſaid two credible Perſons, who, in like manner with the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, did alſo ſet their Hands unto the ſaid Writing.

And where in the ſaid Objection it is ſet down, that the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, in his Dealing with the ſaid two Men, did make them believe how he was the ſaid Earl's dear Friend, and that he would have them ſet it down in Writing, to the end to ſend it to the ſaid Earl; and that *Standley* did this to make Men miſlike with the ſaid Earl. Theſe things are ſo frivolous and ſo falſe, as nothing more: For,

Firſt, The great miſlike of the ſaid Earl againſt the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, was a thing ſo commonly known to all our *Engliſh* there, as it had been a very groſs Device of the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, to have uſed any ſuch Perſuation.

Secondly, The great Favours and Benefits which all the World did know the ſaid Earl had beſtowed upon the ſaid *Standley*, did make it as unlikely alſo that *Standley* would ſeek in any ſort to procure the Earl's Miſlike; and ſpecially in ſuch a ſort as for granting him that Paſs-port, which was ſo full of all favour and Good-will towards him.

Thirdly, It appeareth in Writing under the Hand of the ſaid *Benloes*, that it was his own Deſire and Device to put it in Writing upon theſe Reſpects, as he writeth, *viz.* in Diſcharge of his Duty, hearing ſuch Terms and Talk to touch the Honour of his Excellency.

So as if the ſaid *Benloes*, fearing the Earl's Diſpleaſure, ſhould turn his Tale in ſuch ſort as might ſeem to win him moſt favour with his Excellency, yet ſhould not the ſaid Earl give Faith to a ſuſpected Spie, and a Murtherer, upon ſo unlikely and vain Allegations, and all tending to his own Excuſe; for as for Mr. *Laſſels*, he hath heard him reported and reputed to be ſo honeſt, as that he doth not think that any reſpect will carry him from the Truth, and if it ſhould, then is the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* ready to produce the ſaid two Gentlemen of far greater Credit than he, who were preſent, and both can and will teſtifie the Truth againſt him.

The Fourth Objection from the Earl.

That the Lord *Buckehurſt* did never or ſeldom confer with the Council of Eſtate, who ſtood beſt affected towards her Majeſty, but allways with the moſt ſuſpected Men to the State, and worſt affected to her Majeſty.

The Anſwer of the Lord Buckehurſt.

This Objection of all other is moſt falſe and injurious againſt the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, for allthough he acknowledgeth his own great Inſufficiency, through want of Wit and Experience, for the accompliſhing of ſo weighty a Service as was committed unto him; yet dare he boldly ſay, That no Man living could ever more deſire with all carefull Diligence, and continual Attendance upon daily Meetings, Conſultations, and Conferences with the States and Council of Eſtate, and their Deputies, to farther her Majeſty's Service there, than the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* did; which, beſides the Teſtimony of the States, and Council of State, is a Thing ſo notorious alſo to ſo many hundreds of Suitors and Followers of Cauſes there, as he marvelleth that ever any one could be ſo imprudent as to inform the ſaid Earl, ſo falſly, or that his Lordſhip would be ſo over credulous, as to give Faith to any ſuch particular Information ſo ſuddenly; when from the States and Council of Eſtate he might have been aſſured of the contrary ſo eaſily: For this Objection is ſo far from Truth, as beſides his Conferences and Conſultations with the Magiſtrates and Council of ſundry Towns, unto which he travelled, he is able to prove, That by Meetings ſometimes at the State-houſe, ſometimes at the Council-houſe, and ſometimes at his own Lodging, as well with the States and Council of Eſtate, as with the Deputies of either of them, That in the time of his being in thoſe parts he had 39 ſeveral Conferences and Conſultations with them, the very days, and time whereof, with the Effect of every particular Mat-

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ter treated at every one of them, although the ſame be a very long and tedious work to perform, yet can the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* make it manifeſt, and ſet down the ſame in Writing, if need be.

True it is, That during his ſaid Negotiation he addreſſed in manner wholly to Conſultations publick, and very ſeldom to private Conferences with any; and when he did it was with theſe, and with none other, as namely, with the Prince Elector, Monſieur *Brederode*, Sir *John Norris*, Dr. *Clerke*, Mr. *Wylkes*, *Leoninus*, *Barnavelt*, *Valke*, D. *Aſma*, D. *Hotman*, Mr. *Gilpin*, and with *Deventer*, while he was at *Utreicht*, all which Perſons, two onely excepted, were ſpecially recommended to the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt*, either by her Majeſty, or by the ſaid Earl himſelf; and thoſe twain reported and well known to be of the number of the wiſeſt Patriots, and ſuch as are moſt faithfully devoted to her Majeſty, and with thoſe two he onely dealt, as moſt neceſſary about the Service of her Majeſty, and of the common Cauſe.

Now on the other ſide, if inſtead of this Objection in generality the ſaid Earl will pleaſe to ſet down by name in ſpeciality, and prove it, *viz.* but onely one Man that was ill affected to her Majeſty, or ſuſpected to the States, with whom the ſaid Lord *Buckehurſt* had or uſed private Conference, he will then confeſs himſelf guilty of all that the ſaid Earl will lay againſt him.

Anſwers and Reſolutions of Thomas Wylkes, *upon the Queſtions delivered to the ſaid* Wylkes *as from her Majeſty, the* 15th *of* June, 1587, *at the Fleet; with the Earl of* Leiceſter's *Replies thereunto,* &c.

1. TO the firſt Queſtion he anſwereth, (under Correction,) That (*A*) Albeit the knowledge of the Employments of her Majeſty's Treaſure doth in no ſort appertain unto him, but onely and properly to the Lord General, and to her Majeſty's Treaſurer at Wars, as ſpecially charged therewith, yet becauſe the ſaid *Wylkes* did allways think it fit, as well for his own Experience, as for her Majeſty's better Service, not to be ignorant of any thing that might belong thereunto, he the ſaid *Wylkes* obtained Copies of ſuch Accounts as the Treaſurer had exhibited to the States General, containing the Diſburſements of ſuch her Majeſty's Treaſure as had been expended in defraying the Charge of her Auxiliary Forces for one whole Year, as alſo of an Account apart of 20885 *l.*—10 *s.*—02 *d.* Sterling, (*B*) laid out and paid by the Commandment of the Lord General, to divers Perſons and Companies Engliſh at the Pay of the States; the ſaid Account was exhibited by the Treaſurer of the States General at the *Hague*, the 18th of *January* laſt, after the Old Style, and by them peruſed and appoſtiled the 19th of *February* following; whereby they anſwer, That for ſo much as it was covenanted and agreed with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, at ſuch Time as he accepted the Government abſolute of the United Provinces, (*C*) That the Adminiſtration of the Treaſure of the Countrey, and the Payment of the Men of War, ſhould be at the Diſpoſition of his Lordſhip and of the Council of Eſtate jointly, and that all Warrants and Ordinances for Money ſhould be granted and decreed, verified and paraphed, (according to their Inſtructions,) by three Counſellours at the leaſt of ſeveral Provinces, to the end the Treaſure of the Country might be adminiſtred with due knowledge of all particularities, &c. And becauſe that the Diſburſement of the Summ above mentioned hath been made (*D*) contrary to Order, and the Reſolution in that behalf taken, they ſee no Reaſon to charge the Countrey therewith, eſpecially for that there is no verification made how the ſame is grown due to the Parties, or the payments made in form according to the Contract, as may farther apppear by the ſaid Appoſtils, the Originals whereof do remain, either with the Lord Treaſurer, or with the late Treaſurer at Wars, Mr. *Huddleſton*; theſe Appoſtils notwithſtanding the repayment of the ſaid Summ, have been by me (*E*) ſundry times urged and demanded, but could never be obtained, nor any Part thereof, the States grounding themſelves for their Refuſal upon the Reaſons and Arguments mentioned in their Appoſtils.

The Lord *Buckehurſt* upon the 14th of *June* laſt did very earneſtly require of the States the Reimburſement of the ſaid Summ, to whom they made Anſwer directly, That they ought no ſuch Moneys unto her Majeſty, alleadging the Effect of their ſaid Appoſtils for ſatisfaction; ſaying farther, That in Caſe it were true, that the Summ ſo pretended were owing by them, yet would it appear by the Accounts of ſundry Impreſts of Money, Victuals delivered out of their Magazines, and Furniture of the Companies in her Majeſty's Pay, that the ſame Impreſts, Victuals, and Furniture, did ſurmount by much the 20885 *l.*—10 *s.*—02 *d.* required.

There is remaining with the Lord *Buckehurſt* (as I remember) the Accounts of the ſaid Impreſts, Victuals, and Furniture, delivered lately unto him by the Treaſurer General at the *Hague*.

The Reply of the Earl of Leiceſter.

(*A*) *Albeit the Knowledge*, &c.] To whom may it more properly appertain than to him, who in Abſence of the Lord General was ſole Counſellour for her Majeſty in the Low Countries a great time,

time, and who, when her Majeſty's Treaſure came laſt with Sir *Thomas Sherley*, was chief Commiſſioner for the iſſuing of it; and if beſides he had ſpecial Commandment from her Majeſty to demand of her Treaſurer, upon Account from the Eſtates, may it not well ſeem to appertain to him to be skillfull in thoſe Accounts, but he thinketh his Skill ſhall be more acceptable to her Majeſty when it made ſeen to proceed of his voluntary Devotion to her Service, rather than to be required from the Duty of his Place; and to that Intent, belike, this Flouriſh ſerveth.

(B) *Laid out and paid by the Commandment*, &c.] By the untruth of this general Speech may your Lordſhips judge of the reſt of this Man's Dealings. I have gotten of the Eſtates a Copy of this Account he ſpeaketh of, by the very Letter whereof it appeareth, that the firſt Summ given in Charge is 2286*l.*——10*s.*——02*d. Sterling*, charged on the Eſtates by the Treaſurer *Huddleſton*, by Account of Sir *John Norris*; the laſt Summ of the whole Account is alſo for 500*l. Sterling*, required by Sir *John Norris*; other Summs in the Account appear laid out by other Men, and many Summs ſet down without mention of any Warrant from me; yet pleaſeth it this Man to avouch to your Lordſhips that the whole Summ is laid out and paid by my Commandment; and herein ſheweth he his good Mind to me, who having nothing to doe with Account Matters, (as he would ſeem,) yet uſeth all his Art in the declaring of this Account to touch me both in this Point, and many other which follow. He ſaith the Original of the Apoſtils, with this Account, remain with the Lord Treaſurer, or with Mr. *Huddleſton*, to which I make bold to refer your Lordſhips for Trial of the Truth herein: But touching this Account I do greatly ſuſpect the dealing in it, for theſe Cauſes following:

Firſt, It was delivered in my Abſence, and the Contents ſo nearly touching me, as *Wylkes* would have them ſeem, yet never any thing ſignified to me, either by *Huddleſton*, *Wylkes*, or any other, touching any ſuch Matter; whereas alſo if I had been in due time acquainted with thoſe Summs, it is likely I might have procured a Reimburſement of them, as I did in like Caſe of 6000*l.* at leaſt, at times, in the Camp time at *Zutphen*, and after the Camp was diſmiſſed, as *Kenelm*; the Treaſurer's Man that then waited, can tell.

Secondly, For that the Muſter-Maſter required of Mr. *Huddleſton* and *Wylkes*, to be acquainted with the Delivery of this and the other two Accounts; alleadging, that he was ready to doe his beſt Service therein; and it was refuſed him, as appeareth unto you amongſt other things in a Note ſent herewith, under the Muſter Maſter's Hand.

Thirdly, For that the Auditor findeth a Summ of 26000 *Guilders*, thought to be cunningly conveyed into one of theſe Accounts to the benefit of Sir *John Norris*, and loſs of her Majeſty, as by the Muſter-Maſter's Note alſo appeareth, Article 2.

Fourthly, For that I find in this Account the Warrants, with their Dates, for many Summs mentioned, and for many Summs no Mention of any Warrants: And thoſe without mention of Warrants I take to be ſuch as the Treaſurer hath no Warrant for, but are of his own inſerting.

And Laſtly, for that the Treaſurer promiſed the Eſtates to leave the Authentick Copies with them of all Warrants and Acquittances concerning this Accompt, and did not leave any; but whether his Dealing herein fall out good or not, becauſe I ſee that I am ſought to be touched with this Matter, and for that it indeed much concerneth her Majeſty's Service, I pray your Lordſhips that the Auditor being now there, may take full Inſtructions of Mr. *Huddleſton* touching this Account, and alſo that the Authentick Warrants and Acquittances may be ſent hither, both for the States Satisfaction, and for my own. Mr. *Wilkes*, neither here, nor in any Point of his Anſwers, omitteth any thing that may be never ſo indiſcreetly wreſted to the touching of me; but I marvel he telleth not your Lordſhips what Appoſtil the Eſtates make to the firſt Summ of their Account, being 2286*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* Sterling, whereing they plainly ſay, that Mr. *Norris* is anſwered it allready by them; and it is likely her Majeſty is alſo charged with it, or elſe Mr. *Huddleſton* would not have demanded it of them for her Majeſty.

(C) *Treaſure of the Countrey*,] I here firſt take Exception to the Generality of this Word, and do account it ſet down to inſinuate as though the whole Treaſure of the Countrey had been at the Diſpoſition of me, and of the Council of Eſtate; for though the Council of Eſtates uſe this word in their Appoſtil, yet *Wylkes* knoweth that never any Treaſure of the Countrey, but onely the Contributions for the Wars, were then agreed to be thus diſpoſed of, or ever were at the Diſpoſition of me, or of the Council; as for any other Treaſure, either for the Navies, or for any other Cauſe elſe, but onely for the Wars by Land, he knoweth I had not to deal therein. Then is there another Fallacy, importing as though the Council of Eſtate might not diſpoſe of theſe Contributions for the Wars without me; whereas indeed they did diſpoſe of the moſt of them without my Warrant or knowledge, and do avow their Doings therein by Virtue of their Inſtructions; whereas I, without four of them could not diſpoſe of one Penny: Inſomuch as when I ſhould go to the Field, (whither none of them was deſirous to follow me, nor Mr. *Wylkes* to tarry with me, (though at his coming home he told her Majeſty, he could have me at no leiſure to ſhew me the Books of Accounts, when indeed I could not intreat him to tarry with me half a day in the Field;) they then granted me a ſpecial Act, that I alone, by my Warrant, for that time might diſburſe the Moneys, which God knoweth were in ſmall ſtore.

(D) *Con-*

(D.) *Contrary to Order, and the Reſolution in that behalf,* &c.] *Viz.* In that I diſburſed to ſuch as were in the States Pay, without the three Counſellors: A heinous Offence; I being at the time of almoſt all theſe Diſburſements in Field, alſo whether no Counſellor was willing to follow; and if I ſhould at every one of theſe Payments have ſtay'd for three Counſellors, the Souldiers had ſtarved, and the Service had quailed. And if Mr. *Wylkes* his Example might be a Defence for me, both for diſburſing of her Majeſty's Money to *Engliſh* in the States Pay, upon urgent occaſion, and for diſburſing it without the counſel or privity of the Eſtates, he hath done both, as appeareth in the Muſter-Maſter's Notes, *Artic.* 4.

But this and many other things in this Appoſtil, maliciouſly ſet down, were at fit time of the Eſtates miſlike with me about the Ninth of *February*, well furthered by *Wylkes* and his Followers; but the Truth and Subſtance of the Matter of this Accompt, is, That if ſo much be due from the Eſtates to her Majeſty (which I doubt, for the Cauſes before alledged) but if ſo much be due, and if the Eſtates do offer (as *Wylkes* ſaid they did to the Lord *Buckehurſt*) an Accompt of as much or more due to them from thoſe in her Majeſty's pay, if their Accompt ſo offered be good, I ſee no Reaſon why the one ſhould not countervail the other; and then is there a Fault either in the Eſtates, which no ſooner gave their Accompt in to her Majeſty's Treaſurer, or in the Treaſurer and Mr. *Wylkes*, which no ſooner required it; becauſe it had been given in before the full pay made till the Twelfth of *October*, wherein *Wylkes* was a chief Commiſſioner, it had then been defalked of her Majeſty's Souldiers to her Majeſty's Uſe; whereas now if any Bands be broken, wherein any of theſe Sums are charged, her Majeſty is like enough to loſe as much as the Bands broken are charged with: And how will the Treaſurer warrant the full Pay made by him, without this Defalkation, whenas I gave no Warrant for full Pay, but with Proviſo that he defalk all Sums defalkable? And it was evil done of the Lord *Buckehurſt*, not to leave that Accompt of the States, or the Copy of it, with me, or with the Treaſurer; for the ſooner it is given to the Treaſurer, the ſooner it will be defalked, and ſo her Majeſty the ſooner anſwered. But indeed Sir *John Norris* liketh not of theſe Defalkations, who (as the Muſter-Maſter under his Hand in the Note that cometh herewith, *Artic.* 3. teſtifieth) having a Warrant for Pay from the Muſter-Maſter and Auditor, with a Note to the Treaſurer, in the bottom of the Warrant, to defalk divers Sums to be ſatisfied by the Treaſurer upon his Pay, as was uſed in all other Warrants, cut or tore the Sums defalkable in the bottom, and would have no ſuch Devices in his Warrants.

(E.) *By me ſundry times urged and demanded.*] This diligent Man, who ſo ſundry times hath urged this Matter, never mention'd it to the Eſtates but twice (as by good Teſtimony is to be proved.) And if the Lord *Buckehurſt* demanded it the Ninth of *June*, which was ſixteen or ſeventeen days before his departure, belike if he had been to go away ſooner, he would have made ſome form of Demand ſooner. Of all the former time of his abode here, I do not learn that he hath made any mention of it, touching the delivery of theſe Accompts, how the Muſter-Maſter was denied to be acquainted with it, and what ſuſpicion there is of evil-dealing therein, I muſt refer your Lordſhips to the Anſwer to the former Article (*Artic.* 2.) and to the Muſter-Maſter's Notes ſent herewith.

Wylkes *his Anſwer, Artic.* 2.

The Treaſurer at Wars did exhibit to the States-General, in *January* laſt, two ſeveral Books of Accompts of her Majeſty's Charges; the one contained the Diſburſements of her Highneſs's Treaſure, iſſued for the Pay and Tranſportation of her Majeſty's Auxiliary Forces, by Warrants of Sir *John Norris* from the Twelfth of *Auguſt*, 1585. to the Twelfth of *December* following. The other was of the Treaſure iſſued for the Pay of the ſame Forces, by Warrant of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, from the Eleventh of *December*, 1585. to the Eleventh of *October*, 1586. By which two Books, and the Appoſtils added, it will appear how they do allow or diſallow of the Payments, having been made all without the Privity of the Eſtates, contrary to the Tenor of the Contract.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

Without the Privity of the States, &c.] The Eſtates never required to be privy to the Payments; if they had required it, it ſhould not have been denied them: But it is a thing hardly to be done, that they ſhould be privy to every Payment; and therefore I think they never required it. Mr. *Wylkes* hath given order for many Payments alſo, yet were the Eſtates privy to none of them. It is a Point often talked of before, and they ſatisfied in it, and now renewed by them in their Choler, and repeated by Mr. *Wylkes* upon no cauſe of his Text, that I ſee.

Wylkes's *Anſwer, Artic.* 3.

I cannot well conceive whether the 10000 *l.* mentioned in this Propoſition be it, which was now lately aſſented unto by the States, at the Inſtance and Negotiation of the Lord *Buckehurſt*: And if it be ſo, then I ſuppoſe that at my departure from the *Hague*, there was not much thereof levied; neither was it promiſed it ſhould be levied and delivered all at one time, or in one maſs, but by Portions monthly, and all paid within four Months after the Army ſhould be on Foot.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply*.

Of this I know not much, ſave that they ſay it is much ſpent in the Camp with Count *Hollock*, and otherwiſe.

Wylkes's *Anſwer*. *Artic.* 4.

The ordinary Contributions have been truly paid in Money, Victuals, Arms, Munition, and ſuch-like, within the term, as is faithfully avouched by the Treaſurer and Receiver-General, and ſuch of the Council of State as (for the time that the Contributions were in the Governour's Hand) did manage that Treaſure, and eſtabliſh'd of the College of *Finance*, after the Erection thereof, and is teſtified in Writing under the Hand of the Treaſurer-General, the Original whereof remaineth with the Lord *Buckhurſt*. It is not unlike but they may be continued, but with difficulty, in reſpect of the Spoil done upon the flat Countrey the Winter paſt, and the loſs of *Deventer*, whereby the Province of *Utreicht* doth refuſe to yield any more than half their *Quota* of the laſt Year; and if there follow any farther Loſs of Towns or Countrey, they muſt of neceſſity diminiſh.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply*.

It may be the Contributions were paid in their Times in Money, Victuals, Armour, Munition, &c. no Man knoweth it but the Officers of this Countrey; none of ours, as far as I know, being able to control them: And yet if it be true that the Countrey ſaith, Mr. *Wylkes* hath not taken his Pains in this kind for nothing. But howſoever they are anſwered, this I am ſure of, That to the Journeys of *Grave*, *Axell*, *Nimiguen*, no Penny of Money could be gotten of them.

The Spoil here ſaid to be done, was in my abſence, of purpoſe (as I underſtand) by the *Hollanders* for Hatred to *Utreicht*, and much furthered by Sir *J. Norris*.

Wylkes's *Anſwer*. *Artic.* 5.

It hath been in my poor Conceit impoſſible to defraud the Publick of any part of the Contributions ordinary, by reaſon they are farmed to ſuch as do offer and give moſt for them, and that only for ſix Months; and before they are farmed, the Rates are publiſhed in Print, in all the Towns of each Province, and every Man heard that will give moſt. The Farmer doth pay his Rent monthly to the Receiver of every Province, and they to the Receiver-General; ſo as during the time that the Contributions remained with his Excellency, the States-General did never touch or meddle with them, but only the Receivers-General, who could not defraud the Publick of any part thereof, in reſpect that all Men knew how much was to be received; and ſo much did the Treaſurer always charge himſelf withal. It is true, that the Contributions ordinary, levied upon the Conſumptions, do not reach to 200000 Florins monthly; and therefore the Contributing Provinces do Tax themſelves to the furniſhing of ſo much as cometh ſhort of that Sum, at a rate proportionable to their ſeveral *Quotas*; but whether the States-General, ſince the expiration of the Year, and that the ſaid Contributions have been handled by them, have made any particular Profit thereof, I know not; ſure I am, that it is almoſt impoſſible to raiſe the Impoſitions, they are already ſo intolerably lifted and enhanced.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply*.

I think it not impoſſible to defraud the Publick of the ordinary Contributions, either by bringing the Farm by indirect Means to their Hands; whom the Eſtates, or ſome of them, will have to have them, and at what Price they will; for ſo it is thought the Matter is always carried, notwithſtanding the ſolemn form of Letting them, or by the Payment of Arms, Victuals, Munition, and other Proviſions inſtead of Money; which is ſo uſual, that little ready Money cometh to the Treaſury of thoſe Contributions. I take theſe Impoſitions to be like her Majeſty's Cuſtoms in *England*, greatly to be advanced with good handling; but the Redreſs requireth Time and Authority.

Wylkes's *Anſwer*. *Artic.* 6.

I cannot remember that there was ever any Licenſe granted at the Council-Board, for the Tranſporting of Victuals directly to the Enemy, becauſe the Council was always Enemies thereunto; but if any ſuch Licenſes have been given, they have grown either from the States, among whom there are many *Lorendrayers* (as it is ſaid) or from the Maſters of the Convoys, who for the moſt part are Men of bad Condition, and corrupt. But it hath been found neceſſary oftentimes by the Council, to grant Licenſe to ſundry Merchants to convey Cloths, Oade, Wooll, and other dry Merchandiſes to the Enemy, giving round Sums of Money for their Licenſes, which they have done of meer neceſſity to get Money to pay their Ships of War, who for the moſt part, at the coming away of his Excellency laſt into *England*, were behind unpaid for ten or eleven Months together; whereupon the Mariners did often mutiny from *Holland* and *Zealand*, and many of them go to the Enemy.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply*.

From the Council-Board I do not learn any ſuch Licenſes have paſſed, but from the Eſtates, and the Convoy-Maſters, I underſtand there have paſſed divers.

The Payment of the Mariners belonged not to me, but to the Admiralty, who payed them as evil before my coming into theſe Countries, and ſince my departure, as they did in the time of my being here; and *Wylkes* did well know how free I am from touching in this, and many other Points, where-

with

with it pleaſeth him thus to deal with me; yea, he hath been content both to hear me accuſed, and to accuſe me to her Majeſty of Things, wherein himſelf knoweth the very Acts of Council are to juſtifie my Doings; as in the Matter of *Paul Buys*, and that of the Synod, the Copies of which Acts are here annexed, and in ſome others.

Wylkes's *Anſwer. Artic.* 7.

The Lord *Buckeburſt* hath, by his Letters, ſufficiently anſwered this Queſtion, to whom onely, and to none elſe, the Matter hath been recommended. This Regiment cannot be beſtowed but by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſo long as he is Governour of the United Provinces; for neither the States nor Count *Maurice* can diſpoſe thereof, but with breach of my Lord's Authority; ſo that the Collation thereof by any other than by his Lordſhip, is unlawful.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

My Lord *Buckeburſt* and *Wylkes* dealt moſt ſlenderly in this, being a Point greatly importing her Majeſty's Service, for the Preſervation of *Flushing*; howſoever they interpret it to be done proviſionally, Count *Maurice* ſtill executeth it, notwithſtanding my being here; and more eaſily might the Lord *Buckeburſt* have letted it before it was done, than I ſhall now remedy it being done; and the Count in poſſeſſion of it, it was his ſpecial Inſtruction. But I learn it to be moſt true, ſince my coming hither, That neither my Lord *Buckeburſt* nor *Wylkes* ever dealt in it.

Wylkes's *Anſwer. Artic.* 8.

The People are of ſundry Humours in this Caſe; thoſe that are of the Reformed Religion do hate the Speech and Overture of Peace, becauſe they can therein find no ſafety for their Conſciences, and fruition of their Religion; and theſe are led altogether by the Miniſters and Conſiſtories: The reſt of the People that are of other Religions, as Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, of the Family of Love, and others, they are ready to hearken to any Peace; the Papiſts for their Conſciences, and the reſt for their Eaſe and Commodity, having as much Liberty for their Religion in the time of Popery, as they have now. Thoſe that are of the Religion, are to be drawn to allow of ſuch a Peace with their Miniſters, and thoſe of their Conſiſtories only.

This *Article* doth require a farther and larger Diſcourſe, wherein I deſire to be excuſed, fearing to offend.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

I have not dealt in this Matter of Peace ſo much as my Lord *Buckeburſt* hath, who hath dealt plainly and flatly in it, with a great many more than he hath named to the Queen's Majeſty; neither can I ſay much of theſe Diviſions of Humours, but this ſhall be plainly proved, That my Lord *Buckeburſt* hath dealt herein moſt frankly, and moſt often, with the moſt ſuſpected Men of this Eſtate, and the moſt affected to the King of *Spain*, to the great Grief of many of the beſt affected here, and much to the Trouble of this Eſtate.

Wylkes's *Anſwer. Artic.* 9.

In my late Diſcourſe written to her Majeſty, I have named ſuch of the States as are moſt in Reputation with the Towns and People; but neither they, nor any of that College, will eaſily be won to like of a Peace, for the many therewith ſome Reſpects of their own particular, as their Credit, Benefit and Humour to Command.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

I take this to be true, for that I find none inclinable to Peace; yea, the very Motion of it hath done hurt amongſt them; and yet I ſee no Cauſe why they ſhould refuſe reaſonable Peace, conſidering their hard Eſtate.

Wylkes's *Anſwer. Artic.* 10.

I have not heard of any Man in particular, of Account, that have noted or ſuſpected to encline to *Spain*, but only one called *Van Derp*, a Gentleman in ſhew, a Man of great Wealth, Wiſe, and Sufficient, a great Papiſt, and of the College of the States: This Man hath ſome Credit with the People, and doth affect the Peace. *Monſieur de Brederode* is a principal Man of Nobility, and doth deſire the Peace extreamly, and yet a Gentleman noted to be a good Patriot, and not unſound in Religion.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

Derp was favoured in the Prince's time much, and did good Services to his Countrey; *Brederode* I named alſo to the Queen, and commended to the Lord *Buckeburſt*; I take him for a good Patriot.

Wylkes's *Anſwer. Artic.* 11.

The Towns are all generally affected as they are governed and commanded; they do all naturally hate the *Spaniard*, and deſire to be defended againſt him; but where they be weak, and not well Gariſon'd, Fear doth make them incline (for their Preſervation) to hearken to the Enemy; and for this reſpect all the frontier Towns are, and muſt be ſo well furniſhed with Gariſons, as they muſt maſter the Burghers upon all occaſion of Danger. If the Enemy take one Town, the next unto the ſame will tremble, if they ſee not a ſufficient Strength to defend them.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

This may be true.

Wylkes's *Anſwer. Artic.* 12.

The Count *Hohenlo* hath under his Charge the Towns of *Huiſden*, *Guertradenbergh*, *Willmſtadt*, *Sewenbergh*, the *Clunſtart*; and at his Devotion *Bomell*, *Gorcum*, *Worcum*, *Wercandam*, the Caſtle of *Hedell*, and certain other Forts and Places of Strength upon the Frontier of *Brabant*. He hath alſo at his Devotion all the good Towns and Places of Strength in South-*Holland*, by reaſon of his Office of Lieutenant-Governour of all that Province under the Count *Maurice*, in which places the Gariſons are all of his placing, and at his Command.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

The Count *Hollock* at my departure into *England*, had only *Huiſden*, *Guertradenbergh*, with *Sewenbergh*, which is a Caſtle of little account. I pray God her Majeſty's Miniſters here have not furthered this his Greatneſs, which yet I hope will ſhortly prove not to be ſo much as is made of it.

In South-*Holland*, except the Places named, I take it, he can do little.

Wylke's *Anſwer. Artic.* 13.

The Count *Hohenlo* doth poſſeſs the Good-liking and Opinion of the greater ſort of the Captains of that Countrey-Birth, and whoſoever hath the Captains hath the Souldiers. They were all evil paid in the time of my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s late Government, whereof the Count *Hohenlo* hath taken the advantage, and to my Knowledge hath wrought for them with the States, and procured unto them Pay, and Contentment for divers Months of their Arrearage. It hath been a Practice and Policy in the States and Council of Eſtate, in the abſence of my Lord of *Leiceſter* (to give the Count *Hohenlo* the more Credit among the Captains and Souldiers) That no Pay or Satisfaction was made unto them, until the Count had in Perſon ſollicited their Pay, both with the States and Council of Eſtate, and thereupon they always received ſome ſatisfaction. And there is one Reaſon why the Count *Hohenlo* ſhould enjoy the good Affection of the Captains of that Countrey-Birth before all others, which is the manner of his Life and Converſation among them; as to drink them drunk, to banquet them often as he doth; he is affable and familiar with them, liberal when he hath Money, and bountiful in all his Doings.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

At my departure he was in no Love or Eſtimation with the Captains, nor is yet, though my Lord of *Buckehurſt* and *Wylkes* furthered him for Pay, more than I can learn they did any of the *Engliſh* Nation.

Wylkes's *Anſwer. Artic.* 14.

The States do all generally affect very much the Count *Hohenlo*; but the moſt inward with him are *Barnevelt*, *Paul Buys*, *Carlo*, *Ronda*, and *Braſſand*, the Burgher-Maſter of *Delft*, who Rule all in the Aſſembly of the States.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

Theſe are the only Men that the Lord *Buckehurſt* and *Wylkes* have been directed by; the worſt Men of all the Eſtates, and worſt affected to her Majeſty. The Lord *Buckehurſt* never dealt with any Man that was recommended to him out of *England* by me.

Wylkes's *Anſwer. Artic.* 15.

I could never learn that the Count *Hohenlo* did ever make any Motion to bring the Sovereignty of thoſe Countries to the King of *Denmark*; howbeit, the States about the end of *May* laſt, did diſpatch towards the ſaid King an Embaſſie of four ſpecial Perſons, of whom the chief was a Brother of Monſieur *de Brederode*, and the reſt were Doctors, under colour to treat with him for the Relaxation of certain of their Ships whom he had cauſed to be Arreſted within the *Sound*, under pretence of Reſtitution of Damage ſuſtained by *Ranſau* the King's Ambaſſadour, lately ſent to the Duke of *Parma* and in his return, near unto *Bruxels*, taken by ſome of the Gariſon of *Berghen ap Some*, and ſpoiled of certain Chains and Jewels, valued by the ſaid King at 30000 Dollars. The Ambaſſadours had their whole Diſpatch from the States-General, under ſhew of Treating for the Releaſe of the ſaid Arreſt. It is thought they have Commiſſion to deal with the King to accept the Sovereignty of thoſe Countries; which being true, ſome alteration will be found in the King concerning the Peace.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

I cannot learn that Count *Hollock* ever dealt with the King of *Denmark* about this Matter; but I certified her Majeſty that *Paul Buys* dealt once with me, to know if her Majeſty had no meaning to deal more throughly in this Cauſe, whether it might pleaſe her to countenance the King of *Denmark*'s dealing in it.

And though thoſe Ambaſſadours had no ſuch thing in Meſſage; yet it is fit her Majeſty and your Lordſhips know of the honourable Regard the King of *Denmark* had of her Majeſty in his uſage of thoſe Ambaſſadours, who at their firſt Arrival, ſending to him the advertiſement of their coming, as Ambaſſadours from the Eſtates-General of the United Provinces, he ſent preſently to them, to know whether they came from the Queen of *England*, or from the Earl of *Leiceſter* her Governour; if they did, he would ſpeak with them, and entertain them as were fit; otherwiſe, if they came from the States only, that he would

would have nothing to do with any ſent from them: For the Cauſe why he did any way give them Countenance, was in reſpect of the Queens Majeſty of *England*, and not for themſelves; and therefore except they came with her Majeſty's Letters, or the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s, her Lieutenant, he would not ſpeak with them.

The Points that Sir John Norris *muſt Anſwer to the Lords of the Council; together with his Anſwers, and the Replies of the Earl of* Leiceſter.

FIrſt, Why you came out of the Low-Countries, without making your Repair to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to have given him notice of her Majeſty's Forces, whereof you had the Charge?

Sir John Norris's *Anſwer.*

That it will pleaſe your Lordſhips to conſider, That I have received a Letter from her Majeſty, ſigned with her Highneſs's own Hands, wherein was an expreſs Commandment, that I ſhould make my ſpeedy Repair to her Majeſty: In which ſaid Letter it pleaſed her Highneſs to command me to deliver up the Charge that I had of the Infantry unto my Lord *Willoughby*, ſo as it ſeem'd her Majeſty had not any intent that I ſhould ſtay until my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s coming; for if her Highneſs's Letter had been delivered unto me with that expedition as it might have been, I might have been in *England* before the paſſage of my ſaid Lord; for her Majeſty's Letter beareth Date the Tenth of *June*, and his Lordſhip paſſed not until the Twenty ſixth of the ſame. It appeared farther, that his Lordſhip had no intent to find me on that ſide of the Sea, having ſworn unto Captain *Allen*, that he would not come over the Sea, until ſuch time as I was out of the Countrey, with ſome other hard Speeches of his Lordſhip's Miſlike of me, the which it ſeemeth were delivered to Captain *Allen*, to that end that he ſhould report them unto me: Inſomuch that it may appear in all Men's Judgments, that my coming to his Lordſhip would have been more offenſive unto him, and more hindrance to her Majeſty's Service, than the courſe that I took therein; the ſame being confirmed by the ill Speeche delivered to ſome thar followed me at *Middleborough*; and in that my Lord's Harbenger refuſed to appoint me a Lodging, notwithſtanding that now it pleaſeth his Lordſhip to urge it ſo vehemently againſt me: And as for the State of her Majeſty's Forces, I had delivered unto my Lord *Willoughby* a perfect Liſt, as well of ſuch Companies as were in Gariſon, as thoſe that were to march to the place of Rendezvous, both Horſe and Foot, and of their Strength. And although her Majeſty's Letter did not carry the Delivery of any Commandment of the Horſe-men to the Lord *Willoughby*, yet in the preſence of my Lord of *Buckehurſt*, I deſired him to take it upon him, alledging, That the Military Cuſtoms did allow it him, ſithence there was no Superiour Commander in the Countrey.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

That the Receipt of his Letter from her Majeſty, and ſigned with her Hand, ſhould be the cauſe that he ſhould depart the Countrey, where he had ſuch a Charge as her Majeſty's whole Army is, without ſuch Delivery of his Charge over to his Succeſſour, as was convenient, is to be marvelled; but moſt of all conſidering that her Majeſty's Letter did not otherwiſe command him, than the like Letters had done other Men in like Place and Office; whether the like Precedent can be found, that any ſuch Officer hath left ſuch a Place without giving up the ſame, according to the weight thereof: For if he had been but General of the Foot-men only, the Matter had been the leſs; but he had the whole Charge of all her Majeſty's Forces there, both Horſe and Foot; and he received that Authority from Me the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and he knew that I was to come over very ſhortly after his Letters; and albeit the Lord *Willoughby* had Commiſſion to receive the Foot-men, yet had he none to receive the Government of her Majeſty's Forces, which Mr. *Norris* had charge of; neither was there any other Diſcharge of that Place for him, but by her Majeſty's expreſs Warrant, or by me her Majeſty's Lieutenant; and being but five or ſix Days matter, Mr. *Norris* might, without any Offence to her Majeſty, I am perſuaded, have tarried the delivering of his whole Charge, with better Contentation to her than this ſlight, contemptuous manner of Dealing can like her. Well may appear his Sleight in this firſt Article, in the computation he maketh of the Date of the Letter from her Majeſty, and my Arrival in this Countrey for his Defence: Her Letter was dated, he ſaith, the Tenth of *June*, and my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Arrival was the Twenty ſixth of *June*: I do not think that your Lordſhips do think, that her Majeſty's Letters paſſed with greater ſpeed than Wind will ſuffer them; and that it may be, that this Letter of his did not immediately come to his Hands after it was ſigned. And for better Explanation unto your Lordſhips, as I heard, this Letter paſſed when the Lord *Willoughby* paſſed over, and the Lord *Willoughby* had not ſo much time as to go to the *Hague*, and to return to *Middleborough* before my Arrival; and therefore there was not many Days after the receipt of his Letter before my arrival was; neither did he make his Preparation upon that Letter, as is well known, but upon his own Advertiſements out of *England*, which I can prove; and yet did he hardly believe,

I ſhould come, till he heard I was arrived, ſo ſtrong Belief they had of my not coming; but being come, as I did come in that Place I hold under her Majeſty, and he not gone, what Date ſoever his Letter bears, being charged with all her Majeſty's Forces by me before, I would fain ask, Who ſhould have departed in that like manner, as your Lordſhips have heard he did? If he ſtand upon his Fear that he alledgeth to have, upon Words ſpoken by me to one Captain *Allen*, I do beſeech your Lordſhips to examine that Captain *Allen*, albeit he was brought up young with him, whether I ſpake theſe Words he hath ſet down, or no; but a ſubtile Wit will ſoon add a Letter or Word to ſerve his Purpoſe, and I will make your Lordſhips the Judge in this Matter for that. I ſaid no otherwiſe to *Allen* than all your Lordſhips have heard me ſay to your ſelves; which was, That I would never ſerve here in theſe Countries with Mr. *Norris*, he and I will not ſerve together. He doth ſay that I ſhould tell *Allen*, That I would not come over the Sea until ſuch time as he were out of the Countrey; with other hard Speeches. But here your Lordſhips doth ſee the difference; I confeſs I ſaid not only to *Allen*, but to all Men, That Mr. *Norris* and I would not ſerve together; and he ſaith, That I would not come over the Sea, as long as he was in the Countrey. His own Talk, which I proteſt to God is falſe, doth not ſerve his Turn; for if he hath come away upon this, before my coming, it had been ſomewhat; but ſeeing that I did arrive there, he not coming away, might make him think, that *Allen*'s Tale, if it were ſo, were not true; and therefore he might at leaſt, knowing that I was arrived, ſend to me, to know whether he might come to me, or no. And where he alledgeth that he was ſo willing to come to me, as he ſent his Man to one of my Harbengers for a Lodging at *Middleborough*; if that be true, that ever any Man of his came to any Harbenger of mine, or ſent ſo much as a Letter to me, I will be bound to give him an hundred Pound Land, to him and his Heirs for ever. I have examined all my Harbengers, which are three, and they offer to ſuffer Death, or any Puniſhment, if ever they heard of any ſuch Matter, from any Man of Sir *John Norris*'s: Beſides, I have cauſed all other manner of Servants and Officers of mine to be examined, and not one Man that ever heard of any Man from Sir *John Norris*; and it is like he would have ſent to my Harbengers for Lodging; for he never uſed it when I liked him beſt, to be lodged by any of mine; for he hath his own, and did look to be lodged, and ever was, next me, before any Man, yea, that were much his betters: And therefore your Lordſhips will take both theſe Excuſes of his as they be, which is in truth moſt falſe; yet can I not ſay but he may make *Allen* ſay what he will; but by all Honour and Truth, I have ſet down my very Words; and there is nothing he hath alledged, I truſt, which may cauſe your Lordſhips to think, but that Mr. *Norris* ought to have delivered up his Charge in more dutiful manner than he did. For the reſt of this Article, I leave to my Lord *Willoughby* and the Muſter-Maſter.

Secondly, Why you brought away ſixty Souldiers, moſt Muſquetiers, whereby the Number of her Majeſty's Forces there, were weakened, and thereby the Service might be hindred?

Sir John Norris's *Anſwer.*

It would have been thought great Indiſcretion in me, if I ſhould have put my ſelf to the Sea, being only guarded by two ſmall Ships, without having a ſufficient Number of Souldiers which might defend me, as well againſt the Enemy as themſelves; and withal they were ſuch as were of mine own Company, and had ſerved for my Guard before *June* in the Low-Countries, whereof I made your Lordſhips Privy at my firſt coming, craving to know your Lordſhips Pleaſures, whether I ſhould retain them for *Ireland*, or return; and upon your Lordſhips Reſolution, I ſent them away new Apparelled, with Money in their Purſes.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

For his Muſquets which he carried, which he ſurmiſeth to be for his Safety, having ſlender Conduct of Ships, my Lords, whatſoever he ſaith, I have enquired, albeit I knew it before; he had two ſuch Ships to Conduct him, beſides other furniſhed Veſſels, as the beſt Man in *England* would not refuſe to paſs with: For my own part, I do aſſure your Lordſhips he went ſtronger than I did the laſt Year into *England*. And that he ſaith theſe Muſquets were of his Guard, it were much he would have ſixty Muſquets of his Guard; I never had but fifty for mine; and all the while I was here, he never had fifteen. Indeed I heard he was fain to bring with him thirty or twenty five when he came to the *Hague*, till he and the Count *Hollock* were Friends; and ſince I am ſure he never had ten about him, till he went now over, againſt which time he enticed a great number of Officers to go with him. And where he ſaith to give them new Coats, and that he had ſent them back again upon your Commandments, your Lordſhips ſhall never give me Credit more, if he have ſo returned any one of them: If there be any of them, there is not one that came with a Coat, or ſarce a Shirt to his Back, but very poor bare Fellows he ſent, to the number of fourteen or fifteen, which is far ſhort of ſixty, eſpecially ſuch Men as he took away, being the ableſt or likelieſt Men of many Bands, out of which he took them. Of this matter my Lord *Willoughby* can beſt adverti ſe your Lordſhips, and therefore you may ſee what Truſt there is to this Gentlemans Words.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Why you brought away certain of the old Captains, and ſome other Officers, Men of good Experience, and able to do her Majeſty Service there?

Sir John Norris's *Anſwer.*

Touching this Point; I had ſuch Care of her Majeſty's Service, That although there were divers Captains that deſired to come over with me, alledging ſufficient Cauſe for the ſame; yet I perſuaded them to tarry, and to acquaint my Lord with their Grief, and brought only with me Captain *Wilſon*, and Captain *Price*, upon theſe Conſiderations: Captain *Wilſon* having a great Wound ſtill running upon him, to his great Trouble, craved Leave two Months before to come over to the Baths, the which I could not refuſe him, having paſſed all the Winter there, when divers Captains were abſent, that had leſs Cauſe. And as for Captain *Price*, notwithſtanding his apparent good Service, he was twice diſplaced by my Lord, openly diſabled and threatned, ſo as I ſaw no Reaſon to deny him his Requeſt; and yet for that I would not do any thing therein without making your Lordſhips acquainted therewith, I wrote to Mr. Secretary, craving that he would make your Lordſhips privy thereof, and to obtain your Lordſhips Letters that their Accounts might be made up; in whoſe Anſwer, it doth not appear that he had any Miſlike.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

For the Captains, it is true, he had but two with him; but I will not be diſproved by your Lordſhips, he ſought ſundry others to come with him, but they would not go, and I have their Hands to ſerve for it. And as for Captain *Price*, whom he ſaith I have ſo diſgraced, your Lordſhips ſhall hear that Cauſe, and judge. When I came over firſt, it is well known that I was Lieutenant of the Whole, and Mr. *Norris* only ſent before with part of the Army; he did not follow *John* Baptiſt's Humility; but as he had placed this *Price*, and other Officers of the Field, as *Price* Serjeant Major, and one *Crips* Provoſt Marſhal, I, at my Arrival, having brought Sir *William Read*, a grave old Souldier, for that purpoſe, and ſundry others, whom he call'd King *Henry* the Eight's Men, I did place Sir *William Read* as Serjeant Major, and the Provoſtſhip kept, till Sir *William Pelham* came, who was to be Marſhal. This Man I ſo diſgraced, as he will ſay himſelf, I never uſed private Captain in the Field better than I have done him, as ſo God bleſs me, I never remember that ever I gave the poor Man one ill Word, for I had no Cauſe, but did like well of him, though not allowed of him for ſuch a Place; for I know what Mr. *Norris*'s Skill is in ſuch a Matter well enough: This poor Man was his ordinary Man, as he doth place always his ordinary Men, for his Glory and Benefit, in all the Places he can; and whether they be ſufficient or no, he cares not, for he thinks there is in himſelf to ſupply for all; but let that fall out by Proof hereafter: In the mean time, I tell your Lordſhips the Truth, both for the Captains, as alſo for *Price*; for by my Faith and Truth, I know no Cauſe of any ill Word that ever I ſhould give him; but himſelf and others know that I did offer him Place here, if he would take it, and I truſt your Lordſhips will think I had more reaſon to place ſuch a Man as Sir *William Read* to be the Sergeant Major of the Field, than *Price*, that was never skant a Captain before.

Fourthly, What Reaſon to bring away ſo many Horſes, whereby your Company might be diſfurniſhed, you having received large Allowances of her Majeſty for the Levying of them?

Sir *John Norris*'s Anſwer.

Concerning the bringing over my Horſes, your Honours may reſt aſſured, that ſithence the Service I have loſt above an Hundred, which are as many as I had Allowance for from her Majeſty over and beſides them that I left with my Cornet Mr. *Thynwell*, near an Hundred to furniſh the Company; and the Horſes that I brought over, are not Horſes of Service, except only ſuch as I always kept for my own Saddle, which I thought no Reaſon to be left behind me, and the reſt are very young, two, three, four, and few of five years old, which I bought a little before my Coming over, thinking thereby rather to have done my Country ſome Service in bringing them with me, in reſpect of ſome ſixty, which I carried with me, than to have incurred Blame.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Anſwer.*

Touching his Horſes, I will ſay little, albeit I know there be that will prove he never bought Horſe for his Band, except ſome one or two, ſpecially for himſelf; he is cunning enough for that, and able to teach all the young Souldiers in *England* to make his Profit. I think he hath loſt ſome Horſes, and ſo have many more, that never had half, nor the tenth part of the Helps he hath had: And for the Horſes he hath carried over, as alſo theſe he left behind, your Lordſhips ſhall know, that it is moſt certain that he carried over two and forty Horſes, beſides Mares; I have it under the Searchers Hands. That they ſhould be moſt part Colts, I marvel; for he had ſo many out of his Band, able Horſes, whatſoever he did with them, and forty two he brought over: It is poſſible he hath ſome few young Horſes, but beſides the forty two, there are not twenty two of all his Cornet's come to light, nor to any Man's Band that I can yet here of. My Lord *Willoughby*, who hath his Band, hath not ſixteen of Mr. *Norris*'s Company; and how he is paid, and paid himſelf for all things, as well Vellet Coats and Muſquets, let his own Men tell; for he hath taken their Money for it, that will never, I think, be paid; and it is no ſmall Matter to make a private Souldier pay ten Pounds

for

for his Coat, for the Captains Glory. As for his Care to benefit his Country, in returning theſe Numbers in lieu of the ſixty he carried over with him, let him give me ten Pounds a piece for theſe he hath received Pay for, and I will give him thirty Pounds apiece for thoſe he carried over of his own, notwithſtanding he received Pay of her Majeſty for them, and ten Pounds more.

Fifthly, Upon what Grounds you were ſo earneſt for to have Execution done upon the Mutiny at the *Brill*; inſomuch as it is ſaid, That you would not depart thence, before you ſaw the ſame done?

Sir John Norris's *Anſwer.*

As for the Mutinies at the *Brill*, I muſt needs confeſs I was then preſent, and ſeeing the Mutiny ſo cunningly and dangerouſly complotted, I adviſed my Lord *Buckeburſt* to prevent, by ſevere Puniſhment, the dangerous Sequel of ſo perillous an Example; and knowing by Proof that Slackneſs in Juſtice hath occaſioned the ſetting of Towns to ſale, which if the Enemy had been at hand, might eaſily have happened, I was the earneſter therein, aſſuring your Honors, that if the Particularities thereof were as well known to you, as they were to him, your Honors would think, that my Lord *Buckeburſt* had great reaſon rather to have executed the one half of them. But whereas it is averred, that I vowed not to depart from the *Brill* until I had ſeen the Execution of them, it appeareth that it was not ſo; for when it pleaſed my Lord *Burghes* to do me the Favor to bring me to my Shipping, there were divers Women on the Way, requeſting him on their Knees, to grant them their Pardon.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Reply.*

Touching the Mutiny at the *Brill*, I am loth to ſpeak of it; for I rather bear with Severity than Lenity in thoſe Caſes; but yet I mean to be informed e'er long how it was, for there is Matter in it, as the Treaſurer can tell, who found himſelf grieved withal: But this I muſt ſay, That it is ſtrange to find Mr. *Norris* ſo ſevere for this Mutiny at the *Brill*, and when there was a Mutiny in *Utreicht*, not only enough to endanger me, and us all that were there, and himſelf Collonel of the Footmen, and being commanded by me two ſeveral times to go deal in it, my Marſhal's Priſon being broken by an hundred Mutiners, and a Priſoner taken out, and yet could not make him go; I was driven my ſelf to go in Perſon, and cauſe all Companies by the Drum to be aſſembled, and to march by mine own Door, and my ſelf to cauſe my Guard to take this Man, and that Man, as they paſſed by in their Bands, and ſhewed by others to me, to be the Malefactors, and could not get Mr. *Norris* to take one, but contrariwiſe, ſuffered the Principals to eſcape, being of his Band, till I took others of his to anſwer their forth-coming. And where Mr. *Norris* was to march that Night towards *Grave*, with much ado, commanded even upon his Allegiance ſo to do, yet did he find Means then by Excuſes to ſtay that Night, only to ſave the Mutiners that were his Men, and ſo foully dealt, as before ſundry Lords and Counſellors he brought me word, that one of the Accuſers at the Gallows did excuſe his Men, and prayed me to ſtay them: I thereupon ſent two or three ſpecial Men to examine it; and when they came, it was found quite otherwiſe, and the Party juſtified his Accuſation, notwithſtanding he was perſwaded and threatned if he would not ſo do to ſave the Offender (and then was his Man Provoſt Marſhal:) Which foul Dealing was delivered before his own Face, and divers Lords, to his great Shame then, and yet your Lordſhips do ſee now, to hang three or four poor Men, how ſevere he was, and God doth know how it was handled, for I have yet had no time to examine it; and beſides, my Authority is doubted here, it will ſtretch in that Place; but for his Behaviour in *Utreicht*, I have declared the Troth, as ſhall be juſtified by the moſt of all the beſt Sort at that time there.

Becauſe I hear Sir *John Norris* maketh Demands of Pay, and other things there, I wiſh your Lordſhips to confer with the Auditor now there, before he be diſpatched; for it is informed me, that Sir *John Norris* having had a while a gone a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Walſingham*, to Sir *Thomas Sherley*, Treaſurer, that his Accounts might be made up, but that the Payment ſhould be referred into *England*; he opened the Letter, and cauſed it to be ſhewed to the Muſter-Maſter and Auditor, urging, by the Contents thereof, the making up of his Accounts, which they accordingly did. And then having his Accounts made up, he went to the Treaſurers, and demanded Pay upon the Account, never ſhewing him Mr. Secretary's Letter written to him the Treaſurer, for referring the Payment into *England*. The Auditor, I think, will teſtifie to you his Sight of the Letter, and Sir *Thomas Sherley*, to whom it was written, will ſay that he never ſaw it, at leaſt both of them have ſo ſaid to me.

Beſides, here are great Debts of Sir *John Norris*'s in the Country, and it is thought by her Majeſties Officers here, that he will fall out to be much in Debt to her Majeſty, for which Cauſes, I think it fit the Officers, both there and here, be acquainted with his Demands, before they be condeſcended unto.

For your Lordſhips Satisfaction to the reſt of Sir *John Norris*'s Anſwers, becauſe they are Matters partly appertaining to the Muſter-Maſter's Office, and part, either not requiring Anſwer, or anſwered in the Replies to *Wilkes*, I make bold, for thoſe things that concerneth the Muſter Maſter's Office,

Office, to refer your Lordſhips to the Replies of the Muſter-Maſter, in a Writing under his Hand ſent thereof; and for the reſt, to that which I have already replied to *Wilkes*, having a Word of my own to the Matter of *Oſtergo*.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Anſwers to three Points (concerning him) of* Mr. Ortell's *Memorial.*

THE Eſtates require that the Moneys of her Majeſties Treaſure, laid out by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, for Pay and Relief of their Forces, may not be reimburſed by them, becauſe his Lordſhip could not lay out any Moneys for them, without their Knowledge, or the Knowledge of the Council of Eſtate.

The Earl of Leiceſter. The Earl anſwereth, That as of their own Moneys, no Penny was laid out, but by the Aſſent of three Counſellors of Eſtate; ſo when they had not, or would not, find one Penny of their own to lay out, in the great Miſery and Want of ſome of their Souldiers, when they were like to grow to Mutiny for lack of Pay, when they could not be drawn out to ſundry Services, as to *Grave*, *Axel*, *Nimeguen*, *Duesburgh* without Money: When in actual Service, no Counſellor was with him; he was ſundry times ſo bound with her Majeſty, as to borrow of her Treaſure to give to their Souldiers, which Payment, they have defalched upon their Souldiers Pay, and are anſwered already, and therefore have no cauſe to refuſe to reimburſe them again to her Majeſty. Beſides that, they knew when theſe Payments were made, and never miſliked of them ſo long as his Lordſhip was in the Country at the firſt time of his being there: And yet (*ex abundanti*) his Lordſhip may (if he will) ſtand upon this Point, that having full and abſolute Authority in Martial Affairs, he might have diſpoſed both of their own Moneys and others, for the Pay of Martial Men, without any Conſent. The Reſtraint of Conſent being made not in any Commiſſion of his, but in their Inſtructions to the Council of Eſtate, which Inſtructions his Lordſhip always affirmed (and they did not gainſay) ſhould never prejudice his Authority, and let them ſhew where at any time he agreed to be bound himſelf to thoſe Inſtructions.

That Moneys laid out by his Lordſhip for ſecret Intelligences, may not be anſwered by the Eſtate, becauſe his Lordſhip is to bear them upon his Entertainment.

It is true, That in an Act of his Lordſhips Entertainment, the Eſtate impoſed the Burthen of ſecret Intelligences upon the Entertainment, and afterwards being aſhamed thereof, they added a Condition, ſo that the ſecret Intelligences paſſed not two thouſand five hundred Pounds Sterling by Year; but his Lordſhip ſaith, he always refuſed this Act, and that in their own Preſence, often times for this and ſome other bad Conditions, and never would accept of it in that ſort, and they cannot ſhew any Aggreations of his thereto, which is the Anſwer he ſtandeth upon in this Point. But farther, touching the Entertainment, his Lordſhip having Confidence indeed in their good and honeſt Dealing, would not Condition any thing with them for his Entertainment, neither before his going over, nor before his Acceptation of the Government, but would make trial of their Courteſie, which followed in effect to be this. They grant him ten thouſand pounds Sterling by year, out of that they would cut off his Entertainment of her Majeſty, which is about four thouſand pounds Sterling by year. They will cut off all the time of his Abſence in *England*, ſaving that (of Bounty) they will yield him three Months *Pay* of ſeven, ſo four Months *Pay* is cut off clear. They firſt would cut off the Charges of ſecret Intelligences: Then would they reſtrain the Matter, ſo as his Entertainment ſhould bear but two thouſand five hundred pounds by the Year for Intelligences. And now laſtly, they will have it to bear the whole Burthen again; What then ſhall be left his Lordſhip, all theſe Defalcations being made, is eaſily caſt up, being indeed leſs than nothing at all; but this is your good Dealing of theſe Men with him, who hath ſpent ſo largely, and adventured ſo much for them, and done them indeed ſo great Service, as they themſelves cannot but confeſs the like not to have been done them.

That ſuch Moneys as were laid out by his Excellency in the Years 1586, and 1587, for Souldiers, levyed without their Conſent, or of the Council of Eſtate, may not be anſwered by the Eſtate, becauſe ſuch Levies are repugnant to the Treaty.

For the Levies made in the Year 1586. his Excellency ſaith, and will avouch, that he did nothing, but that they and the Council of Eſtate were made acquainted with, and liked of; and they entertained theſe Souldiers ſo levied in their Towns when they came. They uſed their Service all the Year, without any ſpeech of Miſlike; and they enjoyed the Benefit of their Service at the Fight of *Grave*, when it was Victualled, in the Winning of *Axel*, in Clearing the *Betow*, in the Winning of *Dueſburgh*, and the Forts of *Zutphen*, in aſſuring *Deventer*, in Relieving *Berk*, in Clearing the *Dellow*, and in divers other *Places*, with great Thanks to his Excellency for his great Services done with thoſe Levies, at his firſt Departure out of thoſe

Countries, howſoever th's Refuſal now groweth for the five thouſand levied and brought over in the Year 1587.

Complaints of ſeveral good and faithful Inhabitants of the United Provinces, chiefly of Holland *and* Zealand, *of the which, in moſt humble manner, they crave your Majeſty's moſt Princely Order and Redreſs.*

Firſt, That the ſaid Inhabitants (who many years uſed their lawful Trade into *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, *Portugal*, the Iſlands, and elſewhere) have of late years ſuſtained ſeveral great and extream Loſſes, for more than two hundred thouſand pounds Sterling, as well by ſundry your Majeſties Subjects, under colour of Letters of Repriſal upon the Subjects of the *Spaniſh* King, as by divers *Pirates*, maintained and ſuborned by thoſe, whoſe Office it was, and is, rather to ſee them puniſhed. And although the ſaid Inhabitants have always done their Endeavor, for Recovery of their ſeveral Loſſes, yet could they almoſt never attain to ſo much as the Charge in Suits did amount unto, and that by the only Fault, Support and Favour born by ſeveral Officers and others of the Sea Coaſts unto the ſaid Offenders.

Secondly, Uſing their Trade aforeſaid, and being at ſundry times, by force of Weather and Tempeſt, driven into the Rodes, Havens and Ports of this Realm, they have not only been ſeized, arreſted, and wrongfully detained, but alſo, to their extream Charges, and utter Undoing, enforced, with long, tedious and dangerous Suits, to ſeek for their Releaſe, contrary to all Expectation, and the true Meaning of the old and mutual Entercourſe, ſo many Years moſt laudably maintained, as well by your Majeſty, your Highneſſes moſt Noble Progenitors, and the ſaid Provinces, as by certain true Extracts of the ſaid Entercourſe hereunto annexed, more plainly may appear.

Whereby it ſeemeth, that by ſome evil diſpoſed Perſons, it is practiſed underhand, utterly to deprive and extinguiſh the ſaid Trade and Traffick, which is the Maintenance of the ſaid Provinces and their Inhabitants, and that without any forwarning, as in ſuch like Caſes ought to precede.

Like as for Example, it hath hapned with ſeveral Ships, chiefly at this preſent with two which lately were brought to *Portſmouth* by the Earl of *Cumberland*, of the which is pretended Confiſcation, notwithſtanding the Ships were laden at *Amſterdam* and *Middleborough*, and do abſolutely appertain unto their Inhabitants, without any Prohibition to the contrary, as aforeſaid.

May it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty, moſt graciouſly to conſider the Premiſes, with the great Inconveniences and Diſlikes which thereof might enſue, and conſequently to command, and ſpecially to decree the ſaid Entercourſe, as well generally as particularly, not only to be ſo inviolably obſerved in ſuch ſort and force as they ought; but alſo that all Setters forth, Maintainers, Victuallers, Lodgers of Pirates, or Buyers and Receivers of the ſtolen Goods, may be ſued, holden and puniſhed in like ſort as the ſaid Pirates, without reſpect of Perſons.

And moreover, that the ſaid two Ships, ſo brought in by the Earl of *Cumberland*, or any other in like Caſe, may not only forthwith be releaſed, but alſo an eſpecial and general Interdiction made, not to attempt any more Stay or Trouble againſt their Ships and Goods, having good and lawful Paſports from the ſaid Eſtates or their Deputies.

Item: That whatſoever doth now depend in queſtion concerning the ſaid Inhabitants touching the Premiſes, may, with all poſſible Expedition of Juſtice, be decided. In which doing, your Majeſty ſhall not only bind the Eſtates of the ſaid Provinces and their Inhabitants, to all humble Duty and Service; but alſo therewith, cauſe a mutual and moſt aſſured Friendſhip, and unto your Majeſties moſt Royal Perſon, great Quietneſs and Godly Renown.

Copia aliquorum Articulorum Magni & Principalis Intercurſus, ſeu mutui Commercii inter *Henricum* Septimum Regem *Angliæ*, & *Philippum* Archiducem *Auſtriæ*, *Burgundiæ*, *Anno* 1495.

Caput Decimum Quintum.

Piratæ non recipiendi.

Item Conventum eſt, &c. *Quod in nullis Portubus aut Littoribus Partium prædictarum aut eorum alterius, Piratæ, aut alii, ſine Auctoritate ſuorum Principum, Guerram ſuper Mare facientes ſine Natione Partium prædictarum, aut alterius Nationis, cujuſcunque*

que fuerint, aliquo modo receptabuntur; neque ipsis, aut eorum alicui, ibidem seu alibi, in Regnis, Patriis, Dominiis, & Terris Principum prædictorum, in Pecunia, Armis, Instrumentis bellicis, Victualibus, aut aliâ re quâcunque, aliquo pacto auxilium præstabitur: Nec Favor, quovis quesito colore, præstabitur sub pœna Resartionis & Restitutionis omnium Damnorum, Expensarum, & Interesse subditis prædictis, aut eorum alicui, per hujusmodi Piratas, aut violentes Depredatores illatarum & fiendorum, tam per ipsos Piratas, si deprehendantur, & solvendo sunt, quàm etiam per eorum Receptores, Factores, & Auxiliatores. Qui quidem Piratæ & Depredatores, eorúmque Factores, & Auxiliatores, ad hæc præcisa & summaria Cognitione cogentur, tam in Personis quàm Bonis per locorum seu districtuum Officiarios ubi talia contingerint. De quibus Damnis, Expensis, & Interesse, si alias probari non poterint, stabitur Fidei & Juramento Damnificatorum. Et si contingat hujusmodi Piratas, Depredatores, eorum Factores & Auxiliatores, Damna, Expensas, & Interesse, Partibus sic damnificatis resarcient & restituent: Et si hujusmodi Resartionem & Restitutionem infra quatuor dies, proximè & immediatè sequentes diem quod de hujusmodi piratica Depredatione, Favore, vel Auxilio conjuncti fuerint cum Effectu facere recusaverint, tunc hujusmodi Piratæ, Depredatores, Factores & Auxiliatores, ad Restitutionem duplicium Damnorum, Expensarum, & Interesse, sic damnificatis faciendis per Locorum & Districtuum Officiarios compellantur & cogantur.

Caput Decimum Sextum.

Item Conventum est, &c. Quod si per aliquos Piratas, aut alios, ut permittitur, Guerræ operam dantes aliqua Bona Mercatorum vel Subditorum unius vel alterius Partium prædictarum super Mare capiantur, & in aliquem Portum unius vel alterius Partium prædictarum adducatur non poterunt Bona sic capta & depredata ibidem per ipsos Piratas vel alios quoscunque poni ad terram vendi vel alienari. Et si nihilominus ad terram ponantur, ibidémve vendantur vel alienentur, de ipsis Bonis, seu vero Valore eorundem, cum Damnis, & Interesse per depredatos in ea parte sustentis & habitis. De quibus valore, Damnis & Interesse (constito tamen prius de ipsa prededatione) licebit per eorum juvatum, Assartionem, si alias probari non poterit per Officiarios locorum Restitutio fiet ipsis damnificatis & depredatis ad quas restitutiones faciendas habebunt Officiarii locorum & alii quos Principes ipsi in Oppidis & Portubus suis deputare voluerint Commissiones speciales in tali Casu requisitis & hunc Articulum de verbo ad verbum in se plenè continentes, quibus mediantibus prædicti Officiarii Restitutionem hujusmodi facere tenebuntur, sub pœna ab eis recuperandi verum & justum valorem omnium Spoliatorum & Ablatorum hujusmodi una cum prædictis Damnis, & Interesse sic damnificatis fient insuper Edicto publico Prohibitiones pœnales & Portubus, & Littoribus, utriusque partis partium prædictarum, ne quisquam cujuscunque Nationis, aut Conditionis is existat talia Bona per Piratas aut alios, ut permittitur Guerræ operam dantes capta & depredata, & ad terram posita vel infra portum inventa emere, vel quovis Titulo recipere præsumat in præjudicium vel detrimentum damnificatorum, seu aliorum quorumcunque Interesse habentium. Et quod Officiarii locorum, quoties casus acciderit sub pœna recuperandi ab eis Bona & Mercimonia hujusmodi capta & adducta in Portum aliquem Partium prædictarum pro Damnis & Interesse statim ipsam Navem, Magistros & Marinarias ejusdem, necnon Bona & Mercimonia quæcunque in eadem Nave reperta sub tuto Arresto & salva Custodia ponat servanda ad utilitatem, ad utilitatem damnificatorum, & eorum quorum interierit. Idemque locorum Officiarii procedant ad Correctionem Piratarum & Delinquentium in Navi repertorum secundum casuum exigentiam.

Bona per Piratas capto.
Non possunt in aliquo portu vendi.
Si vendantur.
Officiarii locorum Commissionem habeant.
Edictum nequis quid à Piratis emat.
Officiarii sub sub pœna recuperandi ab eis.

Caput Decimum Septimum.

Item ad finem ut Captiones Navium Personarum & Bonorum unius Partis super alteram de cætero cessent. Conventum, concordatum, & conclusum est, quod quandocunque aliqua Navis cujuscunque Indigenæ unius vel alterius partis partium prædictarum exitura est ab aliquo Portu sive Districtu Principum prædictorum, seu eorum alterius Majores & Gubernatores Oppidi sive Villæ, quibus Portus sive Districtus hujusmodi adjacent quibuscunque Nominibus, Officiis, aut Appellationibus iidem Gubernatores censeantur, capiant sufficientes Securitates de & pro Dominis, Proprietariis, Possessoribus, Magistris, Bursariis, & Victuellariis Navis ejusmodi ad duplum Valoris Navis, Apparatus, & Victualium ejusdem. Quod Magister ejusdem Navis, Capitanei, Marinarii, & omnes in eadem Nave existentes, cujuscunque Status aut Conditionis existant, servabunt Pacem erga quoscunque subditos Principum prædictorum, & quod nullam eis injuriam seu Violentiam in Terra, Mari, Fluminibus, aut Portu aliquo facere vel inferri præsumant. Quod si hujusmodi securitatem præstare noluerint, non permittent, imo impedient expressè ipsos Mercatores, & Gubernatores Navium hujusmodi quoquo modo exire, nisi Proprietarii sive Bursarii ejusdem Navis Regalem vel Archiducalem Licentiam respectivè suo sub sigillo eisdem exhibuerit, quod licitè cum suo Navi, sine ulla cautionis Præstatione exire potuerit: In quo casu, si ipsi per Principem suum licentiati subditos alterius Principis spoliaverint, aut damnificaverint, & solvendo non fuerint, tunc per eundem Principem sic Licentiantem, Plena satisfactio fiet Partibus sic damnificatis. Quoties autem

Cautio prestanda pro Navibus in Mare exituris.

Cautio capienda. { Dominis, Proprietariis, Possessoribus, Magistris Navium, Bursariis, Victuellariis.

Si Princeps licentiam dederit, sine cautione solv.

Si Majores, aut Civitatum Gubernatores, dant Literas auctent. *ſecuritatem præmiſſam, Majores & Gubernatores Civitatum, Villarum, & Oppidorum, unius partis aut alterius exigerint, dabunt Literas auctenticas ſub eorum communi Sigillo, Proprietariis, Poſſeſſoribus, Magiſtris, ſeu Burſariis illius Navis, ſic aſſecurate teſtificantes ipſius Securitatis Præſtationem ad finem, ut ipſarum Literarum vigore Navis hujuſmodi, alios ad quos forſitam applicabit Portus abſque nova Securitatis Præſtatione liberè exire valet.*

A Memorial of Mr. Hunt.

1. YOU ſhall let the Lord General underſtand that her Majeſties Pleaſure is, that Collonel *Norris* be called to an Account for the five thouſand Pounds delivered unto him by way of Impreſt, and that for the better furtherance of the Service, his Lordſhip ſhall appoint *Mr. Killegrew*, and ſome other, to aſſiſt you in the taking of the ſaid Account.

2. You ſhall inform your ſelf, why there ſhould be any Allowance asked for Armor delivered to the preſt Men, conſidering their Armor was paid for here in *England* by the Country.

3. You ſhall alſo inform your ſelf, how much hath been received of the ſaid five thouſand Pounds from the States, by way of Defalcation, for Armor or otherwiſe.

4. You ſhall call the Treaſurer to an Account for ſuch Benefit as he hath received for the Improvement of ſo much of the ſeventeen thouſand Pounds as was tranſported, according to the Inſtructions delivered unto him.

5. You ſhall alſo call him to an Account of the Benefit of the Roſe-Nobles tranſported, according to an Offer made by him, and the Warden of the Mine.

6. And you ſhall call him to an Account for ſuch Defalcations as have been made for Armor upon the preſt Souldiers, or for ſo much as ſhall be received before your Arrival; for that it is meant that the ſaid Defalcation hereafter ſhall ceaſe.

7. You ſhall in like manner call the Commiſſary of the Victuals to an Account for the ſix hundred ſixty ſix Pounds received by him, for that there hath been anſwered in his Account to her Majeſty, only an hundred and fifty Pounds.

8. You ſhall let the Lord General underſtand, that her Majeſties Pleaſure is, he ſhould cauſe Collonel *Norris* to render an Account, why there were no Checks made during the four Months Space that he had the chief Charge of her Force, the Bands being ſo greatly decayed as they were.

9. You ſhall charge the Treaſurer to call upon the States for the eight hundred ninety one Pounds diſburſed for the levying of the Pioniers, for the ſix hundred Pounds paid to the Gariſon of *Wallons* in *Oſtend*; and farther, you ſhall alſo move the Lord General to call upon the States likewiſe.

10. You ſhall examine how the Increaſe of ninety one Men came, being above the Number of four thouſand, contained in the Contract, and therefore to be paid by the States.

11. You ſhall know of the Treaſurer, by what Warrant there was Allowance given for a Muſter-Maſter, ſeeing there was no Mention made of any ſuch Allowance, in the Contract between her Majeſty and the States.

12. You ſhall inform your ſelf by what Warrant there was Allowance yielded for thirty Argoletiers on Horſe-back, when there were none ſuch levied, nor brought into the Field.

13. You ſhall know why the Treaſurer hath not charged himſelf with the Defalcations made for Armor upon the preſt Men, which amount to the Sum of one thouſand two hundred and twenty four Pounds.

14. You ſhall inform your ſelf, why her Majeſty hath not been anſwered but one thouſand one hundred Pounds upon the Defalcations of the Armor delivered to the Voluntiers impreſſed by the States.

15. You ſhall let the Lord General underſtand, That her Majeſties Pleaſure is, that he cauſe the Treaſurer to make Defalcation of all ſuch Impreſts as have been made unto the Collonels, Captains, and others, that have received any ſuch Impreſt of the ſaid Treaſurer.

Barnevelt's *Propoſition.*

UPon the Third of *September* laſt paſt, the College of thoſe of the High and Provincial Court, and of the Reckoning Chamber, being aſſembled, did, the Advocate *Barnevelt*, being aſſiſted with the other Deputies of the States, propound his Propoſition to this Effect: That the States have marked, that ſince *May* 1586. her Majeſty, or his Excellency had intended to make Peace with the Enemy, and that the Eſtates had divers Intelligences ſerving to that End, as by

by the Ambaſſadour my Lord *Buckhurſt*, and now by *Valke* and *Mening*, by Commandment of his Excellency himſelf, with other ſuch-like Matter, as that the Queen of *England* is already entred into Treaty of Peace with the Prince of *Parma*, and that the Charges of the War are very grievous to her Majeſty and to her Realm.

That his Excellency ſhould have ſaid, that there doth 12000 go a begging in *England* at this hour, the which before the Wars did win their Livings very ſufficiently; and therefore it ſhould be better to make peace than otherwiſe.

Moreover, That the States ſhould have gotten a very Authentick Copy of ſecret Inſtruction, given by her Majeſty to his Excellency, containing Matter to this effect: That his Excellency ſhould uſe all poſſible Means to get the Authority into his Hands; and having gotten the ſame, ſhould then ſee to make peace with the Enemy; and in caſe that the States would not agree to the ſame, that he ſhould effectuate the ſame by the means of the Commonalty.

The Deputies of the States requeſting for theſe Cauſes the aforeſaid Courts, to aſſiſt them with their Advice, how and what they were to do in the ſame matter.

The foreſaid Courts did deſire the ſight of the foreſaid ſecret Inſtruction or Intelligence, upon condition to conceal the ſame; but it was denied them by *Barnevelt*, who ſaid that the States would not agree or conſent to the ſame.

The End of the Propoſition of Barnevelt.

Barnevelt's *Speech to his Excellency*, September 3. 1587. Stilo novo.

AND ſince that Men of Diſcretion and Judgment do certainly know, that her Majeſty and your Excellency are the only Pillars and Defenders of the true Religion; and that therefore Antichriſt, and thoſe which be of his mightieſt Members, do caſt an Eye upon the ſame, as it doth appear by manifeſt Experience; and that no Man is ſo fit or proper to defend the true Religion, eſpecially in theſe Low-Countries, as her Majeſty and your Excellency are; it muſt needs be, that the mention of the foreſaid ſecret Inſtruction is a falſe and ſurmiſed Work, intended or practiſed by two or three, the which are without doubt corrupted by the Prince of *Parma*, for to ſhoot at the utter Ruine of theſe Low-Countries; for the effectuating whereof, there is no more proper mean than to engender Miſtruſt betwixt her Majeſty, your Excellency, and theſe Low-Countries, and by that means to demantelate theſe Lands of her Majeſty's Succours, and of the good Order that your Excellency ſhould put in our diſordered Affairs: Nevertheleſs it is to be feared, that there are many ſimple Men in theſe Towns of *Holland*, the which are ſeduced and deceived through this falſe Inſtruction of the States; my Counſel therefore, under the Correction of your Excellency, is this: That it may pleaſe your Excellency to declare to the Preſidents, and the other of the Council, the which ſhall ſhortly addreſs themſelves in all Humility to your Excellency, for the mediating of Matters, that your Excellency's Intention was never to make Peace with the Enemy, or to make mention of Peace with the Enemy, except that it were thought to be good and needful by the States themſelves; but that your Excellency did fear, that through diſorder of Governing, either by Faults of Authority, or other Occaſions, the diſcord prevailing betwixt your Excellency and the States, that one Town after another ſhould fall into the Hands of the Enemy, to the Devaſtation of the Churches of GOD, to the great Diſhonour of her Majeſty and your Excellency: That your Excellency did for theſe Cauſes think it good to propound by *Valke* and *Menin*, That firſt a War ought to be made, whereby our Frontiers might be defended, and the Enemy weaken'd; or, if this would not be done, to leave it to the Conſideration of the Eſtates, if they would hearken to Peace or not: But after that the Preſidents had opened to your Excellency, how dangerous the mention of Peace might be in theſe Lands, your Excellency is reſolved not to make any mention of propounding Peace, for the preventing of all Inconveniences: And in caſe that the Eſtates will hear Reaſon, and will follow the Apoſtil given unto them at their laſt Remonſtration, by Advice of the Council of Eſtates, That your Excellency is reſolved, with the Help of GOD, with the Succors of her Majeſty, and the Means of theſe Lands, to defend the ſaid Land againſt the Enemy, and not to ſpare your own Perſon and Poſſeſſions for that Uſe and End; ſignifying nevertheleſs unto the States, that it were better to entertain ſuch a War, wherein we might be ſtrong enough to make Head to the Enemy, if ſuch were poſſible to be done: That it may pleaſe your Excellency likewiſe to open unto the Preſidents, and thoſe of the Council, the falſhood of the foreſaid Inſtruction and Propoſition. Alſo, that it would pleaſe your Excellency to Will and Command the Preſidents, and thoſe of both the Courts and Council, to go unto the States-General, and to the Magiſtrates of Towns in particular, to make Declaration unto them of the falſhood of the foreſaid Inſtruction, or Propoſition, of the good Intention of your Excellency, and how ſmall the Difference is betwixt your Excellency and the States, following the laſt Apoſtil, given unto them by your Excellency, by the Advice of the Council of Eſtates, at the time

of

of their laſt Remonſtration made to your Excellency, proteſting expreſly therewithal, That if the States will not bend to any Reaſon, that your Excellency will be holden for excuſed before God and the Commonalty; conſidering that your Excellency doth Command, but is not Obeyed by the *Dutch* Souldiers: Alſo, that there are no means appointed in the Land; with ſuch other like Reaſons, as may be the beſt known to your Excellency.

There were ſome that did openly in the Aſſembly calumniate your Excellency, ſaying that your Excellency had made no Preparation for the Wars.

Item, That the Frontiers were not furniſhed with Gariſon, and other neceſſary Things.

Item, That there was not any Policy uſed in theſe Wars which were commendable.

Mr. Brune *to Mr.* Beale, *concerning the Spices in her Majeſty's Store-houſes, or Magazines*, &c.

FIrſt, If her Majeſty think to make ſale thereof in *England*, then the Benefit that may be made in the advancing of the Price there, will be hindred by the *Grocers*, and rich Merchants, who do already drive down the Prices of all ſuch Spices, whereof her Highneſs hath any ſtore; with intent, by that bad Policy, to bargain and buy all the Spices of her Majeſty at ſome low Price, which they think to have them for.

But the Benefit that may grow unto her Majeſty by the advancing of the Price, will better be done in theſe parts, where is both want to ſerve themſelves, *Eaſt-land*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, and all *Germany*, than to keep it to ſell in *England*. And no doubt but 10 *l. per* 100 will be here more made thereof, than will be had for it in *England*. Beſides, here are preſently Merchants that will bargain for 40000 *lib.* of Pepper, and will have it delivered here: Therefore if ſo much were ſent over, the ſame would be ſold and paid for before Chriſtmas; and by that Party all the reſt may be ſold here, whereby the Price thereof ſhall not only be advanced to her Highneſs's moſt Benefit, but beſides her Treaſure may the better be kept at home, by the Sale and Delivery of thoſe Spices above-mentioned. And if it might pleaſe my honourable Maſter (unto whom I have written concerning theſe Spices) to let me underſtand the quantity of each Spice, and the prices thereof, and give me order to practiſe the ſale thereof, I do not doubt but 'twill do good Service therein, ſo it were needful preſently to deal therein: For if upon the Return from the *Frankford* Mart, any of our Merchants of *England* ſeek to buy the ſame, they may; my honourable Maſter, and the reſt of her Majeſty's Council, will perceive the want thereof in *Germany*, and other places, and accordingly rather to deal for it in theſe parts (for that now all Things are ſuffered to go by water to *Antwerp*, and from thence they ſend up all Things needful by Waggons to *Cologne*, and ſo upward, as they think it meeteſt for their Commodity, into all parts of *Dutchland*, and elſewhere) than to make any ſale thereof in *England*.

Concerning ſeveral Treaſurers for Fluſh *and* Brill.

If her Majeſty will both have thoſe Gariſons well paid, and well provided for otherwiſe, that they may have all good Things, and at reaſonable prices; then, under Correction I ſpeak it, That if her Impreſts weekly do continue, and the full pay be made but twice or thrice in the Year, then were it not amiſs that ſome honeſt and skilful Man, did upon her Majeſty's Treaſure provide thoſe Gariſons of Match, Powder, and all manner of Apparel, to be ſold at reaſonable prices, in reſpect of all Things ſold, eſpecially at *Fluſhing*, or in the Iſland, where all manner of Things are deareſt.

And by the ſame Proviſions, eſpecially in Apparel, her Majeſty ſhall gain 16 *l.* upon every 100 *l.* and all Charges to the Officers, Providers and Iſſuers out thereof to the Souldiers, ſhall be born; and ſo the Souldiers ſhall not be ſerved with better Stuff, nor ſo good cheap, by much, of any other: So as the one half of the Pay of both theſe Gariſons may be given them in Apparel.

And if her Majeſty pleaſe to make the like Pay unto all her Forces on this ſide of the Sea, the Pay will fall ſo much the lighter, by means of the Benefit which may be made by means of the apparelling of them; and thereby keep ſo much Money within the Realm, which otherwiſe, with time, this pay will wholly rob us of all our Coin, and by no means procure it home again, for that the Exchange goeth here at ſo low a price: So that the difference of the Exchange is leſs loſs to the Merchant, by twelve pence upon every pound Sterling, than will grow to him by carrying home of our Money; which is here a common payment, and yet is much waſted by melting thereof, and putting of it into other Coins.

I beſeech your Worſhip to accept of my good Meaning, and to make the beſt of my unframed Order of Writing.

Middlebourgh, Sept. 22. 1587.

Your Worſhip's at Commandment,
Thomas Brune.

A Note of Victuals to be provided in Store by the Town of Brill, *for the victualling of one Thouſand Men for three* Months, *rated according to the Allowance of the* Queen's Majeſty *of* England.

FIrſt, For Bread for four Men by the Day, four *lib.* for 1000 Men for three Months, at 28 Days to the Month, amounteth to 84000 *l.*

For Beer, for 1000 Men for three Months, at 28 Days to the Month, allowing 14 Barrels a Day, amounteth to 1176 *l.*

For ſalt Beef, for 4 Men by the Day 4 *lib.* for 1000 Men for 3 Months, at 28 Days to the Month, amounteth to 84000 *l.*

For Bacon, for 4 Men by the Day 2 *lib.* for 1000 Men for 3 Months, at 28 Days to the Month, amounteth to 42000 *l.*

For Cheeſe, for 4 Men by the Day 2 *lib.* for 1000 Men for 3 Months, at 28 Days to the Month, amounteth to 42000 *l.*

For Butter, for 4 Men by the Day 1 *lib.* for 1000 Men for three Months, at 28 Days to the Month, amounteth to 21000 *l.*

For Stockfiſh, for 4 Men by the Day 2 Fiſhes, for 1000 Men for 3 Month, at 28 Days to the Month, amounteth to 42000 *l.*

For Butter more to be allowed with the ſaid Fiſh, at the rate and proportion aforeſaid, for 1000 Men for three Months 21000 *l.*

For the grinding of Bread-Corn, and Bear-Corn, it is moſt requiſite that Water-Mills be provided.

Wood and Turf for Fuel, as ſhall be thought requiſite for 3 Months proviſion.

Munition requiſite to be provided and kept always in ſtore for 1000 *Men.*

Pikes, Halbarts, Half-pikes and Shot, and eſpecially of Muſquets, whereof it is requiſite to be 300 at the leaſt; of all together 3000 *l.*

Spades, Mattocks, Shovels, and Wheel-Barrows, of all together, at the leaſt 3000.

Gabions always to be provided in ſtore 300.

For Powder for the Small-ſhot, it is neceſſary there be always in ſtore 20 Laſts.

Of Match 80000 weight.

Of Bullet, or Lead for Bullet 40000 weight.

Gregory Gibbs's *Bill for great Ordnance and Proviſions of the Town of* Brill.

THe Long Port is unfurniſhed, which hath need of two Pieces; the Well-Port likewiſe two Pieces; between the Well-Port and the South-Port one Piece; the South-Port needeth three Pieces; at the Mount between the South-Port and the New Port, three Pieces; at the New Port three Pieces; at the Mount between the New Port and the Swart-Port, two Pieces; at the Mount at the Swart-Port three Pieces; to ſcour the new Haven, one piece; for the North-Port, two Pieces, one for the Eaſt-ſide, another for the Weſt; one Piece to ſcour the Highway between the North-Port and the Long Port.

Of all this proviſion of Ordnance, we have five pieces of twenty five, that are needful, as before.

Theſe Pieces ought to be furniſhed with Ladles, Spunges and Carriages; and of Carriages eſpecially we ought always to have twelve in ſtore, whatſoever might happen. To theſe Pieces need 30 Tun of Shot, the Tun containing 2100 weight. Of Powder 15 Laſt. with Match accordingly.

For the Skonces.

The Skonces need five Pieces more; three for the greater, and two for the leſs; whereunto needeth five Laſt of Powder, and eight Tun of Shot, with Match thereunto belonging.

This Proportion of Proviſion is rated for three Months,

The

The Lord Willoughby, *to Secretary* Walſyngham.

SIR,

MY other Letters herewith ſent, were ſtayed with contrary Winds; which having continued unto this day, hath brought out Captain *Powlie* with a Diſpatch moſt welcome; the receipt whereof I thought fit to advertiſe, and as time ſhall allow, will haſten to perform (ſo much as in me lieth) the effect.

The Regard wherewith her Majeſty pleaſeth to accept and favour my Service, maketh me moſt happy, bound to live under ſo gracious a Sovereign; and as my Travels are accounted light, wherein I may endeavour ought to pleaſe and content her Majeſty: So muſt I yield you many Thanks for the Sweet now received, knowing it proceeded moſt from your friendly good means. The Diſtaſte your former Letters brought me, is taken away, and nought remains, ſave my readineſs of faithful Diſpoſition towards you; which bindeth me moſt faſt to be commanded, in what you ſhall pleaſe, for your ſelf or your Friends to uſe me.

For the 1000 *l.* ſterl. *per annum*, which you writ her Majeſty is pleaſed to allow me for Intelligence, I ſee not how the ſame may grow out of the Cheques, conſidering how many other Payments are to run from the ſame; and therefore if you ſhall pleaſe to pocure, that by the Warrant I may be allow'd the ſame, either out of the Cheques, or out of her Majeſty's Treaſure, if they ſhall not ariſe ſufficient: The Favour will bind me much thankful; the manner and means I leave to your good Furtherance and beſt liking, aſſuring you unfeignedly, ſo great are my daily Occaſions to conſume Money, as her Majeſty's Allowance falleth very far ſhort, for which, by the next, I hope you will ſend me ſome full Order.

I have been often bold to ſollicit for Mr. *Gilpin*, in whoſe behalf their Lordſhips and your ſelf ſeem to be careful; yet becauſe no Reſolution is come to anſwer Relief towards his Wants (which are more great than he can long endure.) I pray (for the furtherance her Majeſty's Service may reap by his Experience and Travels) that ſome favourable Courſe may be ſet down for him.

There was, before my coming hither, a purpoſe intended, which I never underſtood of but by Chance, to have wrought ſome good with them of *Gertruidnber*, wherein I encouraged the Party, who undertook the ſame, ſo much as was poſſible; but at laſt his Courage failed, as the encloſed Note will declare.

Thus reſting to be commanded with all aſſured Faſtneſs, I end; and pray God to bleſs you,

Middleburgh, May 26. 1588.

Yours to be moſt aſſuredly Commanded,
P. Willoughby.

The Lord Willoughby, *to* Mr. Beal.

SIR,

IT hath pleaſed her Majeſty to appoint Mr. *Killegrew* and you to accompany the Lord Treaſurer, and *Buckeburſt*, for the trying whether upon my Account and Reckoning I am to be chequed 4000 *l.* (which Sum, upon a ſtrange Abſtract of *Diggs*, hath been informed her Majeſty againſt me) which ſaid Cheque *Diggs* denieth: For the reſt, there was never any Precedent that the meaneſt Captain was chequed, his Books and his Officers unexamined; or their Oath, and Commiſſaries Hands of both Nations diſallowed, without producing firſt the Cauſe. If this be hard meaſure to a private Captain, much more to a General, who hath by his Authority the Overſeeing of ſuch Cheques as the Muſter-Maſter preſents; as well for Juſtice to the Souldier, as other Profit to the Prince: Though her greateſt Commodity is to have Juſtice evenly adminiſtred, to the entertaining of her Souldiers in good Diſcipline, which cannot be, if the Cenſures of the Cheques be vindicative or partial. Now for this which I ſhould have judged (being thought worthy the Place I hold) I am produced to be judged my ſelf; a matter unheard of; but purſued by a Faction, who would rake in the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s dead Bones, and in my living Reputation, leaving out whom they favour; though her Majeſty may more juſtly profit by them, than by the Earl that was firſt, or my ſelf laſt; and yet they make me the beginning of the Work. But, I thank GOD, my good Friends the States Commiſſaries upon my Rolls ſhall clear me; and I deſire I may by that be tried and examined. I will not deal willingly with the infinite Wit of Mr. *Diggs*, nor with the ſetled Determination of ſome who moved the firſt Broils in *Flanders* againſt the Earl; but to try my ſelf an honeſt Man by my Muſter-Book, ſigned with the States Commiſſaries Hands, whom the World knows will not be partial on my ſide; which Books I cauſed my Officers to ſubmit themſelves unto againſt the Priviledge of my Place, or Precedent of others; for that I feared, which is now happened, for ſtanding

ing but by him that ſtole the Sheet off the Hedge, I ſhould be called in queſtion, while his good Maſterſhip is let ſlip. But to conclude; if they will bring others to dance in this Ring with me, it ſhall pleaſe me more than Money, and benefit her Majeſty much, and ſo ſhall be truly diſcerned the Difference of Colours, which yet are hid with a Curtain. Thus have I plainly and truly ſet down the Cauſe, the Manner, and gueſſed at the End; having good Conſcience, and ſound Proofs to ſtand to my Talking: And ſo I leave to you to conſider, as you think juſt Matter, and pray God to amend us all, for our Sins deſerve more Puniſhment than the Rod which he beats us with. The ſame Almighty God I beſeech to bleſs you ever,

From Wylloughby-Houſe,
July the 4*th*. 1590.

Your moſt aſſured Loving Friend,
P. Wylloughby.

A Son Excellence, Monſeigneur le Comte de Leiceſter.

*COmme il a plû à Vôtre Excellence me commander de faire overture & advertence, de ce que je pouvois avoir entendu du tranſportement de quelques marchandiſes, ſur le paſſeport du Sr. Governeur, & ce que en ces mêmes Affaires a été fait & demené. Il eſt ainſi que le III. de ce preſent, un marinier de Dordrecht nommé Dicrich Franchen a chargé & embarqué devant la Briel en ſon nauire quatre mille livres de fromage, leués hors d'un bateau de Dordrecht, deſquelles le Marchand en a payé le droit à la Briel, dont ledit marinier eſtant préadverti, a fait refus de les prendre en ſon nauire, ore fut que lui apparut du paſſeport du Collecteur: Sur ce a été ledit Marchand apprehendé, & étant led. Marinier mandé pardevant led. Gouverneur, en a prétendu la Confiſcation tant de ſa nauire qui biens, à cauſe qu'il n'avoit point Payé à la Briel le droit des Convois en ſes mains, comme etant icelle ville à ſadite Majeſté. Surquoy led. Marinier répondit, avoir deuement payé & ſatisfait, conformement ſon paſſeport. Et apres pluſieurs autres raiſons & propos, eſt led. Marinier deliberé, & led. Marchand des mains du Prévoſt relaxé. Et le. IIII*e*. de ce preſent, a eſté exhibé aux Officiers des d' Convois, en preſence du Waterbailli & de deux Marchands d'Angleterre, certain paſſeport dud. Sr. Gouverneur, contenant, Laiſſés paſſer Roulant Paſty & Gilbert Pencer pour Londres auec IIII. mil Livres de fromages, ſans payer quelque droit de Convoy, lequel fromage le Marinier a refuſé d'accepter & charger, ne fuſt qu'il eût payé le Convoy à ce deu, parquoy led. fromage n'a été led. jour embarqué. Et le 5. dud. ſont derechef abordés auſd. Officiers, afin que leur paſſeport fuſt par eux ſigné. Surquoy ils répondirent, que ne leur eſtoit permis de ce faire, n'eſt qu'ils leur fiſſent apparoir par leurd. paſſeport d'avoir été aux Collecteurs payé leur droit.*

Apres un autre Marinier de Roterdam nommé Harman Roelaſt a par led. Waterbailli & autres à l'inſtante pour ſuite des d. Marchands eſté enchargé & conſtraint comme il apparoit, de charger les d. biens en ſa navire, comme il a fait & le meſme jour il a fait voile ſans avoir payé quelque droit, ce que redonde à irreparable prejudice du pays & de la Navigation, car parte ceſſant leſd. Moyens, conſecutivement auſſi ceſſer les equippages pour mer neceſſaires, n'eſt que ceux de l'admiraulté fuſſent ſubſidiés par autres moyens. Et de tant que ce remonſtrant tient pour certain, que ce procedé par l'avarice de quelques Marchands particuliers & autres que par l'interceſſion d'autres, à ce induiſant & requerant led. Sr. Gouverneur, eſt ma inſtante Requeſte, qu'il plaiſe à V. E. (en conſideration de ce que dit eſt) de mander aud. Sr. Gouverneur, de tenir tel ordre que cecy plus n'advienne, & s'il y quelqu'un qui veuille tranſporter ou tranſfreter quelques biens, ou les amener, qu'il ſoit tenu de payer les droit, conformement les placarts de V. E. afin que toute ulterieure confuſion qui en pourroit ſourdre, ſoit prevenue & contregardée.

A Son Excellence.

MOnſeigneur, Je n'aurois tant tardé à reſpondre aux Lettres qu'il a pleu a V. E. m'eſcrire par Monſieur de Schoonerualle, ſi ſon ſejour par deca n'euſt eſté plus long que lui meſme ne'ſtimoit. Car autrement peut V. E. tenir pour tout certain, que je ſerois bien fort marri de laiſſer paſſer aucune occaſion, ni voir quelque un retourner vers V. E. les mains vuides ſans l'accompagner de mes Lettres, tant pour obeir au Commandement qu'il lui en a pleu me faire, que pour toujours de plus en plus l'accertener de l'entiere & ſincere Affection & Zele que j'ay voué au tres humble Service de ſa Majeſté & auſſi à V. E. aucune volonté conſtante d'y employer tous les moyens qu'il plaira au Seigneur Dieu me largir, ſans m'eſpargner aucunement en ce qui concernera l'accroiſſement & la Proſperité & Grandeur de ſa Majeſté, ne veuillant à ce regard faillir de m'employer par tous debuoirs & offices requis, tant vers Meſſieurs les Eſtats que tous autres, qu'il ſera beſoing, afin que mettant en bonne conſideration la conjoncture du temps & de la ſaiſon preſente, ſe puiſſent au pluſtoſt ſur tout prendre telles & ſi fructueuſes reſolutions, que pour le maintenement de la gloire de Dieu & ſa vraye Religion, le Service de ſa Majeſté & la deliurance de ces poures Provinces Vnies de tant de Miſeres & Calami-

tés, ſe trouveront le plus propres & plus convenables, veuillans les habitants de ceſd. Provinces & moy cependant fermement eſperer que ſa Majeſté leur continuera ſa Royale benignité, faveurs, & liberalité accouſtumées, & que davantage, nous aurons par ſon bon congé cet heur de revoir bien-toſt V. E. par deca, choſe par moy infiniment deſirée tant pour le bien des Affaires publiques, & ces pays, que pour pouvoir de ma part luy faire tant meilleure preuve par les Effects de la volonté continuelle que j'ay pour par tous debuoirs & tres humble obeiſſance recognoiſtre l'obligation que je dois à V. E. de laquelle baiſant tres humblement les mains, je ſupplieray Dieu.

Monſeigneur, Luy octroyer que ces choſes vertueuſes que V. E. entreprend, les fins qu'elle y pretend, puiſſent ſuccedder conforme à ſes bons & louables deſirs. Eſcrit à la Haye ce V. jour d'Auril 1587.

De V. Excellence

Bien humble Fils & Serviteur,

Maurice de Naſſau.

A Son Excellence.

Monſeigneur, ayant auec grand regret entendu, que le Roy de Dannemarc a fais arreſter en Son Royaume tous les batteaux & biens appartenans aux inhabitants de ces Pays, Avons trouvé convenir deſpeſcher celle part aucuns Deputés pour entendre les raiſons, & requerir ſa Majeſté de les relaxer. Et affin d'adviſer ſur ce fait plus amplement auec Voſtre Seigneurie, Nous avons commis les Sieurs Adrien de Berchenrode Bourgue-Maiſtre de Haerlem, Nocholas Cornelis Vloeſueych, Mrs. Charles Boorda, & Jean van den Warch, requerans qu'il plaiſe à Votre Seigneurie leur donner pleine foy, & credence, à tant prions le Createur vous donner.

Monſeigneur en parfaite ſanté longue & heureuſe vie, nous recommandans bien affectueuſement en Voſtre bonne grace. Eſcript à la Haye ce VI. de May 1587.

W. Roelfins V.

De Voſtre Seigneurie

Bien Affectionnés amis les Etats Generaux des Provinces des Pays bas.

Par Ordonnance de Noſs. les Eſtats.

Aerſſens.

A Son Excellence.

Monſeigneur, Ayant eſté informés que V. E. a donne au Collanel Morgan une Commiſſion pour aller auec ſa Compagnie à Zeuenbergen en la place du Baron de Creange, & y commander en qualité de Gouverneur, nous nous trouvons obligés de repreſenter bien humblement à V. E. qu'icy dans le Païs de Hollande ni dans aucun quartier dud. païs il n'y a jamais eu aucuns Gouverneurs particuliers, & qu'on n'y en peut eſtablir aucun, ce qui auſſi a eſté declaré pluſieurs fois par nos Commiſſaires qui ont aſſiſté au Traité en Angleterre, & quant au Baron de Creange on ne lui a jamais donné Commiſſion de Gouverneur. C'eſt pourquoi nous prions tres humblement V. E. qu'elle n'introduiſe en cela aucune nouveauté, & ne donne au ſuſd. Collonel Morgan, aucune Commiſſion de Gouverneur à Zeuenbergen, ni dans aucune autre place de Hollande.

Nous ſuppliions auſſi par celle cy V. E. de donner ordre à ce que le Capitaine Renton Ecoſſois auec ſes gens qui ſont venus de Wachtendonck tous deſarmés, & qui ſont au nombre de quatorze ou quinze, ſoient caſſés, parce que nous apprenons qu'on n'en peut attendre aucun bon Service, & qu'on ſeroit obligé d'entretenir icy en Hollande leſd. Soldats ſans en tirer aucun ſervice, ce qui ſeroit une grande deſpenſe inutile à le charge du Païs, Nous prions Dieu, Monſeigneur, qu'il lui plaiſe conſerver V. E. & lui donner touſjours de gouverner heureuſement. A la Haye 21 Aouſt 1585.

Traduit du Hollandois.

Vos tres Humbles

Les Cheualiers, Nobles & Villes de Hollande, Repreſentans les Eſtats dud Païs.

Par l'Ordonnance de Noſſrs. Signée.

A Son Excellence.

Monſeigneur,

Nous conſiderons bien hors le contenu des Lettres qu'il a pleu à V. E. nous eſcrire, & ce que le Sieur de Shoone Walle porteur d'icelles nous à fait entendre, que V. E. eſt tres bien informée de l'Eſtat auquel

les

les Provinces Vnies ſont reduites par la perte de la ville de Deuenter & Fort deuant Zutphen, que V. E. en a auſſi grand regret que la conſequence nous porte de mal, & menace pluſieurs inconueniens. Et partant ne repeterons icy ce que depuis nous & Meſſieurs du Conſeil d'Eſtat en auons plus emplement eſcrit à V. E. avec une certaine Confidence que V. E. aura receu & interpreté noſtre devoir ſainement, procedé d'une vraye Affection & Obligation Naturelle que nous avons à noſtre propre conſervation & le maintiennement de noſtre Eſtat, auquel endroit nous ne flechirons iuſques au dernier. Ce enſuivant nous auons incontinent apres le deſaſtre aduenu de la perte de Deuenter, commencé à donner Ordre pour empeſcher que l'ennemi ne face plus grande Invaſion, & continuerons ſi auant que nos moyens ſe pourront extendre, nonobſtant que les factions, que nous auons trouvé, & continuent encore en pluſieurs Villes, cauſent des grands maulx, & mettant icelles villes en bien grands dangiers & hazard, tellement qu'il eſt à craindre qu'elles feront & commettront choſes contre leur honneur & ſerment. V. E. ſcait ou que le mal nous preſſe le plus, & que faute de moyens nous empeſcher de pouvoir faire, ce qu'autrement il conuiendroit bien, & auons tres bonne volonté, & que pour ce nous auons prins noſtre recours vers ſa Majeſté auec preallable aduis de V. E. pour eſtre aſſiſtés d'icelle, comme ſeul & vrai moyen pour redreſſer l'Eſtat, & que à cette fin nous auons interpellé la faueur de V. E. connoiſſans ſa ſinguliere affection à noſtre conſervation, comme auſſi il nous conforte beaucoup que V. E. nous mande les Interceſſions qu'elle fait journement à ſa Majeſté auec nos Deputés, dont la remercions tres humblement, & attendons vne brieue & bonne reſolution, aſſeurans V. E. que nous nous eſverturimes au poſſible, & que ne manqurons en rien en noſtre Debuoir, procedans touſjours rondement & ſincerement, de la meſme bonne foy, fidelité, & correſpondence, auec laquelle nous auons juſques à preſent maintenu le pays, & auons fait paroiſtre par pluſieurs nos Remonſtrances. A quoy ayderoit beaucoup s'il pleut à V. E. (comme auſſi la prions tres humblement) nous croire à nous auſquels il compete, & qui auons à perdre, & ſommes engagés auec femmes & enfans, & renuoyer d'aupres de luy nos Calumniateurs, qui n'ont rien à perdre, qui interpretent toutes nos actions en mal, & ſont cauſe que V. E. nous a eſcript les Lettres du IIIe de Januier ſur les propos qui auroient eſté tenus d'aulcuns de nous en noſtre Aſſemblée & Conſeils, dont oncques n'auons eu la moindre penſée. Il nous contriſte le cœur que nonobſtant l'experience des choſes paſſées & le hazard & peril où tels eſprits tiennent encores pluſieurs Communaultés des villes, & noſtre Eſtat, iceux ont encore ce credit. Certes Monſeigneur, les propos & Conſeils que nous tenons en noſtre Aſſemblée, Communications & Conferences, ont touſjours eſté & ſont encore d'une aultre ſubſtance, comme V. E. les a peu connoiſtre par pluſieurs nos Remonſtrances, & eſt noſtre Vnion mieux liguée que de la vouloir rompre ou deffaire pour les munités dung Bourgmaſtre ou Recepveur, nous ſommes accouſtumés comme auſſi ont eſté nos Predeceſſeurs de remonſtrer à nos Princes & Gouverneurs librement les deſordres, & contraventions que nous trouuons contre nos Privileges & Libertés, comme auons fait à V. E. eſtant icy, & depuis par noſd. Lettres, ce que nous auons touſjours tenu eſtre de noſtre debuoir, & vray moyen pour paruenir au redres deſd. des Ordres. Pleuſt à Dieu que nos Remonſtrances & Reſolutions fondées ſur les Libertées & Privileges du pays, n'euſſent eſté contremines (comme aulcuns particuliers ſe ſont vantés) le pays ne ſeroit en tel deſtroict, & ſi plein des Factions comme il eſt preſentement; mais puis que des choſes faictes les Conſeils ſont arreſtées, nous auons prins les affaires en l'eſtat où elles ſont maintenant, prians bien fort qu'il plaiſe à V. E. doreſenauant iuger de nos actions par meilleure experience & cognoiſſance, comme il eſt requis pour le maintiennement de noſtre Eſtat, & ſur cette confidence. Supplions auſſi bien humblement qu'il plaiſe à V. E. nous continuer ſa faueur, & tant faire & aſſiſter noſd. Deputés vers ſad. Majeſté qu'icelle ſoit ſervie, ſe reſoudre ſur nos Requeſtes, & nous accorder augmentation de ſon ſecours, pour de bonne heure pouuoir remedier le tout, raſſeurer noſtre Eſtat, & mettre temprement forces en Campagne pour faire teſte à l'ennemy, Par où nous demeurerons à jamais obligés à V. E. & reconnoiſtrons que ce bien nous ſera venu par la ſeule aſſiſtance d'icelle. Les Compagnies Angloiſes tant de cheual que de pied à la charge de ſa Majeſté ayans delaiſſez les frontieres ſe ſont jettés en Hollande, où ils foulent & mangent le bon homme, ſous pretexte qu'ils diſent n'auoir receu aucun payement en cinq mois, ce que cauſe grande alteration par deſſus l'amoindriſſement des contributions du plat pays, & comme ils tiennent journellement pluſieurs propos eſtranges contre lad. Province d'Hollande, & qu'ils y veuillent pourchaſſer leur payement, a eſté trouué bon de les faire contenir où ils ſont, dont nous auons bien volu aduertir V. E. afin qu'il pleuſt à icelle mander l'ordre qui conuient, & principalement qu'ils ſoient mieux payés, leſd. Anglois ont refuſé de paſſer monſtre, ce que tend au grand de ſervice de ſa Majeſté & du Pays, d'aultant que ſix Compagnies d'icelles ne ſcauront faire une Compagnie de deux cent Teſtes, a tant ſupplions le Createur.

Signé Wynbergen.

Monſeigneur,

De conſerver V. E. en parfaite ſanté, longue vie, à la Haye ce 1. jour de Mars 1587.

De Voſtre Excellence,

Bien Affectionnés Amys

Les Eſtats Generaux des Provinces Vnies des Pays Bas.

Par Ordonnance deſd. Seigneurs Eſtats

Aerſſens.

A ſon Excellence.

Monſeigneur,

NOus avons entendu par celle de V. E. datée le jour de cette, qu'à icelle ſeroit remonſtré qu'un feroit icy aulcune leuée de gens de guerre, ce que nous eſt inconnu, puis que jamais pour ce à nous n'a eſté faite aulcune requiſition, il eſt bien vray que paſſé cinq ans, a eſté leuée une Compagnie de gens de guerre de cent & cinquante teſtes, pour la garde de cette Ville, comme en pluſieurs autres Villes d'Hollande, dequoy les cinquante eſtans à la charge du pays l'année paſſée, ont eſté caſſés de par l'Ordre de V. E. & les reſtans cent teſtes, eſtans ſeulement à la charge de cette Ville, ſommes accouſtumés, pour meſnager l'argent contre l'eſté, de reduire à ſeptante cinq teſtes, & derechief au preſent ſaiſon, aſſcauoir contre l'hyuer prochain, renforcer auec les vingt & cinq teſtes, pour pouuoir faire les ſentinelles aux nuicts fort longues.

Ayans partant depuis nagueres ſelon la vielle couſtume renforcée la garde auec leſd. vingt & cinq perſonnes, des mancuures de cette ville, ſans faire aulcun ſemblant de leuée ou aultrement, laquelle garde eſt payée ſur les deſpens du pays: Parquoy requerons tres humblement qu'il plaiſe à V. E. puis qu'icy n'a paſſé aultre choſe ni auſſi aulcune leuée de gens de guerre, ne donner aulcune foy à ceux faiſans telles ſiniſtres & autres diverſes calumnies contre cette Ville & nous, ſur quoy,

Monſeigneur, prions Dieu le Tout-puiſſant d'auoir V. E. en ſa protection. Eſcript à Delft le XVIII. de Septembre, 1587.

De V. Excellence

Les tres humbles Serviteurs,

Bourguemaiſtres, Eſchevins & Conſauls de la Ville de Delft.

A ſon Excellence.

Monſeigneur,

CEulx des Finances, Nous ſont venus remonſtrer, eſtans que entrés en liquidation auec ceulx d'Vtrecht pour le payement de leurs quotes, tant ordinaires, que extraordinaires, apportans leſd. d'Vtrecht pluſieurs parties en deſpenſe, leſquelles il ſemble auſd. des Finances ne pouoir ni debuoir eſtre paſſés, & entr'aultres une de dixhuict mille Liures de gros, dont le Colonel Norrits a paſſé ſon obligation, meſmes V. E. a promis ſous ſa ſignature de la faire payer, procedant lad. obligation de deſpens faicts en lad. Ville par la Compagnie de Cauallerie dud. Colonel, & quelques Compagnies d'Infanterie Angloiſe. Quoy nonobſtant il a ſemblé auſd. des Finances que la dicte obligation ne pouuoit eſtre portée en diminution de la quote deſdicts d'Vtrecht, & que quand elle y auroit eſté paſſée, les Eſtats Generaux ſe en trouueroient intereſſés, & prendroient occaſion de reprendre leſdictes des Finances qui l'auroient faite, d'autant que leſdictes Compagnies ſont à la charge de ſa Majeſté, qui à cauſe que apres pluſieurs diſputes la dicte partie a eſté rayée, non toutesfois ſans grandiſſimes contradictions deſdicts d'Vtrecht, proteſtans ouvertement qu'ils ne vouloient aulcunement ladicte radiation auoir lieu, & qu'ils ſeroient conſtraints de retenir leurs moyens & quote iuſques au payement de ladicte obligation, aultrement qu'ils n'auoient moyen de contenir & contenter leurs Bourgeois Crediteurs de ladicte ſomme, toutesfois apres pluſieurs Remonſtrances ils ſont condeſcendus ſi auant, qu'ils en puiſſent conſuiure le payement du Treſorier de ſa Majeſté en vn, deux ou trois payemens deſdictes Compagnies, auſquelles ledict Treſorier aura moyen de le defalquer ſur leurs payes: Requerans que à cette fin leur fuſſent données Lettres à V. E. afin qu'il lui pleuſt ordonner audict Treſorier de ainſi le faire. Ce que trouuans fondé en raiſon, Auons bien voulu ſupplier V. E. que ſon bon plaiſir ſoit de donner ordre que leſdicts Bourgeois d'Vtrecht, ſelon l'obligation dudict Colonel & Signature de V. E. ſur ce enſuyuie, puiſſent eſtre payés de ladicte ſomme de XVIII. mil Livres par ledict Treſorier de ſa Majeſté en vn, deux au trois payemens deſdictes Compagnies, ſelon que V. E. trouuera conuenir, afin que pour l'aduenir en des cas ſemblables ſon credit puiſſe tant mieux eſtre maintenu, & ne ſeruant reſte à aultre fin, prions Dieu,

Monſeigneur. Conſeruer V. E. en longue & beureuſe vie, d'Vtrecht le XI. de Sept. 1586.

de Machau.

De V. Excellence
Tres humbles & obeiſſans Seruiteurs,
Ceulx du Conſeil d'Eſtat.

Actes

Actes touchant la Ville de Gertruydenberghe Memoires.

Certains Articles ont esté presenté à Monsieur le Gouuerneur de la Ville de Vlissinghen par les mains de Monsieur de Treslon jadis Admiral, & de la part de certains bien affectionnés au bien public, & nommement à l'appaisement d'alteration aduenue en la Ville de Gertrudenberghe.

Ces Articles contenoient entre aultres que la Garnison dudict Gertrudenberghe, se pourroit contenter de quatres, six au huict mois, moyennant qu'ils fussent presentés de la part de sa Majesté d'Angleterre.

Les mesmes Articles furent apres communiqués à Monsieur de Killigrey Conseiller d'Estat, & joinctement apostillés de sa main propre, comme il appert par les Apostilles.

Du depuis Monseigneur de Willughby Gouverneur & Lieutenant General pour sa Majesté est arriué en l'Isle de Walcheren sans auoir ou communication desdicts Articles.

Aulcuns jours apres l'arriuement de Monseigneur est aduenu que Monsieur de Killegrey est party pour Hollande, sans que Monseigneur ait aucunement esté informé desdicts Articles.

Certains jours apres, M. Jehan Hontley de la suite de Monseigneur, est entré en communication aueo le susdict Treslon pour aultres Affaires, laquelle communication ou pour mieux dire amiable conference estant aschepuée, a ledict Treslon fait mention audict Hontley du faict de Gertrudenberghe en referant succinctement & en bref le contenu desdicts Articles, Requerant que Monseigneur en seroit aduerty bien particulierement en cas que sa Seigneurie n'auoit leu lesdicts Articles.

Suiuant la Requisition dudict Treslon de rapport en a esté fait à Monsiegneur, lequel declaroit de n'auoir rien entendu de ce mis en auant, ni mesmes des Articles susdicts.

Le iour ensuivant se trouuant Monseigneur à Vlissinghen il entra en communication auec le ledict Treslon, en presence de Monsieur le Gouverneur, & de Monsieur le Sergeant Major de la Nation Angloise, & entre autres sur ce faict. Estant de retour à Middlebourgh fut donné ordre que par Monseigneur le Conte Maurice de Nassau certain passeport fust espedié, pour celuy qui se vantoit par lesdicts Articles de pouuoir faire vn tant auantageux appointement auec la garnison dudict Gertruydenberghe, afin qu'en vertue d'iceluy passport il se pourroit librement transporter audict Gertruydenberghe à la fin que dessus.

Et ne fut par ledict passeport en datte du premier de Juin 1588. pas seulement aduoüé & approuué le Voyage à faire, mais aussi un voyage qui auparauant estoit, faict à raison duquel il disoit que les Estats de Hollande lui vouloient mal.

Le susdict passeport a esté deliuré audict personnage qui estoit le Capitaine Van den Brouche par ledict Hontley, en presence dudict Sr Treslon.

Et afin de pouuoir mieux entendre le contenu desdicts Articles a ledict Hontley tiré copie d'iceux & des Apostilles, les ayant deliuré à Monseigneur, auquel ces Memoires se referrent.

Le susdict Capitaine Van den Brouche ne se contentant dudict Passeport, ains desirant d'auoir Lettres de Credence de Monseigneur aux susdicts de Gertrudenberghe, l'expedition desdictes Lettres a esté faicte, & luy ont lesdictes Lettres de Credence, esté exhibées par ledict Hontley en presence dudict Sr Treslon.

Et comme pour faire ledict Voyage vers Gertruydenberghe il conuenoit porter aulcuns despens, à cette cause Monseigneur a promis par ledict Hontley aud. Capitaine Van Brouche de Frayer, tous ses despens, en cas de bon succés, encore qu'iceux portassent quatre cent Francs monnoye de Flandres, lui promettant d'auantage de vouloir tenir la bonne main, qu'il seroit vltericurement recompensé de sa Majesté, s'il pouuoit mettre son mis en auant en execution, suivant quoy on esperoit asseurement que ledict Van Brouche debuoit entreprendre ce voyage pour effecteur ce qu'il auoit mis en auant, mais tant s'en fait qu'il ait procedé vltericurement en besoigne, qu'au contraire il a remuoyé audict Hontley le susd. passeport auec les Lettres de Credence, y joinct certaine missives du Secretaire de Monsieur le Gouuerneur de Vlissinghen en datte du quatriéme de Juin 1588. contenant que led. Sieur van den Brouche estoit changé d'opinion, d'autans qu'il auoit entendu que le Conte de Hohenloe s'auroit vanté de se vouloir resentir du precedent voyage, estant tout ce que dessus exhibé à Monseigneur, affin d'entendre comme de jour à autre le tout s'est passé.

LEs Estats Generaux des Prouinces Vnies, estant bien & deuëment informés, que du secours qu'il a pleu à sa Majesté d'Angleterre accorder à ces pays par dessus les garnisons des villes & places deliuées à sa Majesté, pour le rembourssement des deniers, qui pour le susd secours seront employés, il n'y a pas plus de trois mille hommes de pied Anglois & six cens cheuaux presens en cesd. Prouinces Vnies: Aussi que par les Comptes exhibées aux Estats par le Tresorier de sa Majesté, & par plusieurs autres Actes precedens, est assés apparu que plusieurs fraudes, maluersations, deservices & abus au dommage du pays, auec la jouissance du double traictement à une mesme personne à la charge du pays, en sont aduenus; par ce que par dessus led. secours de sa Majesté sont entretenus aulcuns Anglois tant à pied qu'a cheual, d'autant plus que les monstres deues par là s'empeschent. Et estans pareillement informés que toutes les Compaignies Angloises de pied estans à la charge du pays n'excedent le nombre de 1500 Soldats. Ont entendu & resolu que suyuant les promesses par son Excellence Monsieur le Conte de Leycester, à eulx faictes deuant son partement, les Reitres Anglois tant à pied qu'à cheual qui sont en Service à la charge du pays seront licentiés, & les pays deschargés du payement d'iceulx, & que lesd. Anglois tant à

pied

pied qu'à cheual ſeront reduicts ſous les Compaignies qui ſont du ſecours de ſad. Majeſté, affin que leſd. Compaignies puiſſent eſtre miſes en bon ordre, & rendues completes en conformité du Traicté faict auec ſa Majeſté & deſd. promeſſes faictes par ſon Excellence aux Eſtats, auec ce que aux Capitaines & Officiers d'icelles Compaignies eſtans preſens en ces pays, & qui ſeront licentiés & reduicts, ſera aduancq vn mois de gaiges à la charge du pays, & que aux Soldats au prochain payement qui ſe fera de la part de ſa Majeſté aud. ſecours, ſera payé vn mois ou deux, affin qu'iceulx puiſſent eſtre reduicts en ordre conuenable. Pour le faict de laquelle Caſſation & Reduction les ſuſd. Eſtats requierent d'entendre l'intention & reſolution des Seigneurs du Conſeil d'Eſtat; affin que ce enſuyuant ſur la ſuſd. Reduction & Caſſation puiſſe eſtre par eux aduiſé & reſolu comme il conuiendra. Ainſi faict & reſolu en l'Aſſemblée des Eſtats Generaux à la Haye le IX. de Fevrier, 1587. Paraphé Wynbergen, & ſigné Acreſens. Par Ordonnance deſd. Eſtats.

Nota, que cette Acte at eſté exhibée au Conſeil d'Eſtat ce iourdhuy XVI. de Mars, 1587. ſtilo novo.

A Meſſeurs du Conſeil d'Eſtat & ſon Excellence.

Meſſeurs,

J'Ay eu quelque eſpoir que ſur la propoſition que de part de ſon Excellence, & vous ſignés Vendredy dernierement paſſé, ay fait, euſſe eu pluſtoſt reſponſe & reſolution; mais puis que Samedi Meſſeurs les Eſtats d'Hollande tout le jour furent empeſchés pour la deſpeche de leurs Deputés, qui pour preſent ſont à Dordrecht prés ſon Excellence: Et que ce jourd'huy n'ay peu rien obtenir, nonobſtant tout debuoir que je y ay faict, à cauſe de l'abſence de l'Aduocat d'Hollande, mais l'on me donne eſpoir qu'il ſera encores cette nuict de retour, & alors ne faudrai de les preſſer pour ma depeſche tant qu'il me ſera poſſibile. Mais j'en trouue grande difficulté, non tant ſeulement par faute des deniers, mais que les Receueurs des moyens des principaux Cantoirs font difficulté, & refuſent tout à plat de plus en entrepoſer leur credit, pour biens que ſur termes l'on veut achepter, tant à cauſe que leurs receptes ſont encore chargés pour pluſieurs mois, que pource que ce bruit du Traité de pays, lequel ils tiennent pour tout aſſeuré, ils n'ayent quelque euident, voire tres certain changement & perturbation de tout l'Eſtat de ces pauures Prouinces, & que cela venant, l'Authorité des Eſtats & en tout euenement, leur receptes bien toſt ceſſeroient, & au moins ſe diminueroient pour la plus grande partie pour la retraicte neceſſaire de ces Prouinces de tant de mille hommes & familles, ne ſe confians aux puniques, & tant de fois fauſſees promeſſes de leurs mortels ennemis, ils ſe pleignent, auſſi comme auſſi font Meſſieurs les Eſtats, que une grandie partie des communs moyens ſe non payent & aneantiſſent par moyens indirectes, comme par furniſſement des armes & payement des Soldats, meſmes eſtans à la charge de ſa Majeſté: Comme tout le reuenu des pays de Voren, nonobſtant pour grand qu'il eſt, ſe conſume comme ils diſent, par preſte que l'on faict aux garniſons de la Briel d'où leſd. Eſtats n'en tirent nul rembourſement, ſinon aprés long temps & faſtidieuſes pourſuites, autres receptes & Cantoirs ſe conſument par voyuyres & ſemblables choſes, la pluſpart de peu d'importance, comme la recepte de Dordrecht & autres, de ſorte qu'ils ſe trouuent ſurchargés quaſi à l'impoſſibile, & nonobſtant les grandes difficultés que a leurs Seigneuries, ay propoſé en cas des refuys ou quelque long delay, de pourvoir les Villes d'Arnhem & là alentour, comme auſſi Villes de Bergh & Wachtendonck, je viens quaſi en deſeſpoir d'obtenir aucune choſe, ne ſe fuſt que ſon Excellence meſmes fiſſe un tour par deca, cependant ne faudray y faire tout debuoir pour l'apres diſné, ou demain, ſi autrement ne le puis obtenir, & en aduertiray ſon Excellence & vos Seigneuries (s'il me y faudrat encoires demeurer) ou de bouche, ſi toſt que apres le retour du ſuſd. Aduocat ou de Barneuelt, auray obtenu aucune finale reſponce, pluſieurs des Eſtats ſe plaignent auſſi que une Compagnie du Regiment du Colonel Cheneuelt, ſe paſſe icy à trauers Hollande vers Alcmaer, ſi lentement & quaſi de village en village, que en partie ils mangent le poure Villagois, eſtant empeſchés pour cuillir la moiſſon, ils ont eſté de nuict à Fremſtede pres Haerlon, certes quant on les veut enuoyer ſi auant au pays il les faudroit mener par certain Commiſſaire, & à bateau, & ſans ſe desbarquer, quant faire ſe peut. Les dicts Eſtats s'abhorrent quant on leur parle de redreſſer la Cornette du Cheualier Henrits, & la ſomme de 20000 Florins que au moins l'on y faudra employer, principalement eſtant l'hiuer deſia ſi pres, & qu'on tireroit ſi peu de ſeruice. Et ne ſeruant reſte à autre fin.

Prieray le Createur, que lui ne vous vuelle delaiſſer, mais en ces nouuelles tres grandes & extremes neceſſités, vous prendre en ſa ſauue & partenelle protection & garde, & preſeruer les poures Egliſes, ſon Ecxcellence & vos Seigneuries de ruine & toute aduerſité. En la Haye ce douze d'Aouſt, 1587.

Le tout humble & affectionné
pour vous faire Service,
Ciuille Bardes.

à cauſe que dedans la Ville de Dantzits l'on n'ait quaſi 20000 laſts de ſeigle, & à Coningſberg bien peu de froment, & qu'il n'arrive quelque malheur en Pologne, pour la diſſention qui y eſt pour l'Election du nouueaux Roy, l'on n'y permet plus aucune erection de grain, ce qui tien icy les grains à haut pryx, & diminuent la caſſe de noſtre traffique & Convoys.

A ſon Excellence.

Monſeigneur,

JUſques ores n'ay oſé prendre la hardieſſe de vous eſcrire, pour ce que ne ſuis ſtilé en la Language Francoiſe, comme V. Excellence le ſcait, & auſſi mal apprins pour en tant de diuerſités des choſes, à vn Prince bien toucher d'enargie de la vraye cauſe, je me ſuis juſques icy conſolé de l'eſpoir qu'on nous a donné du retour de V. E. mais maintenant par vos derniéres entendant le peu d'apparence (pour encores) & voyant de jour à aultre, nos affaires par des mal entendus qui ſon parmi nous, & les jelouſies, diſſidences & deſordre, qui en prouiennent, aller de pis en pis, voire tendantes à la ruyne, ſi bien toſt par la preſence de V. E. n'y eſt pourveu: Et quod periculum eſt in mora, me trouuant pouſſé en ma Conſcience, pour l'aquit de mon ſerment que je doy à ma partie, & V. E. j'ay prins la hardieſſe de eſcrire ces preſentes, & par icelles le mieux que je puis, & tant ſerieuſement qu'il m'eſt aucunement poſſible prier V. E. qu'il luy plaiſe de accelerer ſon retour par deça. Car humainement je ne voy aultre remede pour aſſopier les malheurs ſuſdits, & aſſeurer ceſt eſtat, que par la ſplendeur & preſence de Voſtre Excellence, laquelle tant par la cognoiſſance qu'elle a deſia mieux de nos affaires que nul aultre perſonnage, que ſa Majeſté pourroit enuoyer, que pour le reſpect & ſincere affection que je m'aſſeure la meilleure & plus ſaine partie de ces pays luy porte, ſeruira grandement pour aſſopier les differents & difficultés ſuruenues par l'abſence d'icelle, & conſequemment pour l'aſſeurances de ces poures Prouinces. Je ſcay, Monſeigneur, que la Requeſte que je fay eſt grande, & fort incommode pour la grandeur de V. Excellence, laquelle illecq plainement peult jouir du comble de tous ſes deſirs, & que à l'encontre cette Province & charge eſt plaine de labeurs, moleſtations & dangers, auſſi qu'icelle me pourra reſpondre, encores que voluntiers poſtpoſant tous ſes plaiſirs, commodités & grandeurs par delà comme l'année paſſée pour l'amour de la vraye Parolle de Dieu, & par pitié de tant de peuple qui luy eſt comme, ſe poulroit reſoudre de ſe tranſporter par deça, que les Affaires depuis le partement de V. Excellence ſont venus en tels termes, qu'il ſemble qu'on ne face plus de compte d'icelle, & que l'authorité à luy deferée eſt fort diminuée: La Nation Angloiſe, haye & mal traictée, & beaucoup d'aultres deſquels ſommes journellement aduertis, que V. Excellence en recoit journellement pluſieurs rapports dequoy icelle pourroit inferer qu'on ne deſire icy ſon retour, & qu'on ne doit attendre aultre fin que la totale ruine de ceſt Eſtat, & que conſequement le retour de V. Excellence ne ſeruiroit que à la leſion de ſa magnanimité, grandeur & reputation, &c. Monſeigneur veu que j'ay commencé prendre la hardieſſe de parler ſi priuement auec V. Excellence, & faire ceſte priere, laquelle V. Excellence ſe peult aſſeurer venir du fond du cœur de celuy qui en cecy n'a aultre reſpect que l'aduanchement de la gloire de Dieu & du bien publie, & ne deſire aucun ſien aduanchement, ſinon de demeurer tres-humble Seruiteur de V. Excellence, je me treuue conſtrainct de reſpondre, ſur le ſuſdict, non que je veux entreprendre, ny me tiens qualifié pour debatre ou excuſer tout ce qui peult eſtre aduenu, ou maintenir la cauſe des Eſtats. Car au contraire, en diuers reſpects auons ſouſtenu maints debats contre eux, mais laiſſant le debat à ceux qu'il appartient, combien que je ſcay que je me aduanche fort d'entrer en une matiere tant ardue, toutesfois j'eſpere que V. Excellence ne prendra qu'en bonne part, ſi en ſaine Conſcience, ſuiuant la cognoiſſance que par longue experience puis auoir aprins des affaires de ce pays, je lui declare en ſomme mon ſimple jugement, c'eſt que je m'aſſeure s'il plaiſt à V. Excellence ſe reſoudre pour venir par deça, comme tous deſirons, eſperons & prions tres affectueuſement, que ſa perſonne ſera ſi bien venue & reſpectée, qu'elle n'a eſté oncques, ni luy manquera riens de l'authorité à luy deferée, & que ſa preſence plus que de nul aultre perſonnage nous ſeruira en cette conjoincture pour plus grande aſſeurance de ceſt Eſtat, que une armée contre l'ennemy: Et auſſi pour remedier à beaucoup de maux & inconueniens qui nous menacent: principalement, s'il luy plaiſt benignement entendre les raiſons tant des uns que des aultres, & par aduys de conſeil du pays remedier aux deſordres entre le payement de gens de guerre qui ſont grands, & ſans le redrés deſquels, à mon ſimple jugement, ſera fort difficile de maintenir ceſt Eſtat en ſon entier. Je ne doute auſſi que V. Excellence informant au vray de tout ce qui peult eſtre aduenu, qu'elle trouuera par effect que pluſieurs ſiniſtres & pernicieux rapports luy ont eſté faicts, dont les aulcuns ont peché par faulte de la vraye cognoiſſance de nos affaires, aultres par ambition, quelque intereſt, offenſions ou aultres reſpects

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particuliers, & pluſieurs ſans doubte à cela ſont apoſtés par l'ennemy, lequel, comme ſeurement ſommes aduertis, s'en promet beaucoup, en ſorte que leſd. malentendus & inconuenients (qui par la preſence de V. Excellence i'eſpere bien toſt ſeront aſſopiés) ſont plus grande breſche à noſtre Eſtat, & ſont plus à craindre que l'ennemy. I'eſtime auſſi fermement, quant les actions de Eſtats ſeront bien examinés (combien que je ne les veux excuſer) que V. Excellence en pluſieurs reſpects trouuera raiſons pregnantes, & que pour le maintenement de ceſt Eſtat, la neceſſité les a conſtraincts de faire pluſieurs choſes qu'ils ont faict, & encores qu'il y pourroit eſtre quelque abus, ſoit en leur Lettres ou aultrement, V. Excellence pourra eſtre aſſeurée, qu'il n'eſt procedé d'aulcune deſaffection ou malveuillance, contre V. Excellence ou la Nation Angloiſe, ny auſſi pour vouloir mener nos affaires au deſeſpoir, comme aulcuns malveuillans l'ont interpreté (car par effect en toutes neceſſités par leurs contributions ils ont touſjours bien monſtré le contraire) mais que l'extremité en laquelle ils ont trouué l'eſtat du pays, au département de V. Excellence, & les difficultés pour le redreſſement d'icelluy & maintenement de ceſt Eſtat entre tant de malentendus, auſſi pour parler librement, l'acte ſecret de V. Excellence, & l'inobeiſſance des gens de guerre de la Nation Angloiſe enſuyvie, y ont donné grande occaſion. Mais tout poſtpoſé, combien que noſtre Eſtat eſt fort miſerable, toutesfois la ferme conſtance & reſolution, & le bon zele & affection tant à ſa Majeſté, qu'a V. Excellence que je treuue encore tant entre les Eſtats & principales Membres des Villes & Prouinces, que aultres pluſieurs gens de bien, qui choiſiront pluſtoſt toutes incommodités de ce monde, voires la mort propre, que de ſe rendre à aultre que à la vraye Religion, conformée auec la Parole de Dieu, leſquelles j'eſtime encors eſtre la meilleure & plus ſaine partie de ces Prouinces, & que icelles ſont encors en leur entier, comme V. Excellence les at laiſſés, ſaulf la malheureuſe perte de la Ville Deuenter, me font fermement eſperer que la preſence de V. Excellence, & la continuation de la faueur de ſa Majeſté enuers ces pays deſolés, non ſeulement redreſſeront, mais auſſi aſſeureront entierement ceſts Eſtats, & nous deliureront de beaucoup de maux qui nous menacent, & que je prie le Dieu Omnipotent nous accorder par ſa benigne Grace, & apres mes tres humbles Recommandations pour vous,

Monſeigneur, heureuſement conduire vers deca en ſon Gouuernement, & lui en tous ſes conſeils aſſiſter par ſon Sainct Eſprit. De la Haye en Hollande ce IX. d'Auril, 1586. ſtilo novo.

De V. Excellence
très humble Serviteur,
Enos Teellinck.

A Monſieur Belle, Secretaire de la Royne d'Anglettere:

Monſieur,

JE ferois tort à la ſuffiſance de Monſieur d'Auerly, ſi par cette Lettre je vous faiſois entendre, par le menu, comme nos affaires ont paſſé ſur l'auancement & acheminement de noſtre armée, auec les occaſions & conſequences du long ſejours que nos Allemans ont fait aux enuirons de la Ville de Straſbourg: Car ledict Sieur d'Auerly à toute cognoiſſance de chacune particularité; & outre cela eſt tellement affectionné au bien public & au ſervice du Roy de Navarre, qu'il ne peult rien oublier de ce qui s'eſt paſſé, meſmes qu'outre la peine & trauail du voyage il a bien voulu aduancer les fraix d'icelluy, auſquels il m'a eſté impoſſible de fourniir. Il paſſera par Hollande, affin de faire entendre à Monſieur le Comte de Leiceſtre, ce que les gens de bien eſtiment eſtre à eſperer ou craindre de noſtre Armée, & de là paſſera en Angletterre vers ſa Majeſté, à laquelle je ſupplie ledict Seigneur Comte eſcrire, & aux Seigneurs de ſon Conſeil pour recommandation des affaires du Roy de Nauarre, & des Egliſes de France, les particularités deſquelles il eſt plus que neceſſaire que ſa Majeſté cognoiſſe par les vrays advys qu'elle en aura de la bouche dudict Sieur d'Auerly, qui s'eſt auſſi chargé de vous voir & ſaluer de ma part & rendre cette Lettre. Et d'aultant que l'experience a fait cognoiſtre au Roy de Navarre, qu'elle grande affection & bons effices il a pleu touſjours apporter à ce qui concerne l'honneur de Dieu & le repos des affligés, je me ſuis promis qui les termes de la neceſſité preſente vous croiſtront encores le Courage de continuer, ſans qu'il ſoit beſoing vous en faire autres plus inſtantes prieres que, celles que vous en fera de ma part ledict Sieur d'Auerly, lequel je vous ſupplye d'auoir pour bien recommandé, tant pour auoir bonne deſpeſche de ſa Majeſté, que pour la commodité & ſeureté de ſon retour que je deſire eſtre de briefz, & de demeurer touſjours en vos bonnes graces, que je ſallue de mes humbles recommandations, & prye Dieu de vous donner, Monſieur en bonne ſanté, heureuſe & longue vye. De Francfort ce XXVI. jour d'Aouſt, 1587.

Voſtre obeiſſant ami
à vous faire Service.
Segur Pardeilhan.

Ths

To our right truſty and well beloved Councellor Edward *Lord* Littleton, *Keeper of our Great Seal of* England.

RIght truſty and well beloved Councellor, we greet you well: We wonder both at the Form and Matter of that encloſed Paper ye ſent us (in the Name of both Houſes of Parliament, in yours of *March* the 28.) it being neither by way of Petition, Declaration or Letter, and for matter we believe it in the firſt time that the Houſes of Parliament have taken upon them the Nomination or Recommendation of the chief Sea-commander, but it adds to the Wonder, that Sir *John Pennington* being already appointed by us for that Service upon the Recommendation of our Admiral (which is ſo well known that none can be ignorant of it) and no fault ſo much as alledged againſt him, another ſhould be recommended to us. Therefore our reſolution upon this Point is, that we will not alter him, whom we have already appointed to Command this Years Fleet, whoſe every way ſufficiency is ſo univerſally known, the which we are confident our Admiral (if there ſhall be occaſion) will make moſt evident (againſt whoſe teſtimony we ſuppoſe our Parliament will not except.) And though there were yet none appointed, or the ſaid Sir *John* (through ſome accident) not able to perform the Service, yet the Men of that profeſſion are ſo well known to us (beſides many other Reaſons) that (our Admiral excepted becauſe of his Place) recommendation of that kind would not be acceptable to us.

Given at our Court at York *the laſt of* March, 1642.

The King to the Mayor of Kingſton *upon* Hull.

TRuſty and well Beloved, we greet you well: Whereas we have been long ſenſible of the juſt Complaints and great Burthens of our Subjects in theſe Northern Parts, by occaſion of the Garriſon in our Town of *Hull*, and whereas we were upon *Friday* the 22*d.* of this Month, petitioned by divers of the Gentry and other Inhabitants of this County, that the Munition at *Hull*, might remain in the Magazine there for ſecurity of our Perſon and of all theſe Northern Parts, therefore being much grounded upon the Parliaments Relations of Foreign Invaſions: upon which the more to expreſs our Care of our Peoples Safety, we did our ſelf go in Perſon to that our Town, that upon our own view, we might conſult what proportion of it might be fitly removed upon any preſſing Occaſion, having reſpect to the promiſed Supply for *Scotland*, the neceſſary Uſe of Arms for *Ireland* as well as for the Safeguard and Satisfaction of theſe Northern Parts. But much contrary to our Expectation and the Duty and Allegiance of our Subjects, we found the Gates of our Town ſhut, and the Bridges drawn up againſt us, and tho we came in a peaceable way, repoſing the greateſt Confidence in the Love and Loyalty of our People, by offering (as we did) to put our own Perſon and our two Sons, but with twenty Horſe into that Town, there being in it a Garriſon of about eight hundred Souldiers; yet we were not only denied entrance, but in a Warlike manner oppoſed by Sir *John Hotham*, the armed Men being placed in all the Ports and about all the Walls of the Town, alledging (tho falſly) for his excuſe, the Command of the Parliament, and being preſſed by us to ſhew ſuch an Order in Writing, he could not do it, for we were ever very confident, that there was never any publick Order of theirs, that could ſo much as imply a denial to our Admiſſion, we knowing well enough, that he was entruſted by them, for a Guard and Security of that place againſt Foreign Enemies, or thoſe at home, who are diſaffected in Religion, and not againſt his natural Sovereign, which hoſtile Oppoſition and actual Levying of War againſt our Perſon, being by the Statute of 25. of *Edw.* 3. enacted High Treaſon. Which Statute conſidered, and that for the avoiding all Jealouſies as we have ſaid, we were content to have been admitted with ſo very ſmall a Number in our Company. We were thereupon conſtrained to proclaim the ſaid Sir *John Hotham*, and all thoſe that ſhould adhere to, or aſſiſt him, Traytors. Of all which above-ſaid Paſſages we have acquainted our Parliament demanding Juſtice to be done upon him, that they might thereby have opportunity to vindicate the Imputation laid on them by Sir *John Hotham*, and we the eaſier way to chaſtiſe according to Law ſo high a Treaſon. And leaſt a Miſunderſtanding of our Intentions, or of the Law might miſguide any of our Loyal and Well-affected Subjects, the Inhabitants, Captains, Officers or Souldiers in that Town, we have thought fit to offer to your conſideration the afore-named Statute with that of the 11. of *Hen.* 7. *Chap.* 1. Wherein it is declared by the unanimous Aſſent of Parliament, *That the Subjects of this Realm are bound by Duty of Allegiance to ſerve the King for the time being, for the Defence of his Perſon and Land againſt any Rebellion, Might or Power raiſed againſt him, and with his Majeſty to enter or abide in Service, in Battel, if need ſo require.*

And it was therefore Enacted, *That from thenceforth, no Person whatsoever, that shall attend upon the King, or be in place by his Command within or without the Land, that for the same Deed and true Service of Allegiance, he and they be no way attaint or convict of High Treason or of other Offences for that Cause, by any Process of Law, whereby he or any of them shall lose or forfeit Lives, Lands, Tenements, Goods or any thing; but for that Deed and Service utterly discharged of any Vexation, Trouble or Loss; and if any Act or Acts or other Process of Law thereupon for the same happen to be made contrary to this Ordinance, that then that Act or Acts or other Process of the Law whatsoever they shall be, stand and be utterly void.*

All which together with the Copies of our Message and Petition (which we send here enclosed) we require you to publish to the Inhabitants, and all such Commanders and Souldiers as will hear them, that knowing both the Peril of the Law on the one side, and the Security of such as shall adhere to us on the other, they be not misled (through ignorance) to decline their Allegiance, and that the Souldiers may lay down their Arms, and admit our entrance in a peaceable way. In so doing you shall both discharge your Duties, and those that shall have need, be assured to find (upon such their Submission) our ready Mercy and Pardon. And we do likewise require and charge all you the Inhabitants (as well Souldiers as others) upon your Allegiance, that you permit not any part of our Magazine or Munition to be removed, or transported out of that Town, under any pretence of Order or Power whatsoever, without our royal Assent in Writing under our hand, assuring you that it will be much more pleasing to us to have occasion administred by the Fidelity of the Inhabitants to enlarge those Graces and Immunities, granted to that Town by our Predecessors, then to have any occasion to question your Charter.

At our Court at York, April *the* 25*th*, 1642.

His Majesty's Letter to the High Sheriff of the County *of* York, May *the* 15th, 1642.

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet you well: Whereas we understand that Sir *John Hotham* takes upon him (without any Legal Authority or Power) to issue Warrants to Constables, and other our Officers, to raise divers of our Train'd Bands of this our County, and requires them to march with their Arms, and to come into our Town of *Hull* where he hath disarmed divers of them, keeps their Arms and discharges the Men, and whereas we are credibly informed, that divers Persons who were lately Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains and Officers of the Train'd Bands of this our County, intend shortly to summon and endeavour to muster the Forces of this our County: Forasmuch as by the Law of the Land, none of our Train'd Bands are to be raised or mustered, upon any Pretence or Authority whatsoever, but by special Warrant under our own hand, or by a Legal Writ directed to the Sheriff of the County, or by Warrant from the Lord-Lieutenant, or Deputy-Lieutenants of the County appointed and authorized by Commission under our Great Seal. And whereas there is at present no Lord-Lieutenant or Deputy-Lieutenants legally authorized to Command the Forces and Train'd Bands of this our County of *York*, and the Commissions, Command and Power of all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains and Officers of our Train'd Bands (which were derived from the Commission and Power of the Lord-Lieutenant only) are now actually void, and of no force and authority. Our Will and Command therefore is, that you forthwith issue Warrants under your hand, to all the late Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains and Officers, who (whiles the Lord Lieutenant's Commission was in force) had the Command of the Train'd Bands of this our County; and also to all High and Petty Constables and other our Officers in this our County, whom it may concern; charging and commanding them and every of them in our Name and upon their Allegiance, and as they tender the Peace of this our Kindom, not to Muster, Levy or Raise or to Summon or War (upon any pretence or directions whatsoever) any of our Train'd Bands to Rise, Muster or March, without expres Warrant under our Hand, or Warrant from you our Sheriff grounded upon a particular Writ to that purpose; which we also Command you not to put in execution, without our Privity and Allowance, while we shall reside in this our County. And in case any of our Train'd Bands shall rise or gather together, contrary to this our Command, Then we will and command you to charge and require them to dissolve and retire to their dwellings. And if upon the Summons from you, they shall not lay down their Arms and depart to their dwellings; We will and command you, upon your Allegiance, and as you tender the Peace and Quiet of this our Kingdom, to raise the Power of our County, and suppress them by force, as the Law hath directed and given you Power to do. And to the end, that this our expres Command may be notified to all our good Subjects in this our County, so as none may pretend hereafter to have been misled

led through ignorance, We require you to cauſe theſe our Letters to be forthwith read and publiſhed openly in all the Churches and Pariſhes in this our County: Herein you may not fail, as you tender the Safety and Honour of our Perſon, the Good and Peace of this our Kingdom, and will anſwer the contrary at your Peril, for which this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant.

Given at our Court at York *the* 15th *day of* May, *in the Eighteenth Year of our Reign.*

His Majeſty's Letter to the Gentry of Yorkſhire, May 16. 1642.

To our Truſty and Well-beloved the Gentry of York, *and others of this our County of* York *whom it doth or may Concern.*

WE have with great Contentment conſidered your dutiful and affectionate *Anſwer* to our Propoſition, concerning the inſufferable Affront which we received from *Hull*, we have not been deceived in that Confidence we had in your Affection, wherefore we deſire you to aſſure the reſt of your Country-men, who through negligence were omitted to be ſummoned, That we ſhall never abuſe your Love by any Power wherewith God ſhall enable us, to the leaſt Violation of the leaſt of your Liberties or the Diminution of thoſe Immunities which we have granted you this Parliament, though they be beyond the Acts of moſt (if not all) our Predeceſſors, being reſolved with a conſtant and firm Reſolution to have the Law of this Land duly obſerved, and ſhall endeavour only ſo to preſerve our juſt Royal Rights as may enable us to protect our Kingdom and People according to the Ancient Honours of the Kings of *England*, and according to the Truſt which by the Law of God and this Land is put into the Crown, being ſufficiently warned by the late Affront at *Hull*, not to transfer the ſame out of our Power, concerning which Affront we will take ſome time to adviſe which way we may uſefully imploy our Affections, in the mean time we ſhall take it well from all ſuch as ſhall perſonally attend us ſo ready and provided as they ſhall think fit for the better Safety of our Perſon, becauſe we know not what ſuddain Violence or Affront may be offered unto us, having lately received ſuch an actual Teſtimony of Rebellious Intentions, as Sir *John Hotham* hath expreſſed at *Hull*. Being thus ſecured by your Affections and Aſſiſtance, We promiſe you our Protection againſt any contrary Power whatſoever. And that you ſhall not be moleſted for your humble and modeſt Petition as of late you have been threatned.

Given at our Court at York, May 16. 1642.

His Majeſty's Letter to the Lords of His Privy Council of the Kingdom of Scotland.

Charles Rex,

RIght truſty and well beloved Couſins and Counſellors, We greet you well. Although we have already written Our Mind to you Our Council, yet upon ſecond Thoughts, ariſing eſpecially from ſome bad Rumors coming to Our Knowledge, We find it neceſſary, both for Our Self, and for the Good of that Our Kingdom, to declare and make known both Our Diſpoſition and Deſires more fully.

We know and feel the Charge to be great, and the Place to be high, wherein God (the King of Kings) hath placed Us, and that we muſt render an Account of all our Actions to him, who in his own time ſhall judg all Men without exception of Perſons, we have no other Intentions, but by our Government, to honour him, by whom Kings Reign, and to procure the Good of our People, and for this end to preſerve the Right and Authority wherewith God hath inveſted us, and which by his Providence hath been derived to us by many princely Progenitors; in the which Glory, that our antient Kingdom and native Realm of *Scotland* doth participate.

We did not require of you, that you ſhould ſit as Judges upon the Affairs of another Kingdom. We only intended to have both our Sufferings and our Actions (as they are expreſt in many Papers paſt betwixt us and our Parliament) made throughly known unto you, that ſince we have none beſides you, whom we can acquaint with our Proceedings, you may clearly ſee, that we have been ſo far from wronging our Parliament of *England*, that we have given them all Satisfaction, even above that which they themſelves, in the beginning, did expreſs, or almoſt deſire: And as much as could

well consist with the Safety of our Person and Honour: We will not put you in mind of your natural Affection towards us, which we know will rather be kindled than extinguished by our Distress: nor of your Covenant, wherein you are zealous of our Greatness and Authority, and which standeth in that Sence wherein you did swear and subscribe it. Nor of the many good Laws made in our late Parliament (of which we hope the present, and the succeeding Generations shall reap the Fruits when we are dead and gon.) Nor of the many Promises made to us, upon which we were willing to yield to such things for setling the Government of that our Kingdom, in our Personal Absence, which neither could we have granted, nor would you have craved (as your selves did profess) had our greater Affairs permitted our Residence amongst you. And whereas we are most unjustly blamed and calumniated. 1. That we are Popishly affected. 2. That we are the Cause of the Blood-shed in *Ireland*. 3. That we intend to bring in forreign Forces. We here do protest and declare in the presence of him, who knows the most secret of our Intentions and Actions, that we are no ways conscious to our self of the Guiltiness of any of the said Aspersions, and do take him to witness our Innocency therein, who only hath the priviledge to be the Searcher of Hearts; and if any, after so full and plain profession, shall distrust this our free Declaration. We attest God that the Fault is in the Malignity of their rebellious Humors and no ways deserved on our Part.

Given at our Court at York, *the twentieth day of* May, 1641.

His Majesty's *Letter to the Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham.

Charles Rex,

RIght Trusty, and Well-beloved, We greet you well: Whereas we understand that you have begun to assemble, train and muster the Trained Bands of our County of *Lincoln*, under pretence of an Order of Parliament, whereto we have not given our Consent; which is not only contrary to Law, but to our Command and Pleasure, signified by our Proclamation sent to the High Sheriff of that our County: Wherefore, that you may not hereafter plead Ignorance of such our Prohibition, we do, by these our Letters, command and charge you, upon your Allegiance, to desist and forbear to raise, muster, train, exercise, or assemble together any part of the Trained Bands of our County, either by your self, or by any others employed under you, or by Warrant from you. And because you may, for what you have already done concerning the Militia of that our County, plead that you had not so particular a Command, we shall pass by what you have already done therein, so as presently upon your Receipt hereof, you shall desist and give over medling any farther in any thing belonging to the *Militia* of that our County. But if you shall not presently desist and forbear medling therewith, we are resolved to call you to a strict Account for your Disobedience therein, after so many particular and legal Commands given you upon your Allegiance to the contrary, and shall esteem and proceed against you as a Disturber of the Peace of our Kingdom.

Given at Our Court at York, *the 4th. Day of* June 1642.

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved, the Lord Willoughby *of* Parham.

The Lord Willoughby *of* Parham *his Letter, in Answer to his Majesty.*

SIR,

AS there can be nothing of greater Unhappiness to me, than to receive a Command from your Majesty, whereunto my Endeavors cannot give so ready an Obedience as my Affection: so I must confess the Difficulty at this time not a little, how to express that Duty which I owe to your Majesty's late Commands, and not falsifie that Trust reposed in me by your High Court of Parliament, through whose particular Directions I am now come into this Country to settle the *Militia*, according to the Ordinance of Parliament, which by the Votes of my Lord *Littleton* and others in the House of Peers, better versed in the Laws than my self, passed as a legal thing, and hath since been confirmed (if I mistake not) by his Example, and your Majesties chief Justice, Sir *John Banks*, both in accepting their Ordinance, and nominating their Deputy Lieutenants; how much further they proceeded, I know not.

But,

But, Sir, if the Opinions of theſe great Lawyers drew me into an Act unſuitable to your Majeſty's Liking, I hope the want of Years will excuſe my want of Judgment. And ſince the Command of the Parliament, I am ſo far engaged in their Service, as the ſending out Warrants to ſummon the County to meet me this day in *Lincoln*, and afterwards in other Places, I do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, not to impoſe that Command on me, which muſt needs render me falſe to thoſe that rely on me, and ſo make me more unhappy than any other Miſery that can fall upon me; the e things, Sir, I once more humbly beſeech your Majeſty, may be taken into your gratious Conſidera-tion, and that you would never be pleaſed to harbour any Miſ-conceit of me, or of this Action, ſince nothing hath yet paſſed by my Command here, or ever ſhall, but what ſhall ever tend to the Honour and Safety of your Majeſty, to the Preſervation of the Peace of your Kingdom, and to the Content (I hope) of all your Majeſty's Subjects in theſe Parts, amongſt which, I remain,

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble,
and moſt Dutiful Subject and Servant,

E. Willoughby.

His Majeſty's Letter, ſent with the Commiſſion of Array to Leiceſterſhire.

Charles Rex,

RIght Truſty, and right Well-beloved Couſins, and right Truſty and Well-beloved, we greet you well: Whereas it hath been declared by the Votes of both Houſes of Parliament, the Fifteenth of *March* laſt, that the Kingdom hath of late, and ſtill is in ſo evident and imminent Danger, both from Enemies abroad, and a Popiſh diſcontented Party at home, that there is an urgent and inevitable Neceſſity of putting our Subjects in a Poſture of Defence, for the Safety both of our Perſon and People: And that ſithence divers Inhabitants of divers Counties have addreſſed their Petitions to that purpoſe; and whereas a ſmall Number of both Houſes, after it had been rejected by the Lords in a full Houſe, and without our Royal Aſſent, or the Opinion of the Judges concerning the Legality hereof, have attempted, by way of Ordinance, to put in execution the Power of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, and to diſpoſſeſs many of our ancient Nobility of the Command and Truſt repoſed in them by us, and have nominated divers others, who have no Intereſt in, or live near to ſome of the Counties to which they are nominated for the Lieutenancy, whereby they cannot be properly ſerviceable to the Counties wherewith they are intruſted, nor our People receive that Content and Security, which we deſire they ſhould: To ſubmit to the Execution of which Power, by the way of Ordinance, without it were reduced to a Law by Act of Parliament, eſtabliſhed by our Royal Aſſent, were to reduce and expoſe our Subjects to a meer Arbitrary Government, which, by Gods Grace, we ſhall never permit.

We therefore, conſidering, that by the Laws of the Realm, it belongeth ſolely to us, to order and govern the *Militia* of the Kingdom, have thereupon, by our Proclamation, of the Twenty ſeventh of *May* laſt, prohibited all manner of Perſons whatſoever, upon their Allegiance, to Muſter, Levy, or Summons, upon any Warrant, Order, or Ordinance from one or both Houſes of Parliament, whereunto we have not, or ſhall not give our expreſs Conſent, any of the trained Bands, or other Officers, without expreſs Warrant under our Hands, or Warrant from our Sheriff of the County grounded upon a particular Writ to that purpoſe, under our Great Seal. And conſidering that in ancient time the *Militia* of the Kingdom, was ever diſpoſed of by Commiſſions of Array, and that by a particular Statute upon Record in the Tower, made in the Fifth Year of *Henry* the Fourth, by full Conſent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons and Commons, and at their Suit, and by the Advice and Opinion of the Judges then had, ſuch Commiſſions were mitigated in reſpect of ſome Clauſes perillous in the Commiſſioners, and approved of for the time to come: And that by the ſubſequent Records, it appeareth, that all our Royal Predeceſſors have continually exerciſed that Power by ſuch Commiſſions, till of late time they have been diſcontinued by the Grants of particular Commiſſions of Lieutenancy, little differing in Subſtance from the ſaid Commiſſions of Array, againſt which, it ſeems, the Houſes have taken ſome Exception, and though we are no way ſatisfied of the Illegality, our Council being never heard in the Defence thereof, yet being willing to avoid all Exceptions at preſent, we have thought fit to refer it to that ancient legal way of diſpoſing the Power of the *Militia* by ſuch commiſſions of Array, for the Defence of Us, our Kingdoms, and our Country, Authorizing you, or any three or more of you, to Array, and Train our People, and to apportion and aſſeſs ſuch Perſons as have Eſtates, and are not able to bear Arms, to find Arms for o-

ther

other Men in a reaſonable and moderate Proportion, and to conduct them, ſo arrayed, as well to the Coaſts in other Places, for the Oppoſition and Deſtruction of our Enemies, in caſe of Danger, as to your own Diſcretion, or any three or more of you ſhall ſeem meet: Whereof, you *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, and in your Abſence, *William* Earl of *Devon*, or *Henry Haſtings* Eſq; to be one, and being both confident in a great Meaſure, of the Loyal Affections of our People, and very tender to bring any unneceſſary Burthen or Charge on them, by augmenting the Number of the Trained Bands; we do for the preſent only require, that you forthwith cauſe to be Muſtered and Trained, all the antient Trained Bands and Free-hold Bands of the County, carefully ſeeing that they be ſupplyed with able and ſufficient Perſons, and compleatly Armed, unleſs you find that there be juſt Cauſe, and that it ſhall be with the good Liking of the Inhabitants, for their own better Security, to make any Encreaſe of their Numbers; and over ſuch Bands, to appoint and ſet ſuch Collonels, Captains and Officers, as you ſhall think moſt fit for the Diſcharge of that Service, being ſuch Perſons as have conſiderable Intereſt in the County, and not Strangers. And in Caſe of any Oppoſition, you are to raiſe the Power of the County to ſuppreſs it, and to commit all ſuch Perſons as ſhall be found Rebellious herein, into the Cuſtody of our Sheriff, whoſe Care and Aſſiſtance we eſpecially require, and that he ſhall from time to time iſſue forth ſuch Warrants for the Aſſembling of our People, at ſuch Times and Places, as by you ſhall be agreed on, according to the Truſt repoſed in him by our ſaid Commiſſion. And we have Authorized you our Commiſſioners, or any three of you, after ſuch Array made from time to time to Train and take Muſters of our ſaid Bands, and to provide Beacons and other Neceſſaries for the better Exerciſing of our People, and Diſcovery of ſudden Invaſions and Commotions: Of all which your proceedings herein, we expect a ſpeedy and plenary Account, according to the Truſt repoſed in you, and Authority given you by our Commiſſion in that behalf.

Given at Our Court at York, *the Twelfth Day of* June, *in the Eighteenth Year of Our Reign*, 1642.

To Our Truſty and Well-Beloved, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of Our City of London.

Charles Rex,

TRuſty and Well-beloved, we greet you well: Whereas we have received ſeveral Informations of great Sums of Money endeavoured to be borrowed of our City of *London*, by ſome Direction proceeding from both our Houſes of Parliament; and likewiſe that great Labour is uſed to perſwade our Subjects to raiſe Horſe, and to furniſh Money, upon pretence of providing a Guard for our Parliament: Theſe are to let you know, that (notwithſtanding any ſcandalous Votes, which have preſumed to declare our Intention of Levying War againſt our Parliament, and to lay other Aſperſions on us, ſo fully diſavowed by us, in the Preſence of Almighty God, by our ſeveral Anſwers and Declarations) all our Deſires and Purpoſes are for the publick Peace, and that we have not the leaſt thought of raiſing or uſing Force, except we are compelled to it for the Defence of our Perſon, and in Protection of the Law, and therefore we expect that you ſuffer not your ſelves to be miſled by ſuch vain and improbable Suggeſtions, and do declare, that if you ſhall Lend any Sums of Money to the Relief of *Ireland* (to which we have contributed all the Aſſiſtance could be deſired of us, which way ſoever the Money given and raiſed to that purpoſe is diſpoſed of) or towards the Payment of our *Scotch* Subjects, we ſhall take it as an acceptable Service at your Hands; but if upon general Pretences, contrived by a few factious Perſons, againſt the Peace of the Kingdom, you ſhall give or lend any Money, or provide or raiſe any Horſes or Arms, towards the raiſing ſuch a Guard, we ſhall look upon it as the raiſing Force againſt us, and to be done in Malice and Contempt of us and our Authority; and we do therefore ſtraitly charge and command you to publiſh this our Letter to the ſeveral Maſters and Wardens of the ſeveral Companies, that they may be aſſured that ſuch Money as they ſhall lend out of their good Affection to the Kingdom, may be only employed for *Ireland* or *Scotland*, and not towards ſuch Guards, which (in truth) are intended by the Contrivers of that Deſign (though we believe many honeſt Men, ſeduced by them, do not yet ſee their End) to be employed againſt us. And if you and they ſhall fail punctually and ſeverally to obſerve our Commands, we ſhall not only proceed againſt the ſaid ſeveral Companies, for deceiving the Truſt repoſed in them; but againſt the particular Perſons, as Contemners and Oppoſers of our Authority, and of the Law of the Land, in the moſt exemplary Way the known Law of the Land ſhall preſcribe us, and ſhall be compelled to queſtion the Charter of your City, which we

we are willing yet to believe (notwithſtanding the barbarous and inſolent Behaviour of the Meaner and Baſer Sort) in a good Degree to continue Loyal unto Us, and of your Obedience to theſe our Commands, We do expect and require a full account, and of the Names of ſuch Perſons, who ſhall oppoſe the ſame: Hereof fail you not, as you will anſwer the contrary at your peril.

Given at Our Court at York, *the* 14*th of* June, *in the* 18*th Year of Our Reign*, 1642.

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved, the Vice-Chancellor *of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *and to all the reſt of Our Loyal Subjects in that Our Univerſity.*

Charles Rex,

Reverend Father in God, We greet you well: Whereas, We have received a moſt large and ample Teſtimony of the Affection of that Our Loyal Univerſity to Us, by the free Loan of a very conſiderable Sum of Mony, in time of ſo great and imminent Neceſſity. Theſe are to will and require you, to give to that Our Univerſity from Us, Our Royal Thanks; and to aſſure them and every of them (Our Loving and Loyal Subjects) That this Teſtimony of their Hearts towards Us, ſhall never depart out of our Royal Memory; and that both they ſhall be carefully repay'd, and the Money employed only upon the Defence of Our Self, the true *Proteſtant Religion* and the *Laws*, Eſtabliſhed in this Our Kingdom: And whereas we hear, that for this Action, ſo full of Loyalty and Allegiance; ſome of that Our Univerſity have been ordered to be ſent for: Theſe are to will and require you, to ſignifie unto them, and every of them (who aſſume ſuch *Power* to themſelves without us) that we Will and Command, that no Obedience be given to any ſuch Summons, holding our ſelf bound to protect and defend thoſe who ſhall be perſecuted for that Cauſe, by having contributed to our Defence and Protection, and ſo we bid you farewell.

Given at Our Court at Beverly, *the* 18*th. Day of* July, 1642.

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved, the High Sheriff of Our County, and the Mayor of Our City of Oxford.

Charles Rex,

TRuſty and well beloved, we greet you well: Whereas we have lately received very ample Teſtimonies of the good Affection of our Univerſity of *Oxon*, by the Loan of ſuch Moneys as could be thence ſpared for the Supply of our urgent and extraordinary Occaſions, for which affectionate and dutiful Expreſſion, we are informed that ſeveral worthy Perſons of that our Univerſity, our Servants, and others, are threatned to be troubled and moleſted. We have thought fit to commend the Care, Aſſiſtance and Protection of that Place, and of the Perſons in it, to you, as a Service, wherein you ſhall merit our Favour and good Acceptance, and of which we ſhall require an Account. And we do therefore will and require you, as you tender our Diſpleaſure, if any Warrant, Order, or Direction whatſoever, ſhall come to your Hand, for the apprehending or troubling any Perſon, or Perſons of that our Univerſity, for his good Affection to our Service in advancing the Buſineſs of Lending and Supplying us with Money which we ſhall never forget, that you be ſo far from countenancing or aſſiſting any ſuch Warrant or Direction, that on the contrary you uſe your utmoſt power to preſerve thoſe our good Subjects from ſuch Oppreſſion, the which we ſhall take in very good part at your Hand, and for ſo doing, this ſhall be your Warrant.

Given at Our Court at Nottingham, *July* the 22*d.* 1642.

A Letter of King Charles *the* 2d. *to General* Monk *to be by him communicated to the* Preſident *and* Council *of* State, *and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.*

Charles Rex,

TRuſty and well-beloved, We greet you well: It cannot be believed but that we have been, are, and ever ſhall be as ſolicitous as we can by all endeavours to improve the Affections of our good Subjects at home, and to procure the Aſſiſtance of our Friends and Allies abroad, for the Recovery of that Right which by the Laws of God and Man are unqueſtionable, and of which we have been ſo long diſpoſſeſſed by ſuch Force and with thoſe Circumſtances, as we do not deſire to aggravate by any ſharp Expreſſions, but rather wiſh that, the Memory of what is paſſed may be buried in the World, that we have more endeavoured to prepare and improve the Affections of our Subjects at home, for our Reſtauration then to procure Aſſiſtance from abroad to invade either of our Kingdoms is as manifeſt to the World, and we cannot give a better Evidence that we are ſtill of the ſame Mind, then in this Conjuncture, when common Reaſon muſt ſatisfy all Men, that we cannot be without Aſſiſtance from abroad, we chooſe rather to ſend to you who have it in your own Power to prevent that Ruine and Deſolation, which a War would bring upon the Nation, and to make the whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Happineſs, Security and Glory it ſhall enjoy to your Vertue, and to acknowledge that your Armies have complyed with their Obligations for which they were firſt raiſed for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty and Property of the Subject and the Fundamental Laws of the Land, and that you have vindicated that Truſt which others moſt perfidiouſly abuſed and betrayed.

How much we deſire and reſolve to contribute to thoſe good Ends will appear to you by our encloſed Declaration, which we deſire you to cauſe to be publiſhed for the Information and Satisfaction of all our good Subjects, who deſire not a further Effuſion of precious Chriſtian Blood, but to have their Peace and Security founded upon that which can only ſupport it, an Unity of Affections amongſt our ſelves, an equal Adminiſtration of Juſtice to Men, reſtoring Parliaments to a full Capacity of providing for all that is amiſs, and the Laws of the Land to their due Veneration.

You have been your ſelves Witneſs of ſo many Revolutions and have had ſo much Experience, how far any Power and Authority, that is only aſſumed by Paſſion and Appetite, and not ſupported by Juſtice, is from providing for the Happineſs and Peace of the People, or from receiving any Obedience from them without which no Government can provide for them, that you may very reaſonably believe, that God hath not been ſo well pleaſed with the Attempts that have been made: ſince he hath uſually encreaſed the Confuſion, by giving all the Succeſs that hath been deſired, and brought that to paſs without effect, which the Deſigns have propoſed as the beſt Means to compoſe and ſettle the Nation, and therefore we cannot but hope and believe that you will concur with us in the Remedy we have applied, which to human underſtanding, is only proper for the Ills we all groan under, and that you will make your ſelves the bleſſed Inſtruments to bring this bleſſing of Peace and Reconciliation upon King and People, it being the uſual Method in which Divine Providence delighteth it ſelf to uſe and ſanctifie thoſe very means which ill Men deſign for the Satisfaction of private and particular Ends and Ambition, and other wicked purpoſes to wholſome and publick Ends; and to eſtabliſh that good which is moſt contrary to the Deſigners, which is the greateſt Manifeſtation of God's particular kindneſs to a Nation that can be given in the World, how far we reſolve to preſerve your Intereſts and reward your Services we refer to our Declaration, and we hope God will inſpire you to perform your Duty to us and to your native Country, whoſe Happineſs cannot be ſeparated from each other.

We have entruſted our well-beloved Servant Sir *John Greenvill*, one of the Gentlemen of our Bed-Chamber, to deliver this to you, and to give us an account of your Reception of it, and to deſire you that it may be publiſhed, and ſo we bid you farewel,

Given at our Court at Breda *this* 24th *of* April, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.*

To

To Pope Alexander *the Sixth.*

Sultan Bajazet Cham, *Son of the four* Sultans *of* Laſheath, Caimf, *by Gods Grace, Emperor, and Lord of* Aſia, *of* Europe, *and the Seas.*

To the Father and Lord of all the Chriſtians, Pope Alexander *the Sixth, by the Grace of God, the moſt worthy Chief Prieſt of the Roman Church,*

AFter a due and courteous Salute, proceeding from a good Mind, and pure Heart, This is to acquaint your Greatneſs, that having heard of your good Health, and other Matters of concern from *George Bozzardo*, your Servant and Nuncio here: we rejoyce thereat, and have great Comfort. Among other things, he tells us, that the King of *France* is minded to take our Brother *Gem.* out of your Hands, which will be much againſt our Will, and both your ſelf and all your Chriſtians will ſuffer much thereby. But having conſulted with the ſaid *George* thereupon, we have thought, that for your Peace and Profit, and our ſingular Satisfaction, it is convenient, ſeeing our ſaid Brother is very ſubject to Mortality, and in danger of being taken from you, that his Death be haſtened by all means; which will be Life to him, great Advantage to your ſelf, and to us high Content. Wherefore, may it pleaſe your Greatneſs, to do us the Favour to take care that our Brother *Gem.* may be removed from the Travel and Trouble of this World, in what manner you pleaſe, ſo that his Soul may be tranſlated into a better, where he may find Reſt. This Requeſt of ours, if your Greatneſs will be but ſo kind to fulfil, and ſend his Body to any place upon our Coaſts, we promiſe, on the Faith of *Sultan Bajazet Cham*, to ſend you, to any place you ſhall appoint, three hundred thouſand Ducats of Gold, with which you may purchaſe Lands for your Children. When the Perſon, by you appointed, ſhall be known to us, then our Officers ſhall have Direction to aſſign the Money to him, as above, *&c.* Moreover, We promiſe to preſerve with your Greatneſs a perfect good Underſtanding, and a great Friendſhip without Fraud; ſhew you all Favours, and pleaſure you in things to our Power. Alſo we aſſure you, that neither from our ſelves, nor any belonging to us, ſhall any Injury be offered, or any Moleſtation given to any Chriſtian, of what ſort or condition ſoever, by Land or by Sea, except they begin firſt, and aſſault us or ours. And for more Satisfaction to your Greatneſs, that you may have all Security imaginable, and not ſcruple in the leaſt what we have promiſed above; we have, in the preſence of the ſaid *George*, confirmed the Premiſes, ſwearing upon our true Goſpels, by the true God whom we worſhip, that faithfully, without any Deceit, we will be juſt to our Word. And that your Greatneſs may not conceive the leaſt apprehenſion of doubt imaginable, but remain in unqueſtionable Aſſurance, I, the abovenamed *Sultan Bajazet Cham*, do now ſwear by the true God, that created Heaven and Earth, and all things therein, in whom we believe, and whom we adore, That if your Greatneſs will perform the Requeſt we have made, we will punctually obſerve all that is above contained and promiſed on our Parts, and moreover in all other Matters, never to oppoſe or act againſt your Greatneſs, or your Intereſt.

From Our Palace in Conſtantinople, September *the* 12*th.* 1494.

Lettere di Principe, Vol. 2. *Pag.* 3.

King Henry *the Eighth to Cardinal* Cibo, *upon the Sack of* Rome, *by the Duke of* Bourbon; *for* Charles *the Fifth, Emperor.*

WE are of Opinion, that no Man can, without Tears, behold, or without aſtoniſhment hear the fatal News, the ſad Calamity and Ruine of the City of *Rome*, which Jeſus Chriſt, even to our Days, had ſo long preſerv'd as the Apoſtolick See, and has been held in ſuch Veneration by all. Can any thing appear ſo black or ſo enormous for any to commit, for thoſe eſpecially that have heretofore been ſo zealouſly devoted to the Chriſtian Religion, and wilfully offer Violence to that Holy Place? The Impiety of ſuch is certainly very raſh and bold, that have dared to perpetrate theſe Acts, and treat with Inſolence and ſuch Inhumanity, the moſt ſacred Perſon of our moſt holy Lord, the true and only Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt upon Earth; and to that end, that having cut off the Head of Chriſtendom, ſmote the Shepherd of the Flock of God, the holy Church ſhould be diſperſt and loſt. That the Sheep, without any to feed and care for them, ſhoud become a Prey to raven-

nous Wolves, and be devoured by them. Moreover, they have (which muſt certainly make the Heart of every true Catholick bleed at the Relation only of ſuch a Barbarity) not abſtained even from Chriſts own Sacriſty; for having by open Force ſeized and ſackt the holy City, they diſtinguiſht not things ſacred from profane, plundered and robb'd beyond the common Terms or Practiſe of War, and what claims our tendereſt Regard, and indeed an univerſal Regret, after they had confined to a loathſome Priſon, the ſacred ſupream Miniſter, that great Biſhop, by whoſe Conduct and Conſtancy, all Divine Precepts have been diſpenſed for the Benefit of Mankind; they had the Forehead with unhallowed Hands to caſt Dirt on, and trample under Feet the pretious Reliques of the omnipotent God, and his holy Saints, burnt the holy Tabernacle, which has, with great Devotion, been frequented ſo many years by the moſt faithful Chriſtians of the World, and with unheard of Profaneneſs pull'd down the moſt pretious Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſprinkled his moſt noble Blood on the Duſt. To remedy theſe important Evils, not only all Chriſtian Princes, but all Chriſtian People ought to be concerned, to go to work, and not depart from it till all things be reſtored to their former *Decorum*. Wherefore we being mindful of our Duty, and of our Title, *Defender of the Faith*, have reſolved, and ſteadfaſtly determined, to the utmoſt of our Power, not to be wanting any way, but give Succour and Shelter againſt this Storm, to loſe no Time, to try all Means, to uſe all Expedients, and not to ſpare even our own Blood in the Attempt; we purpoſe to re-eſtabliſh the Head of the Church to his priſtine Power, wipe off the Injuries offered to our common Father and Head, and heal the Wounds of his Church. Wherefore, moſt Reverend Sir, we hope that you, with the reſt of your Brethren, whom the Divine Mercy hath preſerved from unworthy Servitude, conſidering the Quality and Degree you are in, in the *Roman* Apoſtolick Church, and whoſe Care it ought to be to oppoſe ſuch Miſchiefs; I hope, I ſay, that you will not be wanting on your part, to aſſiſt with the ſame Zeal and Reſolution, thoſe that are firm in Belief and Hope, to reſtore the Glory of God. To this great End and Purpoſe, we now ſend the moſt Reverend, and moſt Illuſtrious Cardinal of *York*, *Legate a Latere* of the Apoſtolick Chair, your own Lieutenant, which we reſt and confide in as in our ſelves, him we now ſend in Perſon to the moſt Chriſtian King of *France*, our deareſt Brother, to agree upon a Place to meet in, and conſult on the Matter of this great Importance, to the End, that with the moſt Reverend Legate and others, by common Conſent, you may contrive and fix upon ſuch Methods and Means as may beſt conduce to the ſpeedy Enlargement of our moſt holy Lord, and the avoiding ſo many fatal Inconveniences that threaten us. And whatever the Iſſues of your Deliberations ſhall be, thoſe we will ratifie and confirm, and with all our Authority and Conduct, Labour and Force, promote and proſecute. I pray for your Health and Happineſs,

From Our Palace Mindas, *the* 10*th. Day of* July, 1527.

Out of a Letter writ by Charles *the Fifth to King* Henry *the Eighth.*

BY which it is evident, that we choſe rather to diſoblige the whole Empire, than offend his Holineſs, on whom, though many Misfortunes have befallen, yet we attribute not the Cauſe to our ſelves, becauſe our Intent towards him was ever good: And this was well known to Pope *Leo* the Tenth, and to *Adrian* the Sixth, who ever with Arms Spiritual and Temporal, promoted and aſſiſted the Juſtice and Right of our Cauſe: But our Holy Father, Pope *Clement* the Seventh ſucceeding, he, unmindful of the Favours and Benefits we have done to the *Roman* Church in general, and in particular to himſelf, has ſuffered himſelf to be led aſide by ſome evil Miniſters that are about him, inſomuch, that inſtead of preſerving like a kind and loving Father, the Peace of Chriſtendom, and that particularly we had juſt made with *France*, he applied himſelf wholly to foment a War. No ſooner was the *French* King releaſed out of Priſon, but his Holineſs, with the ſaid King, and ſome other Princes of *Italy*, enter into a League againſt us, with deſign to drive us out of that Country, and to take from us our Kingdom of *Naples*, which they had divided among themſelves. Moreover, though we ſent to his Holineſs, and freely ſubmitted to his Pretenſions, and to what ſeemed reaſonable to all beſide himſelf, yet he then refuſed to lay down his Arms, with which he made ſure to win the ſaid Kingdom of *Naples*. Wherefore, ſeeing our ſelves ſcorned and injured, and the King of *France* at Liberty, it was but juſt to raiſe Forces to defend thoſe whom God had placed under our Government. But beforehand, foreſeeing the Event, to juſtifie our Cauſe to God and the whole World, we made a ſolemn Proteſtation to his Holineſs and the whole Colledge of Cardinals,

dinals, that they and all good Men might avoid in time the Fatality of War, lay aſide their Arms, and not provoke us to ſo evident a Danger and Injury to the Chriſtian Community. And if the Apoſtolick Church hath ſuffered hereby, it muſt not blame others but it ſelf, that was the Cauſe of it. The Proteſt we made prevail'd ſo little, that they not only continued the War begun, but, againſt the Law of Arms, broke the Truce that *Hugo de Monſada* made with them in our Name. Thus, ſeeing there was no Faith to be kept with them, and not to be wanting in our Duty to our own Subjects, we firſt ordered Forces from *Spain* to ſecure *Naples*, and from *Germany* others to joyn with thoſe at *Milan*. When the State of things was arrived to that degree, that the Pope had taken a great part of our ſaid Kingdom, then our Army, willing to obviate the appearing Danger, but without our Command or Conſent, marched directly for *Rome*, which his Holineſs perceiving, preſently makes a Truce again with our Viceroy of *Naples* for eight Months: The Conditions were very hard on our ſide; yet however, we choſe rather to ratifie them to our Prejudice, than purſue our Revenge with our Advantage. But God had determined already what ſhould come to paſs. Our Army, before our Ratification of the Truce arrived, fearing to be abaſed herein, as well as formerly, in that made by *Hugo Monſada*, without the General's Conſent, reſolved for *Rome*, where their Leader being ſlain, they made the Inſult, took the City, as you have heard. I believe not that the Outrage committed was ſo great as our Eenemies do report; whatever it was, it ſeems to be rather an Act proceeding from God's immediate Juſtice, and his own Hand, than from the Force or Thought of Man. Certainly that God, in whom we have ever placed our Hope and Truſt, had decreed to puniſh the Injuries and Crimes committed by them, and that without any Colour; and that becauſe there was not the leaſt Interpoſition of either our Conſent, or our Direction in it: Nay, the real and ſenſible Sorrow we have had for the Sufferings of God's holy Church, has been ſo great, that we have often wiſhed our Arms rather had been not victorious, than to have purchaſed a Conqueſt at ſo dear a Rate. But ſince it has ſo pleaſed Almighty Providence, (whoſe infinite Goodneſs oftentimes produces from the like Evils happy and fortunate Events,) let us beſeech him to work the ſame herein, tendering to him our humble Thanks for the Things he does, and the Things he permits; it is convenient for us to apply our ſelves, each of us, with all our Pains and Contrivance, to remedy the Evils under which Chriſtendom now labours; in endeavouring which, we declare we will not ſpare, either our own Blood, or our own Life: And hearing that you had made the ſame Declaration, we moſt affectionately beſeech you, moſt loving Uncle, and deareſt Brother, that you will ſend us your Opinion, what we ought to do in this Caſe; that you will alſo lend us your Aſſiſtance in reſtoring the Church, and in it the Glory of Jeſus Chriſt; and then that we may with greater Force joyn our Arms againſt the common Enemy of the Chriſtian Faith. Moſt ſerene Prince, moſt dear and loving Uncle and Brother, we beg of God to grant you perpetual Felicity.

Lett. di Principi, Vol. 2. pag. 235. *a.*

Valladolid, Aug. 2*d.* 1527.

The Opinion and Advice of Sir Francis Bacon, *Lord Chancellor of* England, *addreſſed to King* James; *by whoſe Command it was writ, concerning* Sutton's *Hoſpital in the* Charter-Houſe; *and Overtures for the better Employment and Improvement of ſo great a Revenue, upon publick Uſes and more generous Charities.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I Find it a poſitive Precept in the old Law, *That there ſhould be no Sacrifice without Salt*; the Moral whereof (beſides the Ceremony) may be, That GOD is not pleaſed with the Body of a good Intention, except it be ſeaſoned with that ſpiritual Wiſdom and Judgment, as it be not eaſily ſubject to be corrupted and perverted: For Salt in the Scripture, is both a Figure of Wiſdom, and laſting. This cometh into my Mind, upon this Act of Mr. *Sutton*, which ſeemeth to me as a Sacrifice without Salt, having the Materials of a good Intention, but not Powder'd with any ſuch Ordinances and Inſtitutions as may preſerve the ſame from turning corrupt, or at leaſt from becoming unſavoury and of little uſe; for though the Choice of the Feoffees be of the beſt, yet neither can they always live; and the very Nature of the Work it ſelf, in the vaſt and unfit Proportion thereof, is apt to provoke a miſ-imployment. It is no diligence of theirs (except there be a digreſſion from that Model) that can excuſe it from running the ſame way, that Gifts of like condition have heretofore done; for

to design the *Charter-House* (a Building fit for a *Prince's* Habitation) for an Hospital, is all one, as if one should give in Alms a rich embroidered Cloak to a Beggar; and certainly a Man may see, *Tanquam quæ oculis cernuntur*, that if such an Edifice, with 6000 *l.* Revenue, be erected into one Hospital, it will in a small time degenerate to be made a Preferment for some great Person to be Master, and he to take all the Sweet, and the Poor to be stinted, and take but the Crumbs, as it comes to pass in divers Hospitals of this Realm, which have but the Names of Hospitals, and are but wealthy Benefices, in respect of the Mastership; but the Poor, which is the *propter Quid*, little relieved. And the like hath been the Fortune of much of the Alms of the *Romish* Religion, in their great Foundations, which being begun in Vain-glory and Ostentation, have had their Judgment upon them to end in Corruption and Abuse. This Meditation hath made me presume to write these few Lines to your Majesty, being no better than good Wishes, which your Majesty's great Wisdom may make something or nothing of: Wherein I desire to be thus understood, That if this Foundation (such as it is) be perfect and good in Law, then I am too well acquainted with your Majesty's Disposition, to advice any course of Power or Profit, that is not grounded upon a Right. Nay, further, if the Defects be such, as a Court of Equity may remedy and cure; then, I wish, that as St. *Peter's* Shadow did cure Diseases, so the very Shadow of a good Intention, may cure the Defects of that nature; but if there be a Right and Birth-Right planted in the Heir, and not remediable by Courts of Equity, and that Right be submitted to your Majesty, whereby it is both in your Power and Grace what to do; then I do wish that Rude Mass and Chaos of a good Deed, were directed rather to a solid Merit, and durable Charity, to a Blaze of Glory, that will but crackle a little in Talk, and quickly extinguish. And this may be done, observing the Species of Mr. *Sutton's* Intent, though varying *in Individuo*; for it appears that he had in Notion a triple Good: First, an Hospital; secondly, and a School; thirdly, and Maintenance of a Preacher: Individuals refer to these three general Heads: 1. Relief of Poor. 2. Advancement of Learning: And, 3. Propagation of Religion. Now then if I shall set forth before your Majesty, in every of these three kinds, what it is that is most wanting in your Kingdom, and what is like to be the most fruitful and effectual Use of such a Beneficence, and least like to be perverted, that I think should be no ill scope of my Labour, how meanly soever performed; for out of Variety represented, Election may be best grounded. Concerning the Relief of the Poor, I hold some number of Hospitals, with competent Endowments, will do far more good, than one Hospital of an exorbitant greatness: For tho' the one course will be more seen, yet the other will be the more felt: For if your Majesty erect many, besides observing the ordinary Maxime, *Bonum quo communius, eo melius*; Choice may be made of those Towns and Places, where there is most need, and so the Remedy may be distributed, as the Disease is dispersed. Again, Greatness of Relief accumulated in one place, doth rather invite a Swarm and Surcharge of poor, than relieve those that are naturally bred in that place; like to ill-tempered Medicines, that draw more Humours to the party, than they evacuate from it. But chiefly I relie upon the Reason that I touched in the beginning: That in these great Hospitals, the Revenues will draw the Use, and not the Use the Revenues; and so through the Mass of their Wealth, they will swiftly tumble down in a Misimployment. And if any Man will say, that in the two Hospitals in *London*, there is a Precedent of Greatness; concerning which good Employment, let him consider, That those Hospitals have annual Governours; that they are under the superiour Care and Policy of such a State as the City of *London*; and chiefly that their Revenues consist not in Certainties, but in Casualties and free Gifts; which Gifts would be with-held if they appeared once to be perverted; so as it keepeth them in a continual good Behaviour and Awe, to imploy them aright; none of which points do match with the present case.

The next Consideration may be, Whether this intended Hospital, as it hath a more ample Endowment than other Hospitals have, should not likewise work upon a better Subject, than other poor; as that it should be converted to the Relief of maimed Soldiers, decayed Merchants and Housholders, aged and destitute Church-men, and the like; whose Condition, being of a better sort than loose People and Beggars, deserveth both a more liberal Stipend and Allowance, and some proper place of Relief, not intermingled or coupled with the basest sort of poor: Which Project, though specious, yet, in my Judgment, will not answer the Design in the Event, in these our times: For certainly few Men, in any Vocation, who have been Somebody, and bear a Mind somewhat according to Conscience and Remembrance of that they have been, will ever condescend to that condition, as to profess to live upon Alms, and to become a Corporation of declared Beggars, but rather will choose to live obscurely, and, as it were, to hide themselves with some private Friends; so that the end of such an Institution will be, that it will make the place a Receptacle of the worst, idlest and most dissolute Persons of every Profession, and to become a Cell of Loyterers, and cast Serving-Men and Drunkards, with Scandal rather than Fruit to the Commonwealth. And of this kind I

can

can find but one Example with us, which is the Alms-Knights of *Windſor*; which particular will give a Man ſmall encouragement to follow that Precedent.

Therefore the beſt effect of Hoſpitals is, to make the Kingdom (if it were poſſible) capable of that Law, That there be no Beggar in *Iſrael*; for it is that kind of People that is a Burthen and Eye-ſore, a Scandal and a Seed of Peril and Tumult in the State: But chiefly it were to be wiſhed, that ſuch a Beneficence towards the Relief of the poor, were ſo beſtowed, as not only the meer naked poor ſhould be relieved and ſuſtained, but alſo that the honeſt perſon, which maketh hard means to live, upon whom the poor are now charged, ſhould be in ſome ſort eaſed; for that were a Work generally acceptable to the Kingdom, if the publick Hand of Alms might ſpare the private Hand of Tax. And therefore of all other Employments of that kind, I commend moſt Houſes of Relief and Correction; which are mixt Hoſpitals, where the impotent perſon is relieved, and the ſturdy Beggar buckled to work; and the unable perſon alſo not maintained to be idle, (which is ever joined with Drunkenneſs and Impurity,) but is ſorted with ſuch Work as he can manage and perform; and when the Uſes are not diſtinguiſhed, as in other Hoſpitals, whereof ſome are for aged and impotent, and ſome for Children, and ſome for Correction and Vagabonds, but are general and promiſcuous, ſo that they may take off poor of every ſort from the Country, as the Country breeds them. And thus the poor themſelves ſhall find the proviſion, and other good people the ſweetneſs of the Abatement of the Tax.

Now if it be objected, That Houſes of Correction in all places, have not done the good that was expected: As it cannot be denied, but in moſt places they have done much good, ſo it muſt be remembred, that there is a great difference between that which is done by the diſtracted Government of Juſtices of Peace, and that which may be done by a ſetled Ordinance, ſubject to regular Viſitation, as this may be; and beſides, the want hath been commonly in Houſes of Correction, of a competent and certain Stock, for the Materials of Labour, which in this caſe may be likewiſe ſupplied.

Concerning the Advancement of Learning, I do ſubſcribe to the Opinion of one of the Wiſeſt and Greateſt Men of your Kingdom, That for Grammar-Schools there are already too many, and therefore no Prudence to add where there is exceſs: For the great number of Schools within your Highneſs's Realm, doth cauſe a Want, and doth likewiſe cauſe an Overflow, both of them inconvenient, and one of them dangerous: For by means thereof, they find want in the Country and Towns both of Servants for Husbandry, and Apprentices for Trade. And, on the other ſide, there being more Schollars bred than the Eſtate can prefer and employ; and the active part of that Life not bearing a proportion to the preparative, it muſt needs fall out that many Perſons will be bred unfit for other Vocations, and unprofitable for that in which they are brought up; which fills the Realm full of indigent, idle and wanton People, which are but *Materia rerum novarum.*

Therefore in this point I wiſh Mr. *Sutton*'s Intention were exalted a degree; that that which he meant for Teachers of Children, your Majeſty would make for Teachers of Men; wherein it hath been my ancient Opinion and Obſervation, That in the Univerſities of this Realm (which I take to be both of the beſt policied, and of the beſt endowed Univerſities of *Europe*) there is nothing more wanting towards the flouriſhing State of Learning, than the honourable and plentiful Salleries of Readers, in Arts and Profeſſions: In which point as your Majeſty's Bounty already hath made a beginning, ſo this occaſion is offered of GOD, to make a proceeding. Surely, Readers in their Chair, are as Fathers and Parents in Sciences, and deſerve to enjoy a Condition not inferiour to the Children that embrace the practical part; elſe no Man will ſit any longer in the Chair, than till he can walk to a better Preferment; and it will come to paſs as *Virgil* ſays, *Et patrum invalidi referent jejunia nati.*

For if the principal Readers, through the meanneſs of their Entertainment, be but Men of ſuperficial Learning, and that they ſhall take their places but in paſſage, it will make the Maſs of Sciences want the chief and ſolid Dimenſion, which is Depth, and to become but petty and compendious Habits of practice: Therefore I could wiſh, that in both the Univerſities, the Lectures as well of the three Profeſſions, Divinity, Law and Phyſick, as of the three Heads of Science, Philoſophy, Arts of Speech, and the Mathematicks, were raiſed in three Penſions unto 100 *l. per Annum* a piece; which though it be not near ſo great as they are in ſome other places, where the Greatneſs of the Reward doth whiſtle for the ableſt Men out of all foreign parts to ſupply the Chair, yet it may be a Portion to content a worthy and able Man, if he be likewiſe contemplative in Nature, as thoſe Spirits are that are fitteſt for Lectures. Thus may Learning in your Kingdom be advanced to a further heighth; Learning, I ſay, which, under your Majeſty, the moſt learned of Kings, may claim ſome degree of Elevation.

Concerning Propagation of Religion, I ſhall in few Words ſet before your Majeſty three Propoſitions, none of them Devices of mine own, otherwiſe than that ever I approved them; two of which have been in agitation of Speech, and the third acted.

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The Firſt is, A College of Controverſies, whereby we ſhall not ſtill proceed ſingle, but ſhall, as it were, double our Files; which certainly will be found in the Encounter.

The Second, A Receipt (for I like not the Word *Seminary*, in reſpect of the vain Vows, and implicit Obedience, and other Things, tending to the perturbation of States involved in that Term) of Converts to the Reformed Religion, either of Youth, or otherwiſe: For, I doubt not, but there are in *Spain*, *Italy*, and other Countries of the Papiſts, many whoſe Hearts are touched with a ſenſe of thoſe Corruptions, and an acknowledgement of a better Way; which Grace is many times ſmothered and choaked through a worldly Conſideration of Neceſſity and Want, Men not knowing where to have Succour and Refuge: This likewiſe I hold a Work of great Piety and Conſequence, that we alſo may be wiſe in our Generation, and that the watchful and ſilent Night may be uſed, as well for the ſowing of good Seed, as of Tares.

The Third is, The imitation of a memorable and religious Act of Queen *Eliz.* who finding a part of *Lancaſhire* to be extreamly backward in Religion, and the Benefices ſwallowed up in Impropriations, did by Decree erect in that Dutchy four Stipends of 100 *l. per Annum* a piece, for Preachers well choſen, to help the Harveſt, who have done a great deal of good in the parts where they have laboured; neither do there want other Corners in the Realm, that would require for a time the like extraordinary Help.

Thus have I briefly delivered to your Majeſty my Opinion, touching the Employment of this Charity, whereby that Maſs of Wealth, that was in the Owner little better than a Stack or Heap of Muck, may be ſpread over your Kingdom to many fruitful Purpoſes, your Majeſty planting and watering, and GOD giving the increaſe.

THE

AN
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